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THE

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*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Sarde Marriage Bill:**—This Bill as reported by the Select Committee came up for consideration in the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday. The Select Committee had overhauled the original draft Bill in the light of the criticisms passed on it. It had dropped the clause invalidating child marriages and adopted one prescribing penalties for them. It had made the Bill applicable to all communities and not only to Hindus as the original Bill contemplated. It had defined "child" to mean boy below 18 and girls below 14 years of age. In presenting the revised Bill to the Assembly in March last year, Mr. Sarde moved that it be re-circulated for opinion, as in its new form it contained many important alterations affecting the scope and policy of the measure. It was accordingly sent round. Meanwhile, the Age of Consent Committee was appointed and, although the Bill was not included in its reference, Sir Moropant Joshi and his colleagues on reviewing the operation of the law relating to the age of consent, came independently to the conclusion that the Bill was essential to give effect to the aim of the legislature to protect girls from the consequences of premature consummation which, they found, was more common than was generally known in the country. The Bill when it came up for consideration on Wednesday had, therefore, behind it the weight of the Committee's recommendations based on a wide survey of conditions in the country, and supported by a large volume of public opinion. The effect of this was to convert the Government of India from their earlier attitude of neutrality which, in effect, was one of opposition, to one of cordial and strong support to the Bill. This is one more proof if proof were needed that Indian reformers are not speculative or theoretical agitators, but that they are in close touch with and keenly alive to the vital needs of the population. The grateful acknowledgment of reformers are due to Government for their strong support of this long-delayed

measure of reform, which was eloquently voiced by the Home Member, Sir James Crerar, in his speech at an early stage of the debate on Wednesday.

**Orthodox Opposition To The Bill:**—Orthodox opposition to the Bill was voiced in the Assembly by Mr. M. K. Acharya who has been fighting tooth and nail against the Bill from the first. It is significant, however, that even he did not venture to move the rejection of the Bill as he did last year, but only wanted it to be postponed to the Delhi session three months hence. He knows very well that he is leading a forlorn hope, even Mahomedan members on whom he counted for support having declared themselves not opposed to the Bill. One of the best speeches in the debate was made by Dr. Hyder who mentioned that over 1000 young men, replying to a question put by him as a University examiner, had unanimously declared child marriage to be the main cause of the high death rate in the country. Mr. Price, the European representative from Bombay, quite correctly declared that he could not find one single spot of ill-will against the Bill in the whole of the Bombay Presidency and that those who were trying to postpone the Bill were essentially wreckers of the Bill. The Rev. A. C. Chatterji, voicing the views of the Indian Christian community, strongly opposed Mr. Acharya's motion. The surprise of the debate was the support given to the motion by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Panditjee has lately been showing signs of realising the importance of social reform, and has been advocating the training of Hindu girls in riding, fencing and shooting. He does not yet evidently see that there is not much scope for all these unless girls are redeemed from the crushing burden of early marriage and maternity. The first use which not a few girl-wives would probably make of their knowledge of riding and shooting, will be either to ride away from the forced embraces of their thoughtless, not to say brutal, husbands, or to shoot them dead in desperation as the sole means of escape from the torture of premature cohabitation. Panditjee has rendered distinguished service to the country and the Hindus during his long and gracious public life and we beg of him to add to it signally by throwing the weight of his great authority on the side of the Bill which will be the dawn of hope for millions of Hindu children who look up to him as the father of his people.

**An Urgent Appeal:**—Mr. Acharya has been so far successful in that he has been able to pro-

long it till Thursday evening. The next day for non-official business is the 19th instant. But the delay may prove an advantage if Pandit Motilal Nehru who has issued a powerful appeal to members to support the Bill, will attend the Assembly along with other Swaraj members who have been absent in deference to his mandate, and lend the powerful support of voice and vote to carry through a Bill which aims at destroying what he rightly says is a curse which must be completely abolished at all costs. May we suggest to Government that they should at once nominate at least two women members to the Assembly to voice the feelings of their sisters who are in the best position to speak on the merits of the question. The two names which occur are, Mrs. Brijlal Nehru who as a member of the Age of Consent Committee, has acquitted herself with great credit, and Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, whose indefatigable services in the cause of Indian women, are well-known.

**A Strange Decision:—**It was announced on Wednesday that the Government of Bombay had ordered the withdrawal of the prosecution of Wahidbux Bhutto and others on charges of abduction and murder of Khanzadi, the wife of a petty Zemindar in Sind. Wahidbux Bhutto is a wealthy Zemindar and member of the Legislative Assembly. He was arrested in January on these charges. The Police placed before the Magistrate the results of the detailed investigation made by the Collector of Larkhana, Mr. Gorwala, I.C.S. The accused were committed to the Sessions to take their trial, and an application to quash the committal was refused so far as it related to Bhutto and some other of the accused by the Additional Judicial Commissioner of Sind, Mr. Aston. This result was announced only a few days ago. The withdrawal of the case at the instance of Government at this stage of the judicial proceedings and in a case of this kind involving charges of abduction and murder, is without a precedent. Government so far have vouchsafed no explanation of their action which savours of undue interference with the administration of Justice. It is to be hoped that a satisfactory explanation will be yet forthcoming. Bhutto might be perfectly innocent of the crime, but having regard to the fact that a strong enough *prima facie* case had been made out against him to induce the Additional Judicial Commissioner to disallow his application for quashing his committal, the intervention of Government at this stage would appear to be hardly fair even to the accused. The withdrawal of the case against him cannot in the nature of things be as sufficient a proof of his innocence as would have been a verdict of acquittal by the Judicial tribunal to which he was committed.

**East African Indian Deputation:—**Bombay expressed its sympathy with the cause of Indians in East Africa by according a cordial welcome to the East African Indian Deputation at a meeting held in Jinnah Hall on Wednesday last. Mr. Meyer Nissim who presided summed up the seriousness of the issues involved in the following words: "Kenya is the key to the whole situation. The treatment of our countrymen in East Africa will be the acid test of the position of India in the Empire". The leader of the Deputation, Mr.

J. B. Pandya made a statement in which he presented a balanced and impartial picture of the position of Indians in East Africa. Briefly stated, the grievances of Indians in East Africa are the attempt on the part of the East African Government to force them to accept communal franchise, the reservation of the best lands in Kenya for Europeans and the inadequate provision for education and medical relief. The Deputation is shortly to proceed to England to put their case before the British Government and it is proposed that a British Indian representative should lead it. The one man who is in everybody's mind is the Rt. Hon. V. S. Sastri who has already laboured so much for the recognition of the equality of status for our countrymen abroad.

**Indians in Fiji:—**In the course of an interesting article the Rev. A. W. Macmillan points out in *Pacific Affairs* that the position of the Indian in Fiji compares favourably in some respects with that of his countryman in India. As between the ages of fifteen and forty-five there are ten thousand fewer women than men, widow marriages are not rare and hardly one per cent of the Indian women there, are widows. Though the South Indians have established schools where their mother-tongues are taught, Hindi is the *lingua franca* of the Colony. Caste has disappeared among them and "they eat, drink and smoke together and even intermarry." They have learnt something of modern agricultural methods and are perhaps half a century ahead of their cousins in ordinary Indian villages in this respect. They have, moreover, better ideas of sanitation. In spite of the fact that the Indian and the native Fijian are temperamentally poles asunder, they are living together in perfect harmony. Realising that educationally they have much leeway to make, the Indians are establishing schools for their children. Unfortunately there is a dark side to this picture and we learn that "the morals of the community have suffered by removal to Fiji and the small proportion of women who were brought to the Colony has led to moral confusion and increased crime." Nothing has risen to take the place of caste as a social organisation and this has resulted in a lack of cohesion and a measure of chaos. But all this is attracting the attention of the Indians and they have now entered on a period of activity and are organising for the betterment of their community.

**The Way Out of Wedlock:—**Hindu law affords absolutely no remedy for aggrieved Hindu wives. Once they are united in the bonds of matrimony, death alone can release them from the bonds. Ill treatment, cruelty and other acts on the part of husbands, which in any other society constitute grounds for divorce are offences against which there is no redress. A Hindu wife has to grin and bear them all without the hope of a better life. This glaring defect in Hindu law should be remedied if only to save our women from changing their religion in order to discard wicked husbands. The recent case in the Calcutta Court in which a Hindu lady graduate embraced Islam and thus obtained dissolution of her marriage should serve as a warning to the community. This, in our opinion, is the second case of its kind.

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BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1929.

RESCUE WORK.

We reprint today from last week's *Young India*, a letter from Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi to Mahatma Gandhi asking his blessings for a Bill which she proposes to introduce into the Madras Legislative Council for the rescue of minor girls from immoral surroundings. Prostitutes are, by a wise natural dispensation, barren as a rule, and if the recruitment of infant and minor girls is cut off at its source, the evil will be effectively checked in a large measure. We entirely agree with Mahatmaji that the legislation proposed by Dr. Reddi is not in advance of public opinion and that it will receive support from the whole of the enlightened and even, in some other matters, the unenlightened public. But rescue work only begins and does not end with legislation. Unless we have a number of well-conducted institutions in which the rescued girls can be placed for education and training in some useful art or trade, the rescued girls must perforce be thrown upon the streets and their last state will be worse than their first. We are speaking from recent experience of the immense difficulty of dealing with such girls. A few days ago, a Telugu girl of about 13 or 14 years, a bright, vivacious child, was brought to the Hindu Rescue Home at Matunga, an institution which represents the best and most worthy phase of communal awakening among Hindus. The story as told by the girl was as follows: She and another girl were brought away from their village by a man of their own caste, who was said to be doing some cloth business in Bombay. He sold away the other girl and lodged this one in a Mahomedan's house from which she escaped and was brought to the Matunga Home. The girl could not speak any language but her own and she was, therefore, not quite happy there. She has since been received in a respectable family of Telugus, but it is obviously impossible to keep her permanently there. A registered letter sent to her father, at the address given by her, has brought no reply, though it is over a fortnight since it was posted. In the case of another Telugu girl, who also found her way to the Rescue Home, a reference to the Magistrate of the place from which she came, brought the reply that her mother who was traced did not care what became of her daughter as she had misconducted herself. Her father had gone to another place where the girl's husband was. Before these relatives could be communicated with, the girl ran away from the Home.

The case of the latter girl was brought to the notice of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, and she was requested to suggest an institution in Madras to which

the girl could be sent, as the Matunga Home was finding great difficulty in dealing with her. Dr. Reddi replied there was no suitable institution in Madras, and she can only think of the Christian Home where all denominations are received. This, in the circumstances, may be the only alternative, but it is clearly not the most satisfactory one. Dr. Reddi says in her letter to Mahatmaji that she herself could rescue many girls if she had some legal power to take away children from criminal parents. Well and good. But she should simultaneously with legislation, apply her mind to thinking out where she would place the girls she rescues. In Calcutta, they have, we think, a Rescue Home conducted on non-denominational lines with Government support. A similar institution may be started in Madras, if it is impossible to start one by private agency. We may also say that the management of such institutions requires considerable knowledge, patience and forethought. In passing, we may suggest that not much good is done by antagonising in season and out of season high-caste Hindus in the attempt to reform existing social evils. After all Mrs. Reddi herself is a high caste Hindu lady and nearly all our reformers from Raja Ram Mohan Roy onwards have been high caste people. We must take people as they are.

The main question is how to get rid of the evils, and it is obvious that this can only be done by enlisting the co-operation of the educated middle class. It would be easier to secure the sympathy and support of all castes, if reformers resist the natural impulse to inveigh as much as possible against those who, they feel, ought to but do not help them sufficiently. The Bombay Home is supported exclusively by high caste Hindus who, in fact, founded it some eighteen months ago and are maintaining it. The high caste Hindu is really not such a callous person as he is often depicted to be. Mahatmaji correctly sums up the situation when he writes:—"Public conscience in this country somehow or other is dormant. It often feels the awfulness of many a wrong, but is too indifferent or too lazy to move. But if some active spirit like Dr. Reddi moves, that conscience is prepared to lend such support as indifference can summon up." We will only add that this is more or less the case in all countries, and if it is more so here than elsewhere, it is because of the habit of subjection bred in us by the absence of self-government with the sense of responsibility it creates in the people for their own destiny. Hence, it is that social reformers who have no enthusiasm for politics as such, are obliged to take their share in the movement to obtain self-government, or as much of it as is immediately possible, for the country.

THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

XXXVI. DOMESTIC EMPLOYERS.

(BY DR. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, PH.D.).

The domestic employee is first and above all a person. The fact is very simple, but it has not yet been universally recognized. It is surprising to know the number of people who are prominent in all movements for public welfare, who talk much about brotherhood and social justice, who are passionately in favour of the rights of the working-man, but who in their relationships with their own domestic employees are petty tyrants. If brotherhood is to begin any place, it must begin at home. No dwelling place is large enough to house snobbishness. The mistress of the house may not share the general outlook of her cook, but each is a person and each must respect the personality of the other. Each has a place to fill, and each must live life to the full. There can be no satisfactory household save it is builded upon mutual respect and consideration. "There are diversities of gifts but the same spirit."

Every relationship is two-sided. The master has a definite responsibility towards the servants and the servant has an equally definite responsibility towards the master. A man's family and home are his dearest possessions. He is most careful in choosing those who will be intimately associated with his loved ones. He has a genuine concern in the reliability of those who care for his finest treasures. He trusts, and he has the right to expect that his trust be not betrayed. It is expected of a domestic employee that he prove himself faithful.

What a blessing is willingness. Two servants enter the employ of the same household. Both perform their duties—the one as a slave driven to his task, the other with goodwill. The one regards work as a duty. The other regards work as a privilege. For the one, work is ceaseless drudgery. For the other, work is a means of self-expression. The first regards the householder as an antagonist. The second regards the householder as a friend. The first is bondman. The second is free. He has found his freedom in the joy of willing service.

The traditions of domestic service are worthy ones. The intelligence and devotion of elderly domestics serving in the homes of their childhood are a pleasant memory to thousands of men and women. Many of childhood's happiest experiences were the result of simple kindness on the part of friendly servants. Many of life's first lessons in character building were learned from the lips and actions of great-souled domestics. Heirs to a high tradition, it is the privilege of domestic employees that they "walk worthy of the vocation wherein they are called."

MR. KELKAR ON THE OBJECTS OF THE MAHASABHA.

The fifth session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference was held last week. There was a good gathering of delegates and visitors. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in the course of his presidential address said :

We have got only India wherein to organize and reinforce the Hindu religion and culture. We have not, in this respect, advantages which the Mahomedans and much more so which the Christians enjoy. There is hardly a country in the world where there are no Christians. The Mahomedans can look beyond the Indian Frontier, and see as far as Constantinople to get at least inspiration, if not material help. It is true that with the end of Khilafat, a great shock has been given to the spirit of Mahomedan fraternity, to which was given the name of Pan Islamism. But just as Christianity exists without the rule of the Pontiff at Rome, the Mahomedan Religion, as a religion, exists in spite of the deposition of the Khalifa as the highest office-bearer. The Hindu society whether in India or outside was never under a central spiritual ruler. Moreover Hinduism remains practically confined to India for centuries past.

Indeed, remnants of Sanskrit culture and civilisation are still being discovered in the soil of Asiatic Turkestan in the North, and in the east the influence of Hinduism can be slightly traced through Buddhism, beyond Burma and even as far as China. But the Mahomedan invasions in the North from the 9th or 10th century entirely suppressed communion between India and the world beyond the Northern Frontier. And as for China or Japan, where a kind of Buddhism is still left, the bond between the people of these countries and India is not a bond of spiritual comradeship. But it is replaced by the modern sentiment of territorial patriotism embodied in the idea of Asiatic Federation.

SANGATHAN THE ONLY HOPE.

In times of trouble, both the Mahomedans and Christians can hope to get assistance and sympathy from far beyond India. The Hijarat movement of 1921 was indeed on a small scale, and also egregiously failed, as described by Shaukat Usmani in his most interesting pamphlet. But that little movement gave a concrete proof of the Pan-Islamic impulse which is still felt by the Indian Mahomedanism. But as regards Hinduism, where in the whole wide world is there an inch of space which the poor, unbefriended and threatened Hindu can call his own outside Hindustan? Other communities have their whole basis of operations and world-wide lines of communication and flotillas of boats and transports which can replenish them in India at need. The Hindu society, on the other hand, has long ago burnt its boats, cut off every possible line of communication with the world with its own hands and has cooped itself up unwisely with a ditch around itself, and a foolish contrivance in which the valve shuts against itself but opens

out for any hostile soldier, adventurer or camp-follower, to safely come across and give the best account of the slightest capacity of mischief or harm which he may possess. The only hope therefore, of this beleaguered community now lies in strongly fortifying itself at all points of attack, make friends with all amongst itself and take good care of the blind, the lame and the diseased, and to enthuse the whole garrison with the hope that it can save itself, even now, if it makes up its mind, the hope being reinforced by the warning that it is doomed to destruction if it faints or falters for a moment.

But unfortunately, schism still prevails in the ranks of the Hindu leaders. Some of us have not yet been cured of the fallacious idea, injected in our psychology in a moment of frenzied political enthusiasm,—the idea, namely, that politics is everything, and denominational culture or religion is nothing. Even a reasonable regard for the interests of one's own community has come to be branded with the name of communalism. And even then, the idea further seems to be that it is the duty of the Hindu, of all people in India, to forget that he is a Hindu, for the simple reason that the Hindus are a majority community in this country. It is only recently that some of the super-men among our Hindu political leaders, with their heads in the clouds, have begun to condescend and recognize the existence of the Hindu Sabha, and its claim to have a say in the matter, when schemes for the disposal of the political future of India are being discussed at a Round Table. On the other hand, they were sublimely unconscious of the fact that they had allowed the Khilafat Committee to dominate over and almost eclipse the Indian National Congress, as if the Khilafat movement represented only the quintessence of true Indian territorial patriotism, untainted in the least by any communal feeling.

#### DENOMINATIONAL CULTURE.

I will come to close grips with only the essential factors, in the present situation from the point of view of Hinduism. These are (1) the necessity of internal organisation, from top to bottom, by the Hindu community, with a view to make it strong enough for its own defence and protection and for attaining a progressive measure of solidarity by looking within itself and effecting the rational reforms which are needed for the purpose; and (2) organisation of the public opinion of the Hindu community; for the purpose of preventing any injustice or harm being done to its interests in the realisation of political Self-Government for India. Personally, I regard both these factors as essential to themselves and almost independent of each other, though I admit that both of them have some connection or interaction as between them.

The internal organisation is a matter entirely for the Hindus themselves and no outsider is concerned as to what we may do and how we accomplish it. The measure of our success shall be limited only by the habits of rational thinking, sense of

justice as between man and man and a world-outlook commensurate with the needs of economic and political life. We are seeing only nascent growths of all these three vital germs of progress in the Hindu community and we have to cover and reach the end of a very extensive field before we attain something like a passable measure of efficiency. The external organisation has a political bearing, and therein we have to try to reconcile our interests with those of the other communities in arriving at a harmonious scheme of political self-government, and fighting with them with the usual weapons of argument, propaganda, agitation and the verdict of public opinion in our favour. The Hindu community is now determined that all this shall be done; and the Hindu Maha Sabha is the chosen instrument of accomplishing it.

#### HINDU SABHA'S OBJECTS.

It has been the lot of the Hindu Sabha to have its aims and objects completely misrepresented and misunderstood all along, even by those who should have known better. The annual session of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha as well as its Provincial organizations are remedying this evil to a certain extent. But it is more or less one-sided as it is bound to be. And for this reason, I feel grateful for the unique opportunity that was recently afforded by the enquiry entrusted to the Bombay Riots Committee, for the vindication of the aims, objects and activities of the Hindu Sabha. And I would like to take the earliest opportunity to pay my tribute of appreciation to my friend Mr. M. R. Jayakar, the President of the Bombay Branch of the Hindu Sabha, for the splendid manner in which he vindicated that cause before that Committee.

Mr. Kelkar then dealt at great length with Mr. Jayakar's evidence before the Bombay Riots Enquiry Committee to show how his evidence contained a fair summary of all the points that are naturally involved in a coherent, systematic and detailed vindication of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Then he proceeded to show how the trend of the official view is to minimise both the qualitative and quantitative importance of the Hindus. Even with regard to the numerical strength of the Hindus, the census officers have betrayed a sneaking partiality against the Hindus by doing what may be in their power to secure decreasing returns of the Hindu population. I will illustrate this point by two parallel but contrary, cases of directions given to census enumerators by different census Commissioners. The Census Commissioner for India for 1911 has tried to demonstrate the incoherence of Hinduism, and the Census Superintendents were asked to enumerate classes or tribes returning as Hindus but those who did not conform to a certain standard or were subject to certain disabilities, thus suggesting the inference that those tribes and castes were 'not' Hindus. Thus they were asked to prepare a list of all the minor castes which 'qua' caste.

(1) Deny the supremacy of Brahmins,

(2) Do not receive Mantra from the Brahmins or a recognised Hindu Guru,

(3) Deny the authorities of the Vedas,

(4) Do not worship the great Hindu Gods,

(5) Are not served by good Brahmins as family priests,

(6) Have no family priests at all,

(7) Are denied access to the interior of the Hindu Temple,

(8) Cause pollution by touch or presence within a certain distance.

(9) Bury their dead.

(10) Eat beef and show no reverence for the cow.

Now who can make a mistake about the inner meaning of the hyper-critical inquisition?

#### SECTARIAN ENUMERATIONS.

But the wrong done to Hinduism by outsiders is less than the injury, unfortunately, inflicted upon it by the Hindus themselves. And here, I allude to the occasional insistence of certain Sikhs, Jains, Lingayats and such others, upon securing their enumeration in Census reports, in a class by themselves, while they really ought to be enumerated under the general heading of Hindus. Not that the Mahomedan religion or the Christian religion has got no sects within itself. But neither the Shaik, nor the Wahabi nor the Shia nor the Sunni nor the Ahamadia would refuse to be enumerated as a Mahomedan, so also any one professing a sectarian Christian religion. Now the Sikhs, Jains and the Lingayats belong originally to the same stock of the Hindu race. Their sects are, as sects are everywhere, slight variations or departures, some protestant, some militant against the main prevalent doctrine of the Central religion. And yet these show a separatist tendency, knowing full well that while by this separation they would not necessarily advance their sectional interests, they would, on the other hand, certainly, prejudice the cause of the Hindu community as a whole. For Government are not easily led away from their path by this sectarian enumeration. They will always use that particular argument which is to their advantage at any moment. For Government the Anglo-Indians are Indians, when they are face to face with the question of the Indianisation of services. But they are something different from Indians, though certainly not Europeans, when they want to train men of that community for the Auxiliary military services or reservation of compartments in Railway carriages etc. To spite the Hindus they would pretend to regard Sikhs, Jains and Lingayats as different from the Hindus. But they would disregard their special denomination when it is a question of showing favour to Musalman or Christians. Even Brahmos have behaved unreasonably in this matter, though they were more enlightened. The separatist tendency has been thus the bane of the Hindu community, and if I may describe the aims and objects of the Hindu

Sanghathan movement in one sentence, I would say that "the object is to rope in all these kindred sectarian Hindus and bring them in a line with the main stock of the Hindus".

#### DEFECTS IN HINDUISM.

But this is not all. The accomplishment of Sanghathan requires that the leaders of the Hindu community, with the aid of the spiritual guides and preceptors, must turn the search-light of rationalism within itself to find out the defects in the vital points of this creaking, squeaking machine of Hindu religious polity, argue with the orthodox leaders of Hinduism, persuasively win their sympathy to social reform and set up every individual within the society on his feet; man, woman and child whether they belong to the so-called higher or the lower classes, and drill them into efficient units of the society. I have no time nor space to dilate upon the work that yet remains to be done in this direction; and I will, therefore, content myself with making a passing mention of these in almost single sentence statements. The Benares Pandit and the Malabar Brahmin must be taught that they are living in a new age, and must come out into the open field and full day light, leaving their shells behind them. The Hindu Raja must be taught to be democratic, and the rich man to be generous towards good social causes. The middle-class Hindu must be taught to stand up for his human gift of reason and not be afraid of a fair and square argument with the old Smritis and their modern custodians. The present caste-system must be so diluted or tempered as hardly to be felt for practical purposes. And there must be a bold open preaching in favour of the annihilation of the sub-divisions within the four castes. Natural selection in marriage must be given greater play in practice than the time-honoured but also time-worn rigid restrictions. Respectability and decency in sexual life must be strengthened by legal facilities for validation of irregular unions. The woman should be treated as entitled to nearly the same rights as man in respect of the right to inherit ancestral or self-acquired property. Education and civil responsibility should be as much the right of woman as of man himself. Special attention must be given to the physical training of woman, and especially their training in the use of all ordinary weapons of self-defence and protection. Equal freedom of occupation and business pursuits must be declared for Hindus of any castes in the economic struggle of life. Untouchability must 'Go'; and I have here used the briefest word possible, to express the idea of the 'shortest shrift,' that I wish to give to untouchability. The man's private residence may be his own castle, but as soon as he steps into the street or outside his door, he has no right to make any distinction of caste or creed as between man and man. The Brahmin must be prepared to give the same freedom of religious opinion and practice to all others within the Hindu Fold, as he would claim for the Hindu as against men of other religions. The

whole Hindu society must be enthused into being fused into one homogeneous mass by trying to evolve, as far as possible, common forms of public worship, public prayer, and the adoption of common books containing the elements of Hindu religious philosophy. And above all, every unit in the Hindu society must be taught to stand up for his community and his religion. And while he must not make any aggressive encroachment upon the domain of any other religion or community, he must not shirk the responsibility of exercising the fullest rights of self-defence, to protect his community and his religion. The Hindu must be taught to acquire a broad outlook upon life, and the world-conditions of even sheer existence. The knowledge of physical science must be put on the same exalted pedestal as the knowledge of Adhyatma Vidya, and the Hindu must be studiously taught to appreciate the real worth of the spirit of adventure and sacrifice and public spirit which has won for the Englishman and the other Europeans their mastery over the material wealth of the world and even the psychology of the people brought under their subjugation. This is my view of the real Sanghathan movement. And I challenge any one to point out what is inimical or antagonistic in this to the other communities or religions in India or outside. To the end of it all is of course a far off cry, but a sure beginning would be made, if we can successfully teach the Hindu simply to stand up and boldly proclaim that he is a 'Hindu,' nothing more nothing less, without any qualifications or reservations even when he is face to face with national politics.

#### THE DEVADASI.

The following is a letter written by Dr. S. Mutbujakshmi Reddi to Mahatma Gandhi and his comments thereon in the last week's issue of *Young India*.

"As you have been openly denouncing the *Devadasi* system in the Hindu temples, I make bold to appeal to you for help in the great task of getting rid of that evil. In this Presidency, I find it an up-hill task, as the so-called educated men and even some of the most prominent Congressmen oppose my reform measures and defend that infamous institution.

"My *Devadasi* Bill, which has now become an Act, deals only with the Inam-holding *Devadasis*, but there is a section of that community which practise dedication under the cloak of religion simply to make a living out of prostitution. This is nothing but traffic in children; because children are even bought and adopted (adoption by *Devadasis* is allowed by our Hindu Law), and at an age when they are innocent and cannot judge or act for themselves, are led into this abominable life from which they rarely escape. I have had many memorials and petitions from the enlightened section of that community asking me to bring about legislation to punish such wicked people who trade upon the children's souls and bodies.

"The Penal Code Sections 372 and 373 have proved ineffective. Hence, I have given notice of another Bill for the success of which I want your blessings. Some may argue that legislation is no good so long as the people do not realize the evil in that custom; but my contention is that a good section of our people perceive the injustice. Now I myself feel that I could rescue many of these girls if I had some legal power to take away children from such criminal parents.

"Among the *Devadasi* community itself there is a great awakening, and they have been doing propaganda on a large scale, but I am pained to observe that the high-caste people do not help them in that community's efforts to reform themselves. And further, our laws for the protection of children are almost nil in this Presidency compared with the protection that exists for the children of other countries and even the children of other provinces such as Bombay and Bengal.

"We know that in the advanced countries, health and moral reform always preceded the formation of public opinion in their favour as they were themselves educative factors. In this Presidency, we cannot blame the Government so much as the high-caste people who do not sufficiently realise that all children, irrespective of caste or creed, need our care and sympathy, and in this matter of rescuing innocent children from the prospect of a dreadful life, they should rise above their communal and caste prejudices."

I heartily endorse the writer's proposal. Indeed I do not think that the proposed legislation will be in advance of public opinion. The whole of the enlightened public opinion that is vocal is against the retention of the system in any shape or form. The opinion of the parties concerned in the immoral traffic cannot count, just as the opinion of keepers of opium dens will not count in favour of their retention, if public opinion is otherwise against them. The *Devadasi* system is a blot upon those who countenance it. It would have died long ago but for the supineness of the public. Public conscience in this country somehow or other lies dormant. It often feels the awfulness of many a wrong, but is too indifferent or too lazy to move. But if some active spirit like Dr. Reddi moves, that conscience is prepared to lend such support as indifference can summon up. I am therefore of opinion that Dr. Reddi's proposal is in no way premature. Such legislation might well have been brought earlier. In any case I hope that she will receive the hearty support of all lovers of purity in religious and general social life.

#### ARYA BHAVAN'S FIRST REPORT.

The Managing Committee presented recently the first annual report of the working of the Arya Bhavan, covering a period of a little over twelve months.

This house is the gift of Mr. G. D. Birla and his friend and relative, Mr. Ramgopal Mohta. It was declared open by Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., High Commissioner for India and a person;

friend of Mr. G. D. Birla, in the presence of a large gathering of both Indians and Europeans on the 25th June, 1928.

Managing Committee for the Year 1928-1929. Chairman, Hy. S. L. Polak, Esq., Vice-Chairman, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Members, R. J. Udani, Esq., K. B. Mavalankar, Esq., K. P. Kotval, Esq., Dr. K. Pardy, Dr. B. P. Pranjpye, S. N. Mallick, Esq., S. J. Gubbay, Esq., Rev. C. F. Andrews, S. N. Gupta, Esq., Hon. Secretary, K. M. Banthiya.

The underlying idea of establishing this Institution was, and still is, to bring that section of Orthodox Hindu merchants who have been reluctant to travel abroad, owing to their religious scruples, in direct and close contact with the merchants of the West.

Although this lack of facilities had engaged for long the attention of many leading Orthodox Hindu merchants in India, the credit is due to Mr. Birla and Mr. Ramgopal Mohta for giving this idea tangible form.

Mr. Ramgopal Mohta announced a contribution of Rs. 50,000, on the occasion of his son's marriage in December, 1926, towards the establishment of such an institution. About this time Mr. Birla was nominated by the Government of India as Employer's Delegate to the Tenth Session of the International Labour Conference, which was to assemble at Geneva in May, 1927.

During his visit to this country, he took the opportunity of discussing the question with Sir Atul Chatterjee and other friends living here, and on their advice decided to make a start in the shape of a small residential place, by contributing the balance of the cost of such an establishment.

Before sailing for India he purchased the property at 30, Belsize Park, Hampstead, at a cost of £4,600. The premises were thoroughly re-decorated to suit the convenience of visitors, and to give them the same congenial temperature inside the house during the severe winter months in this country, central heating has also been installed. The house has been well furnished to give visitors the comforts and conveniences obtainable at a first class hotel. All this has meant a considerable expenditure, but Mr. Birla has defrayed that with pleasure, in the hope that his Hindu merchant friends would take advantage of these facilities and so add considerably to their material welfare and that of their country.

The total cost of the property, including repairs and furnishing, amounts to £9,834. 5s. 2d. A trust has been created by Mr. Birla and Mr. Ramgopal Mohta of this property whose members are, besides the donors, Sir Atul C. Chatterjee and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, of Wardha.

We were appointed by Mr. G. D. Birla on the 30th November, 1927, to form the first Managing Committee, which has during the year held eight meetings.

We have great pleasure in recording that since the opening of the Arya Bhavan there has been a very great demand for accommodation throughout the year from visitors from all parts of India. We have done our best to accommodate the maximum number of visitors, even, it may be, at times to their

occasional slight inconvenience, and we have to record here our great appreciation and thanks to all our guests who have heartily co-operated with us. In spite of this, however, we have to refuse accommodation to many, and we offer our apologies to those who have been disappointed. We quite realise the great inconvenience which they may have suffered, but this could, to some extent, have been avoided by informing the management of their arrival in this country and booking rooms in advance.

Amongst those who have resided in the house during the year are Mr. and Mrs. D. P. Khaitan, Mr. Walchand Hirachand, the Hon. G. A. Natesan (Delegate to the Empire Parliamentary Conference), Rev. C. F. Andrews, Professor G. B. Abhyankar and Mr. P. L. Chudgar (members of the Indian States Deputation), Mr. Motichand Kapadia, Mr. J. Adwani (Public Prosecutor, Hyderabad, Sind), and Seth Narsidas Jaikisendas. A complete list of those who have stayed at the Arya Bhavan during the year is appended.

We are glad to record that our first year's work has in no respect been disappointing, although expenses have been heavy, owing to our inexperience in the art of house running, the house has paid its way and it is confidently hoped that during the next year we shall be able to make sufficient profit to wipe off part of the loss on this year's account and provide for the necessary depreciation and replacement of furniture, crockery, linen, &c.

We have provided depreciation at the following rates: leasehold property  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., central heating  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., furniture 10 per cent., house linen, crockery, &c., 25 per cent.

There is attached to the house a large garage, which brought in an income of £47. 13s. 6d. during the last year, but which has been since leased at £150 per annum, which means a net saving of £120 per annum after paying rates and taxes, and this we propose reserving for writing off the expenses of re-decorating and repairing the garage and the house.

During the year the Committee invited Rev. C. Andrews, Mr. S. J. Gubbay, Dr. I. S. Gupta and Mr. S. N. Gupta (Deputy Trade Commissioner) to join the Committee.

Mr. K. M. Banthiya, Hon. Secretary, went on leave to India in September, 1928, and Dr. I. S. Gupta acted temporarily as Hon. Secretary until he left London in November, when he was succeeded by Mr. S. J. Gubbay, who kindly acted until Mr. K. M. Banthiya resumed his duties in February last. Both Dr. I. S. Gupta and Mr. S. J. Gubbay discharged their duties at great inconvenience to themselves, and we now take this opportunity of placing on record our high appreciation of their services.

We have to express our thanks to Seth Jaikisendas for presenting the house with a handsome cabinet gramophone, and to Mr. Agarwala for presenting a tea set.

The little library that has been established is the result of the labours of Rev. C. Andrews and



we have to express our deep thanks to him, and to the generous donors of books and contributions thereto. We desire also to record our appreciation of the services rendered by the Staff in attending to the comfort of our guests.

We cannot close this short report without expressing our appreciation, especially to Mr. K. M. Banthiya, who has devoted himself with unremitting zeal to making the Arya Bhavan a success, and to Mr. Polak and Mrs. Mavlankar for the help and advice that they have rendered in the re-decorating and furnishing of the house, without which it would have been impossible for the Committee to arrange the opening in June last year.

Thanks are also due to the supervising architect, Mr. Bateman, and also to Mr. R. V. Palmer, our Accountant.

Last, but not least, we take this opportunity of expressing our deep appreciation and obligation to Mr. G. D. Birla and Mr. Ramgopal Mohta for creating this Institution which, in our opinion and in the light of the experience that we have gained during the short time the house has been in existence, has filled a long-felt want, even though only to a partial extent.

There is an ever increasing demand for similar facilities for the vegetarian members of the Indian community which ought also to be provided for, and we trust that Indian philanthropists who feel for the need of the Orthodox Hindus and for the cause of strict vegetarianism, will divert a part of their benevolence to supply this need. This Committee would willingly place their services and experience at the disposal of such generously minded persons.

#### GLASS HOUSES AND THROWING STONES.

Helen R. Martin writes in *Unity*:—When I was invited a few days ago to sit at the speaker's table at a luncheon given by the Women's College and University clubs, to hear an American missionary-doctor, just back from her labors in India, "answer" Katherine Mayo's "Mother India," I anticipated a most diverting hour in seeing the smug, self-righteous attitude of the church-going people of our town towards benighted India (the India of Miss Mayo's book—the only India they seemed to know) put to confusion by an intelligent woman physician who had lived in India twenty-nine years.

I was not disappointed, though the diversion proved to be of an unexpected variety.

My first surprise was in hearing the remarkable change in the missionary-doctor's tone and voice from her normal, matter-of-fact manner of speaking to me during the luncheon to her platform or Sunday-School-superintendent tone when she rose to address the roomful of women; as though the clear water I was drinking suddenly tasted of sweet sticky oil. It gave me a shock; for in speaking to me directly she had seemed entirely sincere, while this tone of self-conscious Christian charity seemed to assume a lack of intelligence in her audience that, seeing they were college and university women, might well affront them.

But this insincerity in her voice, I soon realized, accorded only too well with the confused uncertainties of her divided loyalties; her Christian missionary zeal at odds with her knowledge of

India's religions; her passionate love of India and Indians in conflict with her perfunctory American patriotism; her dogmatic belief in English rule clashing with her knowledge of damning and admitted facts; her deep hurt and indignation at the Mayo libel kept under by her need to raise money for her medical school and hospital in India which (she had evidently found) could only be raised if people were thoroughly convinced of the truth of "Mother India." Her loves and loyalties being all for her genuinely adored India, where she had lived so long and so happily, the practical necessity of convincing generous, wealthy Americans that India was sufficiently corrupt, benighted and helpless to need sorely their "Christian charity", produced the strangest medley of contradictory statements to which I had ever listened. But only a few of her hearers, I am sure, recognized the discreet ingenuity with which she both ate her cake and kept it; for her audience was neither discriminating nor critical. College and University women? A few years out of college, living the social and domestic life of a small and narrowly religious American city, seems enough to make most of them slump hopelessly from the alert mentality of their college days. It is the exceptional woman that can escape the stultifying effect of Main Street's churches, women's clubs, card parties. Therefore, very few of her audience saw any discrepancy in the doctor-missionary's stating at one moment that everything in "Mother India" was true—and at the next, "I never saw some of the things Miss Mayo saw—she was there a few weeks, I twenty-nine years." "Yes, there are still child marriages in India—as 'Mother India' describes them—oh, yes!—and of course only Christianity can put an end to this"—and then, "Young India is changing all this; the zeal and enthusiasm of Young India in lifting women from her degradation, in wiping out the caste system, child marriages, the curse upon widows, is marvellous, marvellous! One of the most irresistible, forceful, vital movements in the world today is the onward sweep of Young India in the realization of her high idealism!"

"Of course statistics claim that there are almost as many child marriages in the United States as in India—but I never saw them here as I saw them in India"—and a moment later, "Child marriages are being eliminated more and more by the new forces at work in the Young Indian movement,"—and again "without the heartfelt support and cooperation of you American Christians, we cannot wipe out these evils in India as described in "Mother India."

About English rule:—"England has done much, oh, so much for India!" and later, "England, we must admit, forced the opium trade upon India against her earnest protests."—England has established schools and colleges all over India"—"You who are privileged to live in enlightened and Christian America, must help us to give to India, in her darkness and ignorance, the Christian education she so sorely needs." "India—especially Young India—is waking up to the need of education for the lower orders—recognizing the economic fact that so only can a nation or an individual hold any real good securely, when all can hold it equally"—and later, "The people of India are so poor and so heavily taxed that only by your help can we save India by the enlightenment of Christian education."

About Gandhi:—"Gandhi is the most outstanding figure in the world today—the man most devoutly

consecrated to the service of his fellow-men." And a few sentences later on, "If only Gandhi were a Christian!" "Every day Gandhi reads and ponders over the words of Christ in the New Testament and he feels that Christ was one of the greatest teachers of right living that the world has ever known." And then, "If only Gandhi would accept Christ as his Saviour!"

She told of the wild fury of indignation all over India when the forty-five Hindus who had come to America, been naturalized, secured high positions in colleges, research bureaus, editorial staffs, and then, after some years, when the American government decided that Indians were not white, had their citizenship cancelled. Up to that time India had looked with friendly eyes upon America, but now an outraged cry went up, "If we are unfit to be admitted into your country, you can't come and stay in our country!"—and only the strong arm of England had saved the American missions from being expelled from India.

Questions followed the formal talk, nearly all expressing the bias of the credulous readers of "Mother India," and all of them being answered by the doctor-missionary with cautious discretion. My own questions, though I tried to put them inoffensively, roused indignation in the audience and embarrassed the well-informed and by-no-means stupid doctor-missionary.

"The evils of India, all of which you attribute to her religions," I ventured, "can be matched by equally grave evils in our Christian America, don't you think so? Our lynchings, labour troubles—"

I was interrupted and answered by one of the audience; "Those troubles are all caused by our lower classes and by foreigners!"

The doctor-missionary gently enlightened me: "The difference between our American evils and India's is just that: in India their religions and their highest social classes, the Brahmins, sanction and uphold these evils. In America any evils we have are all against our religion and not sanctioned or perpetrated and practiced by our highest classes."

This met with applause, in the face of which I suggested, "Isn't it our upper classes and the Christian Church that sanction and uphold industrial exploitation and world wars?—and only a generation ago, Negro slavery? And in England child labor in factories, under Christianity, was quite as cruel as child marriages in India. We still have brutal child labour in the South, sanctioned by the Church and the upper classes. It seems to me we can't throw stones at any one."

The lecturer smiled at me sadly, though there was a gleam in her eyes that I thought I understood. She loved hearing that her beloved India was in some respects no worse than this self-complacent America. But this unholy obliquity must on no account be manifested.

She was asked whether the caste system was as bad as "Mother India" described it. Yes, she said, it was. It seemed part of India's very life. You breathed it in the very atmosphere—"

"How do you American missionaries escape anything so atmospheric?" I asked, and before the doctor could answer, a woman near me at the table spoke indignantly, "Why, how could Christians have that dreadful caste feeling toward their fellow men?"

I mentioned our feelings towards Negroes, especially among Christian southerners.

"Oh, but that's entirely different!"

The universal opinion among these college and university women was that that was "entirely different."

Some one asked whether, in view of Gandhi's interest in the New Testament and his great spiritual influence in India, there was any hope that he might be persuaded to "accept Christ." The doctor feared there was not.

"But he does accept Christ," I said.

"Only as a Great Teacher," the doctor corrected me.

"But how else could he be accepted?" I asked, looking "dumb" and ready to be enlightened.

"As his Saviour," I was gravely told.

"But how else could a man be a Saviour except as a great spiritual teacher?" I persisted, as though I were as ignorant as any native Indian of the bloody dogma of a Vicarious Atonement.

The doctor, meeting my eye across the table, had not the courage to speak of the brutal sacrifice of an innocent Son to an omnipotent Father to appease his wrath against the creatures he had created—"His blood shed for the remission of sins"—which she knew, of course, is regarded by educated Hindus as a plebeian, indecent and barbarous faith.

She spoke of Gandhi's earnest wish that religious differences in India might be reconciled; but the only hope of that, she assured us, was in the Christianizing of all India. As though there were no "religious differences" in Christendom!

We heard, of course, the inevitable dictum, "India is not yet ready for self-government," for if England's restraining hand were withdrawn, India's warring religious factions would at once involve her in universal bloodshed.

"More universal than the bloodshed of the World War, for which England was somewhat responsible?" I asked as one seeking light.

But the missionary was quite sure that England was, in all benevolence, only helping India to prepare herself for self-government.

I had the temerity to suggest (but to her only, not to that audience!) that it might be a good thing if some super-nation stepped in and took a hand in stopping our "warring factions" in Tennessee, West Virginia, South Carolina, and frequently in Pittsburgh and California; or helped our government to eliminate its corruption and the stranglehold of Big Business on our lives, our homes, our children.

But, some one at the table overhearing me, I was informed that never before had business been on a more honest basis than now; that America had proved how "sound at heart" she was by repudiating Tammany Hall and Roman Catholicism. I wondered if they had never heard of the Teapot Dome scandal, the Paper Trust scandal, the Power Propaganda scandal.

At the end of the revel my sense of despair was not for India, nor for the missionary (whom I suspected of being intelligent in private), but for the solidly impenetrable prejudices and superstitions of religious and patriotic Americans in small cities.

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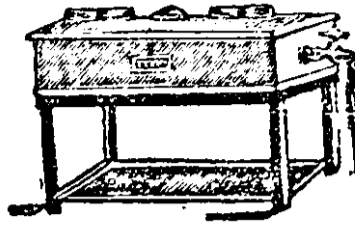
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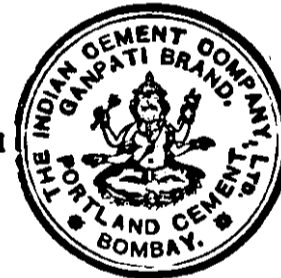
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1929

No. 2

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

"Greater India":—We refer in another note to the lectures on Greater India which Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Greater India Society delivered this week at the Bombay University. Dr. Nag's lectures especially towards the end, when the public came to know of them, were followed with breathless interest by crowded audiences of intelligent and educated men and women. They were illustrated by striking magic lantern pictures which brought Dr. Nag's descriptions vividly home to his hearers. The lectures dealt with ancient Hindu colonisation in Indo-China, and the islands of the Indian archipelago right up to Java. Dr. Nag has visited many of these places and studied the monuments on the spot, and he speaks, therefore, of them with an enthusiasm which is infectious. Many of his audience, learnt for the first time that Indian history does not begin and end with India. India's relations with Persia, Greece and Rome have been fairly well-known. Less known are the more recent discoveries of her influence in Asia Minor and Central Asia. Even less known, are her profoundly fruitful contacts with Eastern Asia which Bengali scholars like Benoy Kumar Sarcar and Dr. Kalidas Nag have done much to elucidate. The Poet, Tagore, has been a great inspiring force in this fascinating field of study. In an interview with a representative of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Geheimrat Professor, Dr. Leo Frobenius, leader of the German Africa Expedition hinted at the existence of Indian influences in the ancient culture of South Africa. Traces of it have been suggested in South America. Professor Leo Frobenius thought that there was at a certain period a civilisation which reigned on the borders of the Indian Ocean. The centre of irradiation of this civilisation would seem to have been India, as Italy later was that of the Mediterranean Civilisation. The "Greater India" Society, of which Dr. Tagore is the President, has been founded to make a systematic study of ancient Indian cultural expansion. Dr. Nag's addresses have done much to arouse interest in

the subject in Bombay, which, we trust, will soon find expression in efforts by our young graduates to map out a place for themselves in this wide and fascinating field of research.

**Untouchables And Temple Entry:—**We publish with pleasure the powerful appeal which Mr. Jannalal Bajaj has issued on behalf of the Committee of the National Congress specially appointed to deal with the problem of the untouchables. As Mr. Bajaj rightly says, no national movement can afford to ignore the present position of these classes which is at once a cruelty to them and a degradation to Hindu society. The amenities for the extension of which to them, he so feelingly pleads, are elementary rights which every member of a community is entitled to claim and possess, notwithstanding any custom or tradition to the contrary. The right to use the public roads, to send children to public schools, to take water from the public sources of supply, are inherent in the idea of society and belongs to every member of it rich or poor, high-born or low-born. To deny it to any individual or class is to court social revolution. We are glad to think that this is coming to be realised by the privileged classes even in those parts of the country where the prejudice against the untouchables has been most rampant. In this appeal, Mr. Jannalal Bajaj specially pleads for the free admission of these classes to all Hindu temples. We have ourselves relinquished temple worship for many years past, finding no temple so inspiring as the open sky and the daily miracle of the rising sun. But as Mr. Bajaj says, the temple in India and, as Professor Kalidas Nag's lectures at the Bombay University this week show, wherever Hindu cultural influence spread, whether in distant Java and Cambodia, has been the centre not only of religious, but also of social, educational and aesthetic life. Many of our temples nowadays hardly maintain this great tradition. It may be, because they have become exclusive. There is no doubt that the depressed classes are a vast reservoir of spiritual and social energy whose liberation will provide the dynamic for want of which national progress is marking time. We earnestly support Mr. Bajaj's appeal, and we would add that in breaking down the barriers which are driving the depressed classes to the verge of revolt, Mr. Jannalal Bajaj is rendering the highest service to the Hindu community and to the Indian nation at large. Because, after all, the Hindu community is the basic stratum of the nation whose characteristics, good or bad, affect the whole population.

**The Marriage Bill And The Legislative Assembly.**—The Legislative Assembly, when the Sarda Marriage Bill came up again for discussion on Thursday, was a picture of what a national Indian Parliament might be when the country has a responsible, representative government. The distinctions of official and non-official, of Hindu and Moslem and European, which make debates of the Assembly ordinarily so artificial and uninteresting, were cast to the winds. The Government was functioning for once as a truly national Government and by its side stood practically the whole body of enlightened Indian—in which term we include the European and Anglo-Indian who have their homes in this country.—opinion, against a small body of honest but misguided zealots who believed that their religion was in danger of being destroyed if infant girls were prevented from being married away as early as possible. Pandit Motilal Nehru attended and spoke strongly for the Bill. Mr. Jinnah and other Musalman members vigorously replied to other Musalmans who supported Mr. Acharya's dilatory motion. So overwhelming was the weight of support that Mr. Acharya is reported to have left the Assembly without waiting to hear the speeches in reply to his opposing the measure. Mr. Sarda's motion was carried without a division, and the Bill was taken for consideration clause by clause. After an amendment to omit the age limit so far as boys were concerned, had been rejected, the Assembly postponed further consideration of the Bill to Monday. The prospects of its going through practically as it stands, seem to be bright and there is reason to think that it will have an easy passage in the Council of State.

**Rescue Work In Madras:**—We gladly publish Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy's letter. It shows that there are homes in Madras for accommodating and bringing up minor girls, but none so far for taking in adult women who are rescued from unwholesome control or company. Dr. Muthulakshmi points out that there is no present need for such an institution as the Matunga Rescue Home, in Madras. The case which we brought to her notice was of a young woman who had run away from a Madras district. No doubt, it is difficult to deal with such cases. But something has got to be done, as it is risky to let young women absolutely without resources, without the means even to pay their railway fares, roam aimlessly over the country. How this particular girl, who seemed to be of more than average intelligence, managed to find her way to Bombay, is a perfect mystery. It is even more of a mystery how she expects to fare now that she has managed to get away from the Home. The Hindu family system is breaking down, but while the educated classes are adjusting their family life to the new conditions, the destructive influence alone has permeated to the masses, and is working havoc in their home life. The true remedy, of course, is to speed up mass education, but meanwhile steps should be taken to stop the process of disintegration. Communal movements have a great field for useful activity in this direction. The high caste Hindus especially have to do much, and, if the matter is brought home to them, they will, we are sure, not fail to exert themselves to counteract a tendency which, if

allowed to continue, must lead to the collapse of Hindu Society.

**Help For The Blind:**—Last week a meeting was held at Vanita Vishram presided over by Mahatma Gandhi to invoke the sympathy and help for the blind. In this connection a demonstration of the work done by the blind scholars of the Victoria Memorial School for the Blind and the students of the Happy Home for the Blind was arranged by the principal Mr. H. D. Chhatrapati. Mr. Chhatrapati has consecrated his life to the service of the blind in devotion to his brother the late Dr. Nilkanth Chhatrapati. There are three ways mentioned of helping these deserving institutions, to furnish funds for the Homes, to send the blind they can get hold of to the Homes and to induce Municipalities and other bodies to do so. Mr. Chhatrapati pointed out that a large number of the blind in India could be saved by proper treatment in time. He also emphasised that prevention is better than cure and that mothers should take every care to protect their children's eye sight. But way of indiscriminate charity, Mr. Chhatrapati mentioned, that the blind beggars in Bombay received from four to five rupees daily and that the money mostly went into the pockets of the conductors whom the blind beggars employed. Such charity defeats its purpose and we commend the following words from the columns of the *Young India*: "If therefore instead of our charity being blind, as it undoubtedly is today in many cases, it became enlightened and if then we refused to pay anything to the beggars but took the trouble of sending them to the home or homes designed for them and helped the homes, we should save the nation's money and in the bargain make the blind fit for earning their livelihood as they can be made without difficulty."

**India And The League:**—Sir Muhammad Habibullah, the leader of the Indian Delegation to the League made a striking plea at the Geneva Assembly for greater consideration of India's needs. He declared that there was a feeling in India and other Eastern countries that the West obtained most of the League's attention. He urged for a stronger Indian representation on the League administration. We trust that his plea will not go unheeded, as India's contribution to the League's exchequer is out of proportion to the benefit she receives from it.

**The Air-Mail Disaster:**—The tragic accident to the air-liner the "City of Jerusalem" which burst into flames and thus caused the death of the pilot and two passengers serves to show how precarious is this mode of transit. This disaster has occasioned much regret as the air service, since it was inaugurated, has been regular and was gaining the confidence of the public. Proper lighting arrangements should be made to ensure the safe landing of the planes should they reach their destination when dark. By the way, the coincidence between the disastrous out-break in Palestine and the destruction of the "City of Jerusalem" will not fail to occur to minds prone to what is called superstition.

**Index to Volume XXXIX:**—The Index to Volume XXXIX is under preparation and copies will be sent free to subscribers on application to the manager.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1929.

HINDU EXOGAMY.\*

In his exhaustive treatise entitled "Hindu Exogamy," Mr. S. V. Karandikar has made a detailed study of the limits within which Hindus are forbidden to marry. Hindu marriage, as Mr. Karandikar says, is governed by two sorts of restrictions: endogamous and exogamous. "Every Hindu must marry within his endogamous sub-caste, and outside the exogamous group, variously known as *Gotra*, *Got*, *Mûl*, *Kul*, *Intiperulu*, *Tarvad* &c." The endogamous limits are being gradually broken down by the permeation of social reform ideas, by judicial decisions and legislation. Marriages between persons belonging to different sub-castes among Brahmins, for instance, though still exceptional are no longer regarded as unorthodox. No case has come before the Courts, but it is presumed that they will hold them to be valid under the Hindu Shastras which know nothing of sub-divisions of castes. Inter-caste marriages of the *anuloma*, or along-the-grain type, that is, marriages between a man of higher with a girl of lower caste, have been declared to be valid by the late Justice Sir Lalubhai Shah of the Bombay High Court in a judgment which so far has not been over-ruled and, therefore, is the law at least in the Bombay Presidency. Legislation enabling civil marriages among Hindus in the shape of Sir Hari Singh Gour's Act, makes no distinction between *anuloma* and *pratiloma* (or against the grain) marriages and, thus, breaks down completely the last endogamous limit laid down by the Hindu Shastras.

While the endogamous limits are being thus gradually enlarged, the exogamous limits, with which Mr. Karandikar's book deals, remain practically unchanged to the great detriment of social freedom. The ban on *sagotra* marriages, that is, of marriages between persons of the same *gotra*, is still rigidly maintained, though the *gotra* itself has become an incomprehensible legend. Mr. Karandikar dwells at great length on the origin and significance of *gotra*. In the case of Brahmins, a certain group of *Rishis*, or ancient seers and sages are supposed to be their ancestors or preceptors, and every Brahmin belongs to a *gotra* which bears the name of one of these. In all religious ceremonies, the performer has first to identify himself before his ancestral shades by reciting his *gotra* and *pravara* (certain minor *Rishis* who are more specially related to the person concerned), and, on the whole, the tradition has been strictly maintained.

The possibility of a man not knowing or forgetting his *gotra* however, is provided for by the rule that in such cases he should adopt the *gotra* of his spiritual preceptor who nowadays in most cases is none other than the officiating priest. Deliberate fabrication of *gotras* when they stand in the way of otherwise desirable matches, is not unknown as in the case of the father who discovering at the last moment when the irrevocable nuptial knot was about to be tied that the bridegroom was of the same *gotra* as himself and, therefore, of the bride, coolly gave the priest a different *gotra* and ordered him to proceed with the ceremony. The priest, who must have known that this was a white lie, made no ado and carried through the ceremony before the sacred fire. Attempts to change the law relating to *gotra* have so far not become effective because of the fact that the sentiment against *sagotra* marriages, as a cardinal sin, is deep rooted in Hinduism. The absurdity of this restriction may be illustrated by supposing that the English law prohibited the marriage of persons bearing the same names, such as Johnson, Thomson, Nelson and Peterson, wherever they may happen to be born whether in Kent or Birmingham, Plymouth or New York, London or Ottawa. Mr. Karandikar's investigation into the origin and purpose of this institution shows that it does not answer exactly to any similar institution among other races past or present.

How did this restriction originate? Mr. Karandikar has no difficulty in showing that exogamy was not an institution of Aryan origin. It was practically non-existent among Greeks and Romans, and it may be recalled that, as Sir Henry Maine and other Jurists have shown, Roman and Hindu law up to a point followed closely parallel lines of development. Exogamy was alien to the Iranians who, as the Vedic and Avestic literature show, had close racial and religious affinities. *Gotra*, then, was an institution purely of Indian origin. Ancient societies, we know, did not start new institutions except under the pressure of a vital necessity which had come to be felt for a fairly long and continuous period of time. What was the necessity which led to the evolution of the *gotra*? Mr. Karandikar is puzzled by the sudden appearance of *gotra* in the Sutras while in the Vedas they have no definite significance. Such sudden transitions are common in Hindu sociology viewed through purely literary sources. The flesh-eating, wine-bibbing, free-living Vedic Aryans who, as was said of the ancient Hellenes, "with frolic welcome took the thunder and the sunshine," transformed, as it were, overnight into votaries of ahimsa and teetotalism, and obedient slaves of caste and custom! The links are missing in literature and must be

furnished by the student of social evolution. Between the Vedic and the Sutra periods there is a gap implying a process of struggle and adjustment with new conditions which engaged the whole energy of the community. This was the period of contact and conflict between the Vedic and the non-Vedic Indians and the *gotra* most probably is one of the institutions evolved as a means of facilitating intercourse between the two communities henceforth to be united in a single socio-religious commonwealth. It is in Dravidian rather than the Roman and Persian contacts, that we must seek for an explanation of *gotra* and some other apparently sudden developments in Hindu social life.

#### THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

##### MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

##### XXXVII. THE DISAPPOINTED.

(By DR. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, PH.D.).

Disappointment is a fact of life. The man who claims that his every wish and desire has been gratified is either simple or an incurable optimist. The world does not operate in this fashion. An element of uncertainty enters into everything we do. Sometimes our plans succeed, and at other times despite our best efforts they fail. Sometimes a work is accomplished rapidly, and at other times unexpected and heart-breaking obstacles arise. A man enlists in the crusade against vice, disease, and ignorance. He campaigns with vigour. He is successful in not a few engagements. But he may not share in the final victory. One has but to run through the names of the leaders associated with the world's great moral struggles to discover how few have actually lived to see the triumph of the cause in which they believed. It takes decades and even centuries to uproot firmly established customs and habits. One plants, another waters, and in the fulness of time comes the harvest.

One of the religious revolutionaries of the Roman world was an ascetic by the name of John the Baptist. Outspoken to the *nth* degree, he soon found himself in prison because of his criticism of the morals of the royal family. There he was: the stalwart John—inhabitant of the desert, active, vigorous man of the out-of-doors chained in a prison, cut off in his very prime. Disappointed? Of course. But in his disappointment his first concern was not for himself but for his cause. Indifferent to his own welfare, he sent an anxious message of inquiry to his successor and found to his astonishment that even greater results were being accomplished than he himself had thought possible. And it is always thus. John may be imprisoned, but ideals that are worthy will triumph.

The bitterest of disappointments are generally the personal disappointments connected with our own selves or families. We fail to attain desired

social recognition, or to secure desired business or political advancement and we are sore distressed. But such disappointments are as nothing to the pain that comes from the moral failure of those whom we love. We surround a son with careful home influences, educate him in selected schools, dream dreams about his future career, and then suddenly he turns his back upon it all and crashes. Hope turns to bewilderment and despair. The parent is stunned and in the deepest anguish. From the depths of his heart the father echoes the cry of the ancient King of Israel: "Oh my son..... would God I have died for thee." But the father cannot die for the son. He can but hope and labour to bring about the return. His wounds are deep, and are not easily healed. But once the healing comes, the parent has new strength. His own life purified, he goes forth as God's own messenger, a healer of the hearts of others.

#### RESCUE HOMES IN MADRAS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Reading your editorial on 'Rescue Work' appearing in your issue of 7th September of the *Indian Social Reformer*—I find that my letter has been rather misunderstood and so I hasten to write a few lines to explain my position. When I said that there was no rescue home for Hindu women in Madras, I meant that at present there is no such institution for adult women who have fallen and show no desire for a better life.

When the Brothel Bill becomes an Act, it will be seen from clause 13 of the Select Committee's report that it will be made incumbent upon the Local Government to provide a suitable rescue home. In the meanwhile, I wish to point out that we have ample provisions, as I said to Gandhiji, for taking any child that needs to be rescued; but I am sorry to state that there is no legal enactment at present in this Presidency to rescue children from ignomina associations, and it is most deplorable that my attempt to bring about any such legislation in this Presidency is being frustrated by people from whom one would expect utmost sympathy and co-operation. I must confess to you that I wrote that letter to Gandhiji in a moment of utter despair and helplessness.

For instance there is the Children's Aid Society which is admitting girls under 18 years, rescued from brothels or run away in disgust from brothel life to the police and the children that are found wandering in the streets. It is largely financed by the Government and their religious persuasions are respected; but we have no law to remove children from the associations of prostitutes.

There is a Society called the *Indian Ladies Sama-* run by private agencies of which I am the Secretary. That Institution takes up again all girls belonging

particularly to the Devadasi Community, and provides them with free lodging, boarding, and education which of course is not intended for those who are already following the profession of Devadasi.

I have now 16 such girls on hand, some studying in the Queen Mary's College and the others in High Schools who have voluntarily sought our help.

We have also been helping women who have once erred and who subsequently, repent and want to be reformed by placing them in suitable surroundings and giving them vocational training. There are about 7 or 8 such cases at present. So you can now understand why I was reluctant to admit this particular girl you referred to who is already 20 years old and who evidently is not amenable to any discipline.

Even when the Brothel Bill becomes an Act, we could have control over only minor girls below 18 and as for the adult prostitutes unless they of their own free will, seek our protection, we will have no legal power to control their movements but I do agree with you that there should be a home for these adult women where facilities should be created, to reform them and train them to a good and useful life.

As there has been no demand here for such cases till now owing to the existence of 600 and more brothels in the city of Madras and as we naturally felt that our first attention should be directed towards "minors" who do not themselves choose that life but who are forced into it by a third party, we have till now confined our humanitarian activities to such girls.

May I now request you to kindly remove the impression that might be created on the public mind by your article (viz.) that there are no institutions in Madras for the protection even of minor girls when rescued from immoral surroundings.

I am also forwarding the papers connected with the Indian Samaj and the Children's Aid Society, for your information.

Madras, }  
10th September 1929. } S. MUTHULAKSEMI REDDI.

#### APPEAL TO HINDUS.

Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj, Secretary, Anti-Untouchability League has issued the following appeal:—

You are probably aware that the Indian National Congress has appointed a separate Committee this year for making special efforts for the removal of untouchability. The work has obviously to be done through the Hindus and the Congress resolution is explicit on the point. In these days of terrific advance in material sciences while the world is shrinking fast India has constantly to be weighed in the scale of nations as a single indivisible unit, and when an evil within the fold of a community apart from its inherent injustice, becomes a nuisance to its neighbours and a reproach to the entire

nation, it is only appropriate, you will agree, that the premier national institution such as the Congress should interest itself in it and help the community concerned to achieve its speedy-elimination.

#### NO ORDINARY EVIL.

Untouchability among the Hindus is no ordinary evil. That a community known throughout the world's history for its religious toleration and its most catholic culture should have established and maintained for centuries, and should still countenance in the name of religion, a social code which brands for life human beings as unworthy of ordinary intercourse and capable of polluting others by mere touch or sight, is a tragedy and a riddle that baffles every right-minded Indian to-day.

You have only to visualise the spirit of Hindu Scriptures and the whole of its culture through centuries, to perceive that such treatment of those lower in the social scale and who are in fact termed the "Younger Brothers" by the Dharmashastras is most reprehensible. It must be unnecessary for me to tax you with a host of Sanskrit texts in support of my contention. Suffice it to say that it is now a matter beyond dispute that the system of untouchability whatever may be its origin or former justification is now only a social usage fossilised and hardened into rank inhumanity, that is usurping the place of intelligent religious conviction and conduct.

#### NO JUSTIFICATION.

If we turn to tradition we find even less justification for anything like untouchability. The Hindu tradition founded on Vedic and Scriptural lore and nurtured by the most dynamic teachings of Kabir, Gaurang, Dhaneshwar, Eknath, Tukaram, Narsina Mehta and a whole galaxy of Dravidian saints not only broke the barriers in social intercourse between man and man but emphatically repudiated and positively set their face against any such cruel distinctions.

It is an irony of fate that such glorious inheritance notwithstanding, we should have come to treat to-day one-third of our own kith and kin as Pariahs worthy of treatment which is not meted out even to dogs or to domesticated animals. Our weavers, our artisans, our sweepers and scavengers, who are the real toilers of the land and producers of national wealth, who help to keep us clean and healthy and fit for life's vocations—to these our benefactors, meek and lowly 'little brothers' we deny social and civic rights—protection, knowledge, intercourse—everything that makes life worth living. No wonder if under the inexorable law of Karma we are in turn ourselves treated the world over as Pariahs and Untouchables.

#### HARM DONE TO THE COMMUNITY.

But the evil consequences of this sin do not terminate here. The manifest injustice underlying such treatment and the humiliation it involves for

the victim expose him to unrighteous influences outside and makes of him a disintegrating factor. This not only does an enormous harm to the community itself but it corrodes the social foundations of the entire nation. You have no doubt read how movements and counter-movements are launched and conducted with these unfortunate "young brothers" of the Hindus as pawns and targets and how it has sown in recent years seeds of unending bitterness and discord among our prominent communities; how some of the most responsible and respected leaders of the communities have suggested and discussed elaborate schemes of converting these 'untouchables' to their respective faiths for non-religious and sometimes, even unworthy considerations.

#### SIGNS OF SELF-ASSERTION.

With the modern growth of ideas, with the efforts of the reforming sections from amongst the Hindus themselves and as a consequence of general self-consciousness born of the great awakening that has come upon the land during the last decade, the untouchables themselves are slowly beginning to feel their plight and demand better treatment as a matter of birth right. You even find them sometimes over-shooting the mark. You have perhaps read in the newspapers that certain untouchables of a locality in Berar issued sometime ago what was described as a general ultimatum to the local Hindu community that unless the class Hindus accorded them equal treatment in the shape of free access to schools, water wells and temples, they would discard Hindu religion and embrace another faith in a body. A few individuals did indeed carry out the threat before the Hindus relented and more than met their demands. Such excess, I venture to submit, where they are spontaneous should be viewed as indications of their amount at self-assertion so natural to a sudden self-consciousness and need not exasperate us. Little acts of excesses are bound to happen for a time when centuries old shackles are being broken and gospel of freedom is broadcasted all round.

#### PLEA FOR EQUAL TREATMENT.

All this must be painful and humiliating to you as it should be to every good Hindu. The remedy however lies in our own hands. We must admit these "little brothers" of ours in the social fold without reservation. The barest justice requires us to let them draw from the village well drinking water, to let their children have the same benefit of learning, the three R's at the village school as our own and to fling open for them the temples of God that are open to the rest of the Hindus. There is neither grace nor wisdom in so doing. We have got to take these unfortunate brethren of ours to our bosom and befriend them in all humility as a matter of penance for all our sins of omission and commission.

To you, a custodian of Hindu religion and trustee not of its monuments in brick and mortar only, but

of its true import and dignity, I have ventured to address this appeal. It is the 'Mandir' which has been to the Hindu throughout centuries the repository of all his religious and social idealism. It is blasphemy for him to look upon or think of any living being as inferior or unworthy of Narayan's grace. It is one of the proudest legacies left to us by our great saints—most of whom by the by came from lower classes not excluding untouchables—that we shall consider no human being as inferior to us. It would, therefore, be a tardy performance of duty for you to throw open the temple under your charge to the so called 'untouchables.'

I shall be thankful if you will let me know what action you propose taking on my appeal to you.

#### SARDA BILL IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The debate on the motion to take into consideration the Sarada Marriage Bill was resumed in the Legislative Assembly on Thursday and carried without a division. We reproduce the *Associated Press* report of the proceedings:—

Mr. Mody (Bombay) was applauded when he rose to make his maiden speech. He supported the Bill, describing those who wanted postponement as wreckers of the Bill. Religious practices, he said, were mere excrescences. He did not think orthodoxy could keep back social reform or political progress, and pleaded for the immediate passage of the Bill in the interests of the nation.

#### EUROPEAN SUPPORT.

Mr. Stuart-Smith (Calcutta, European) assured the mover and the House that the Bill evoked keen interest amongst the rank and file of the Calcutta European community, which cordially approved of it. He intervened in the debate in order to show that where national interests were involved the European community would not be indifferent or keep aloof. The Bill was indeed a measure of far-sighted patriotism. He submitted that the Assembly should not be discouraged by the argument that it would remain a dead letter in some cases. A similar argument was advanced when *sati* was abolished. As education spread, people were bound to recognise the necessity for an enactment of this kind. Legislation was the only remedy to prevent the evil of child marriage and the European community of Calcutta and India wished Mr. Sarada well and offered him its support. (Applause).

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chondhry opposing the Bill was surprised at the Government attitude which should have been neutral. Mr. Jayakar's interpretation of Vedanta, he said, was wrong.

#### MUSLIM OPPOSITION.

Mr. Ghaznavi (Dacca) opposed the Bill and was frequently heckled. He opposed it as a pernicious measure. He did not believe in social reform being effected by legislation. The Bill affected the

personal law of the Muslims and encroached upon Muslim religion. (Question). The original Bill did not affect Muslims whereas the present Bill did. His constituency had asked him to vote against the Bill and Muslims as a whole did not want the Bill. (Mahomedan members: Question). The Bill was a menace to the peace of society and would inevitably lead to needless prosecutions and police zoolum. Proceeding Mr. Ghaznavi referred to the representation signed by a group of 29 members to the Government opposing the Bill in the autumn of last year. The signatories included Mr. Shah Nawaz, who afterwards became member of the Age of Consent Committee, and was now a whole-hearted supporter of the Bill.

An interesting wordy duel then ensued between Mr. Chaznavi and Mr. Shas Nawaz, the former characterising his attitude as somersault and challenging him to seek re-election on this issue even in the Punjab while the latter expressed his readiness to seek re-election and justified his conduct.

#### ULEMAS OPPOSED TO BILL.

Mr. Chaznavi next alluded to a *fatwa* signed by 74 Ulemas in India opposing the Bill as infringing the personal law of the Muslims. Referring to those Muslim members who supported the previous Bill last year Mr. Ghaznavi mentioned the name of Mr. Yusuf who, he said, was a Mussalman only in name. There were insistent shouts of 'withdraw' from almost every section, particularly from the Congress Party, and the President also called on Mr. Ghaznavi to withdraw the term which he did. Concluding, the speaker appealed to the Government to remain neutral and leave the voting to non-official elected members.

Mr. Shah Nawaz amused the House by pointing out that he was persuaded by Mr. Ghaznavi last year to sign that precious document of 29 members against the Bill by telling him that the child marriage evil did not exist in Bengal. But during his tour in Bengal which contained 42 per cent. of the entire Muslim population in India he did find the evil to an enormous extent and he would have been dishonest in the face of that, had he not retraced from the position he adopted last year when he signed the representation. (General applause.)

Mr. Sherwani, supporting the Bill, said that he wanted to disabuse the mind of the House that the majority of Mussalmans were opposed to the Bill. He repudiated the suggestion that the Bill was against Islam and challenged any Mahomedan to quote a single 'Hadi' in support of child marriage.

Mr. Keene (U. P. Official) said that after the Home Member's speech, there could not be any doubt as to the attitude of the Europeans and the officials generally. They all believed that the Bill was a righteous measure. It was intended to save millions of girls from becoming child mothers. He quoted from the opinions of the Governments of the

United Provinces and Madras in favour of the Bill. He admitted that there were practical difficulties in the way of administering the Bill, but they would administer it, for it was a good and beneficial measure.

#### MR. JINNAH ON MARRIAGE.

Mr. Jinnah (Bombay) supporting the Bill declared that he had no mandate of any kind from his constituency. He hoped that everyone was convinced that the evil of child marriage existed. He was not, however, aware of the fact that it existed among Mussalmans until Mr. Shah Nawaz had told him so. Now that the existence of the evil was an established fact, the question was how to tackle it. He did not pretend to be an Ulema or an authority on theology, but as a practising lawyer, he had always understood that marriage under the Mahomedan Law, was a contract, pure and simple.

Mr. Mahomed Shaffee and two or three other members challenged this statement, when Mr. Jinnah retorted: "If you deny that, then you have to learn it." (Applause). Mr. Jinnah asked his co-religionists whether there was any religious text which showed that Moslem girls should be married before they were fourteen years of age. He was not convinced that the Bill militated against the civil law applicable to marriages among Muslims. Then, how could there be divine sanction to the horrible, disgraceful and inhuman practice that now prevailed? There was, at any rate, nothing in Islam which prevented them from destroying that evil. (Hear, hear). If any member found his constituency so backward as to ask him to vote against such a Bill, then he should ask that constituency to choose someone else as its representative. Let not the members of the Assembly be frightened by the public opinion which could be created in the name of religion. He was anxious that there should be no postponement of the Bill for, who knew that the Government might not be frightened by orthodox opinion? It was after a great deal of trouble that the Government, which was foreign, had now, in regard to the Bill proved to be national in spirit. He exhorted the Assembly to reject the dilatory motion.

Mr. Yamin Khan mentioned that at the conference of Muslim members held to consider the Bill, the unanimous opinion was expressed that further consideration should be postponed as on the question of the principle underlying the Bill, there was a difference of opinion. They were anxious to hear their Ulemas more fully before making up their minds. Hence his preference for the postponement of the Bill.

#### RELIGION NOT AFFECTED.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas regretted the disclosure made by Mr. Ghaznavi that Sir James Simpson had promised to support the motion for postponement of consideration of the Bill. He hoped that Sir D'Arcy Lindsay would disown any such undertaking. Sir Purshottamdas wished to

leave Mr. Ghaznavi's eloquence alone, because it was entirely vitiated by his (Mr. Ghaznavi's) statement that he was a Muslim first and an Indian next. Therefore, his speech deserved no notice. The speaker greatly admired Mian Shah Nawaz for his courage (applause) in changing his opinion after gathering the full facts bearing on the question as a member of the Joshi Committee. He also paid a compliment to Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, who was the first Indian lady member of any Committee to tour India.

The speaker did not believe that the Shastras enjoined early marriages. "It is for this Assembly, representing the people," said Sir Purshottamdas, "to say to the Government 'Bravo, come and help us to carry through this legislation, which will make the coming generations remember with gratitude the courage shown by this Assembly.' It is exactly a hundred years since Lord Bentinck abolished *Sati*. Who can say to-day that he hit at the Hindu religion by that reform?"

#### HEAVY CHILD MORTALITY.

Col. Gidney said that the cold facts about child mortality given in the Age of Consent Committee's report were clear proof that the Bill was needed. If Indian women were members of the House, he wondered what would be the fate of men like Messrs. Acharya and Shafi Dandi. Speaking from thirty years medical experience of India, he said that the death rate among women during child birth in India was more appalling than in any other part of the world. He wondered how educated members representing the culture and civilization of India could forget their high mission, which the Bill called upon them to fulfil.

#### PANDIT MOTILAL'S APPEAL.

Pandit Motilal Nehru said that he had thrown into the waste-paper basket the opinions he had received both for and against the Bill, for he relied on his observations of a life time, and he knew that the wicked and diabolical custom prevailed and there was no difference of opinion on the point that it must be stopped. Indeed, he was surprised to see many members making eloquent speeches on a Bill like this, for the question admitted of no argument. If the Shastras had any injunction in this matter then the Shastras had no use for him. (Hear, hear.) In his community of Kashmiri Pundits, who numbered at most five thousand in India, no girls were married before twenty. He believed that social reform would come quicker and with better effect if it came from within and was not imposed from without. But the Assembly had a clear duty in this matter, and they all owed a duty to their children and the country. The eyes of the entire world were now on this Assembly, and he urged the members of the Assembly to cast their votes in such a manner that India might rank among the civilised nations of the world. He would personally prefer a Bill laying down 18 years as the minimum age for the marriage of girls and 24 years

for boys, but Mr. Sarada's Bill was there, and he hoped that it would be passed with the least delay.

#### POSTPONEMENT MOTION REJECTED.

#### CONSIDERATION OF BILL.

Closure was now applied, and Mr. Acharya's dilatory motion was rejected without division.

The motion for consideration of the Bill was passed amidst loud cheers. The Bill was then taken up clause by clause.

#### THE DEAD-SET AGAINST CONVERSIONS.

Some of our Hindu friends are making a dead-set against the Christian effort to win converts. The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* seems to be in command of a force, of strength as yet undetermined, in this army of opposition. In an editorial in his issue of the 10th of August, Mr. Natarajan says:—

"If the missionaries had come here frankly as educationists, doctors and social workers without the ulterior purpose of proselytizing, Indians would have appreciated their work without limit, and they too would have had no reason to doubt its efficacy... Their purpose of conversion, however, has put them and Indians in a false position towards each other. Because of this their philanthropic activities have the character of interested propaganda and are distrusted, as all propaganda is, even by those who benefit by them. Christian Missions have thus come to be regarded as agencies of religious exploitation."

The writer of the above paragraphs is not waging war upon missionaries—to them he is friendly and in many of their activities he recognizes them as valuable allies—but upon "their purpose of conversion," *i.e.*, if we understand his meaning aright, their purpose to lead men and women to that relation to Christ and men in which they will be known as Christians. He describes the missionaries as men of high ideals and pure character, representing the best type of contact between the West and the East, and adds:—

"They do not come here in search of material gain or impelled by love of political power. Of most of them it may be said that if they had remained in their own countries and devoted themselves to making careers, they would have succeeded without much difficulty. In this country apart from their central purpose of making converts, they have done admirable work."

We have great respect for Mr. Natarajan, and prize very highly his interest in and appreciation of much of the work that missionaries are doing in India. But we are not clearer in any knowledge or conviction than we are in this that Mr. Natarajan is wrong in his conclusions and attitudes on this subject. In their central purpose of making converts missionaries have rendered their best service to India; if they had done social work without seeking converts they would have failed India in respect to her greatest need.

This opposition to the purpose of conversion is more determined and wide-spread than Christians



have generally realized. It is revealed in legislation in two leading Indian States imposing severe restrictions upon the legal right to be converted. An even more significant manifestation of this opposition is made in the speech of Mr. M. B. Jayakar, a Hindu Mahasabha leader, before the Bombay Riots Enquiry Committee, in which he made a demand for restriction of the right to be converted and said that the Indian Rationalist, Dr. Paranjpye, now a member of the India Council in London, was about to introduce a Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council with this aim when he decided to resign in order to accept his present appointment. Back of Mr. Natarajan's position and back of Mr. Jayakar's and the legislation of Bikanir and Gwalior States, and lending support to all, stands Mr. Gandhi asserting that it is a sin to even desire that any man should exchange his faith for yours.

The question of conversions does not concern missions and missionaries alone or chiefly. The Churches in India are as deeply committed as are the Missions to "the purpose of conversion." Of the adults who turn to Christ in India each year an overwhelming proportion are undoubtedly influenced to do so more by Indian Christians than by Foreign Missionaries, and a like majority are baptized by Indian ministers. It is significant that at the same time that the dead-set against their purpose to win others to Christ is being launched, many Indian Christians fear that they see the beginning of more active discrimination against them in regard to public life and employment. It is well-nigh impossible for a Christian to win election to a Legislative Council or to a Municipal or a District Board from a general constituency, and whenever one is nominated by the Government a protest is made by the militant Hindu group. One who has watched the selection of applicants for Government scholarships by a Board with a Hindu majority says that over and over again scholarships have been awarded to Hindus who were in all respects less qualified and promising than Christian candidates who were refused. We state these facts because they are troubling patriotic Indian Christians and because they need to be frankly faced and fearlessly dealt with. The demand that the Christian purpose of conversion be dropped is only one of several expressions of a disposition to limit the freedom of Indian Christians and to establish Hinduism in a privileged and protected position.

Dare Christians accept this restriction of their liberty, or dare they act on the advice of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Natarajan and abandon their purpose of conversion? Can they while loyal to their Lord cease to proclaim him as the Christ, the Saviour, the Lord to whom every heart should be open and before whom every knee should bow? The question needs only to be asked for every true Christian to answer "No."

A position has been reached in India that is very like to that which obtained at the end of the public

ministry of Jesus in Galilee, when Jesus and his disciples went to villages of Philip's Caesarea and Jesus asked them, "Who do people say that I am?" This led to Peter's declaration. "Thou art the Christ." And then for the first time Jesus told them that he must endure much suffering and be rejected by the elders and the High Priests and the scribes and be put to death. Until this time Jesus had worked with the multitudes. Much, though by no means all, of his work had been social, of the sort that is now commended by our Hindu friends as the only work to which the missionaries should devote themselves. But at the height of seeming success with the multitude, who were acclaiming him as teacher and physician and were following him from place to place with an intentness that made even work and hunger to be forgotten, Jesus in the full knowledge that it would cost his life set himself to the purpose of conversion. Building on the fact that Peter had recognized him as the Christ he sought to win all of those of the inner circle of his followers to the acceptance of that fact with all of its implications.

Has History not shown that he was right? The multitudes in Galilee are not shown to have influenced the world for good to any recognizable extent because of what they got from Christ, though hundreds had been healed and scores of hundreds had been moved by the beauty, the simplicity, and the power of his teaching. But the world in many phases of its life has been remade by the few who were converted through his ministry.

It is a joyful fact, a wonderful fact that multitudes in India have come to admire Christ, to applaud him and to be thankful for what he is doing through his followers for the healing of disease, the dispelling of ignorance and the diminution of poverty, but it is a more meaningful, joyful, and wonderful fact that some, though their number is smaller, are being converted unto him and are making him their Lord. Christians ought never to abandon their social and educational work—their Lord never did—but in it all their central purpose should continue to be to bring about conversions: *The Indian Witness*, Lucknow.

#### CHRISTIAN INTOLERANCE.

The current number of the *Maha Bodhi* quotes from the *Hawaii Hochi*, the following incident which shows how intolerant the Christian ecclesiastics can be. The Buddhist priest in this incident has set a better example of Christian patience than the heads of the Catholic and Anglican Churches in Hawaii.

"The occasion was a luncheon gathering of the leaders of all the religious denominations, called by Rev. Henry P. Judd of the Hawaiian Board of Missions, for the purpose of discussing certain community problems involving education of the youth along moral, ethical and cultural lines from a non-sectarian standpoint. Other leaders of Christian denominations had been invited, in

in addition to the Catholic and Anglican churchmen, and the Mormons and the Seventh Day Adventists were also represented. As a matter of courtesy, and in view of the fact that the meeting was called to consider matters outside of any creed or sect, Mr. Judd had invited Rev. Ernest Hunt of the Hongwanji Temple, as a representative of the Buddhists, who comprise the largest religious group in the territory and who number over 80,000 young American citizens among their members. Upon his arrival in the lobby of the Young Hotel Rev. Hunt was introduced to some of those who were present, and was cordially received. Then Bishop Stephen Alencastre appeared on the scene and upon being presented to Rev. Hunt displayed deep anger, raising his voice and almost shouting,—“I love Protestants, but I hate the Buddhists! If he is a guest here I will leave. I refuse to eat at the same table with Mr. Hunt!” The gentlemen who were present were aghast at the public insult hurled at the members of the largest religious group in Hawaii by the head of the Catholic Church, and spectators of this demonstration who stood about the lobby could hardly credit their senses. Then Dean Ault stepped up beside Bishop Alencastre and publicly endorsed his stand, declaring that he hated an apostate and would leave if Rev. Hunt was to remain. He took Alencastre's arm and they started for the door. Rev. Ernest Hunt, the Buddhist priest who had been thus publicly insulted, quietly called to them to wait and stepped up to them, saying,—“Do not go, please, Bishop Alencastre and Dean Ault are of greater importance at this meeting than I am, I am the one who will leave.” He then assured Mr. Judd that he was not offended. The Buddhist leader quietly left the hotel and Bishop Stephen Alencastre and Dean Ault returned to partake of their lunch without the disturbing presence of a representative of that religion whose followers they have publicly announced that they hate.”

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Nambudri Women for Reform:**—An Associated Press message states that some Nambudri ladies belonging to aristocratic families of North Travancore have created a sensation there by casting off their purdah. They have adopted modern modes of dress and visited public places and attended theatres. They paid a visit to the junior Maharani of Travancore yesterday and had a very long interview and the conversation centred chiefly on social reform. Her Highness is reported to have advised them to send Nambudri girls to public schools and urged the necessity of doing away with the purdah system in the Nambudri community. This is the first instance in the social history of the Nambudris that their women, who are shut up within the four walls of their Zenana had the boldness to come out in public.

**A memorial to the Late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu:**—At a meeting of the citizens of Rajahmundry, it was resolved to raise a memorial to perpetuate the memory of the Late Rao

Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu, a pioneer Andhra social reformer, and a strong executive committee was formed to carry it out. At a meeting of the Memorial Executive Committee held on 26-6-19 it was resolved to collect funds for the purpose of raising a statue of Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu and maintaining the institutions started by him. It is, therefore, proposed to collect a sum of Rs. 50,000 for carrying out the aforesaid objects, and the Committee is sending forth this appeal in the full confidence that it will meet with an adequate response from not only the friends and admirers of Pantulu Garu, but also the generous public to whom the memory of late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu is equally dear. All donations to be remitted to the Treasurer, M. R. Ry. P. Sundaraviva Rao Pantulu Garu, B. A., B. L., High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.

**Pandit Motilal on Sarda Bill:**—Regretting his unavoidable absence, Pandit Motilal Nehru has sent the following telegram to the Congress, Nationalist, Independent and the Central Moslem Parties in the Assembly. “I trust that the Congress, Nationalist, Independent and Central Moslem Parties will stand solid in support of the Sarda Bill. Free voting on the Bill, decided upon by all parties in view of the nature of the question, will be a true test of national feeling and opinion. We are to-day on our trial before the civilised nations of the world and the measure of the Assembly's support to the Sarda Bill will be the measure of our fitness to rank among those nations. The custom of early marriage is undoubtedly a curse and must be completely abolished at all costs, the supposed sanction of religion notwithstanding. I hope unattached members will also support the Bill and the Assembly as a whole will rise to the occasion.”

**Indian Education in Africa:**—In his annual report, states a *Reuters* message, Mr. Bryan, Superintendent of Education, says that the future of Indian education in Natal can confidently be said to be brighter than it ever has been and notes with satisfaction the definitely expressed desire of the Indian community for the higher education of girls. The training of teachers will be placed on a proper basis when the Sastri College which is at present under construction at Durban is completed. It is intended that this foundation at the outset of its career shall carry both intending teachers and others who may desire a secondary course for professional reasons. The department has recommended that it should be staffed under a European headmaster by Indian graduates, whom Mr. Sastri will personally select. Selected matriculates who have adopted a teacher's career may be sent to India for graduation subsequently returning as masters in their old college so that in time it will be manned by a South African Indian staff. In conclusion, Mr. Bryan says that the Department's debt to Mr. Sastri is inexpressible in mere words and it will retain a grateful and abiding memory of his sage and eloquent counsel and his eminent personality.

**Racialism in East Africa:**—A Mombasa message to the *Indian Daily Mail* says that under instructions from the Government all Indians, including those interested in science, were refused admission to the lectures given in Nairobi and Mombassa, by members of the British Association of Scientists who are visiting Kenya. The British scientists are amazed at the racialism.

**League of Nations Slavery Convention:**—Letter from the India Office to the Secretary-General containing a further memorandum regarding measures for the abolition of slavery in Burma: A memorandum dated August 7th, 1928, communicated to the League of Nations, described the measures adopted for the release of slaves in Burma in the year 1927-28. It was stated therein that slaves to the number of 8,852 had been released at a cost of Rs. 5,16,568-8-0 in the area known as the Hukawng Valley and the Triangle. That year saw the end of slavery in Burma; but the work still remained of seeing that the released slaves were properly established and placed in a way to enjoy the freedom conferred on them, that they were not molested by their late owners, and that economic conditions were disturbed as little as possible in the areas covered by these operations. This work was done partly by the expeditions of 1927-28 in respect of slaves released during the years 1925-26 and 1926-27. It was reported that the released slaves were gradually settling down to the new conditions and were building houses of their own and establishing new villages with headmen selected from among themselves. The owners themselves, with a few exceptions, were found to have taken kindly to the new situation. In pursuance of the same policy, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India sanctioned the proposals made by Government of Burma for the despatch of similar expeditions to the Hukawng Valley and the Triangle in the open season of 1928-29. The arrangements for the expeditions were the same as in previous years. Mr. A. W. Porter, of the Burma Frontier Service, was in charge of the expedition to the Hukawng Valley, and was accompanied by a British officer of the Burma Military Police, commanding an escort of over a hundred men, and the necessary civil and military establishment. The expedition to the Triangle was divided into two columns, north and south, each in charge of a civil officer. Captain V. G. Robert, M.B.E., M.C., of the Burma Frontier Service, was in charge of the northern and Mr. P. M. R. Leonard, O.B.E., of the Burma Frontier Service, of the southern column. Each column was accompanied by a British officer of the Burma Military Police, commanding an escort of a hundred men, and the necessary civil and medical establishment. Transport was by means of mules, of which nearly 1,100 were engaged for both the expeditions.

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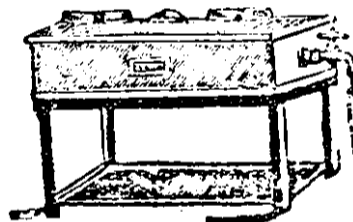
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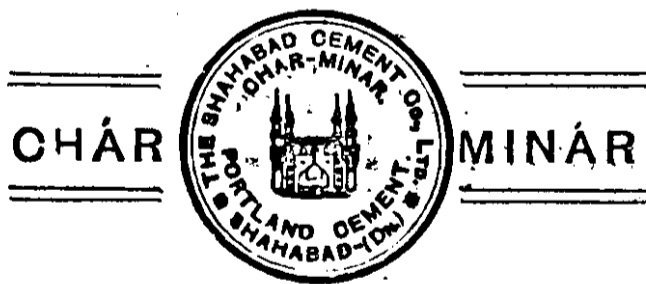
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Vol. XL.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1929

No. 3

“ I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard.”  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**A Supreme Court For India:**—It is a well-known fact that the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council, which is the ultimate interpreter of law for British India, is operating as a dead-weight on Indian social evolution. We have from time to time cited instances of this. Mr. Kumar Shankar Roy Chowdhary moved on Tuesday a resolution in the Council of State recommending the establishment of an appellate court in India to take the place of the Privy Council. He emphasised the fact that he did not want to deprive the King of his prerogative, but His Majesty should consult his Indian subjects regarding Indian appeals by appointing Privy Councillors among them who shall be residents in India for offering justice readily to the Indian litigant public instead of the litigants being compelled in all cases to go to far off England. He declared that there were men with sufficient calibre in India and the cost of the Committee like the one he proposed would not be heavy. If this Committee was appointed it would also act as a bulwark of popular freedom and against the vagaries of the executive. In the future federal constitution there would frequently arise matters in which both British India and Indian States might be interested. Such questions could be decided by the Indian Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council. Mr. Khaparde moved an amendment that Judges to be appointed should be not only from high courts, but also from judges of such courts as exercise the powers of high courts. He further made it clear that litigants might have the option of appealing either to the Circuit House or to the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council in England. It is difficult to think of more moderate and reasonable proposals but Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, who belongs to the category which is more royalist than the king, opposed it. His arguments make curious reading: "Claiming 45 years experience of the Bar, he said it would be a disaster to India if for the sake of satisfying the sentimental taste of a few individuals India should be deprived of the advantages that India now derived by her contact with the Privy Council in England. The British Privy Council posse-

ssed eminent judges and there were available many learned Lawyers. It was not so easy to obtain such qualified lawyers in India. Indeed it would be difficult to compare the knowledge of English lawyers with that of Indian lawyers. It would be criminal waste of time and expenditure to duplicate the machinery and, moreover, the Indian litigant public had great confidence in the decisions of His Majesty's Privy Council." Sir Maneckjee, notwithstanding his 45 years at the Bar is known more as a business-man and a reactionary politician than as a lawyer, and his authority to speak in the latter capacity is not, therefore, unquestionable. Apart from that, his plea that lawyers of the calibre of the members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council are unobtainable in this country, is clearly as sentimental as the arguments for a special tribunal for India were described by him to be. We agree with Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana that India should have a Supreme Court, and not merely an imitation of the British Privy Council.

**Progress of Sarda's Bill:**—The Sarda Marriage Bill is making excellent progress in the Legislative Assembly. Amendments to lower the age-limits and otherwise weaken the force of the Bill have been thrown out by large majorities, including one to exclude Mussalmans from its scope. Impossible as it may seem, orthodox Hindus and orthodox Mussalmans, have been working hand in hand to destroy the Bill but without success. Some of the strongest speeches in support of the Bill have come from Mahomedan progressives. The Bill is posted for the third and final reading in the Assembly on Monday. Its passage in that body may now be considered assured.

**An Important Decision.**—We referred some-time back to the appeals in the Bombay High Court before Mr. Justice Kemp and Mr. Justice Blackwell arising out of the bigamy case in which one Peter Philip Saldanha was acquitted of the charge by the Sessions Judge of Nasik on the ground that his first marriage which was performed before the Registrar was null as opposed to Canon Law. The Bombay Government appealed against this decision and simultaneously another appeal was filed by the accused against the decision of Sir Norman Kemp decreeing the restitution of conjugal rights in a case filed by the first wife shortly after the second marriage. The *Times of India* gives a report of the decisions in the two appeals. In the civil appeal their Lordships said that in their opinion on the evidence in this case the personal law applicable was the Canon Law

of the Church of Rome. The next question arising was whether assuming that the Canon Law forbade the marriage of the parties except in the form prescribed by that law, Section 88 of the Act of 1872 covered the prohibition. In their Lordships' opinion it clearly did not. The whole scheme of the Act of 1872 indicated that it was an act dealing with the forms of solemnisation of marriage. Mr. Justice Blackwell did not think that the words used in Section 88 justified the limitation suggested in the marginal note, that the personal law applicable was the personal law as to prohibited degrees. His Lordship thought that the expression personal law in that section would include any personal law, apart from any personal law as to the form of marriage, which forbade either of the parties from entering into a contract of marriage with one another. In his opinion the prohibition contemplated by the section would certainly not extend to a prohibition as to the form of marriage. Roman Catholics were not expressly excluded from part V of the Act. Accordingly even if it were established that by the canon law the first appellant and the respondent were prohibited from going through a form of marriage before the Registrar, he should hold that section 88 did not cover such a prohibition and that the marriage was valid and binding upon them. If contrary to his opinion, his Lordship proceeded, the true view were that Section 88 did cover a prohibition as to the form of marriage, he should nevertheless hold that on the evidence in this case such a prohibition had not been established. As to the contention that the parties themselves did not regard the marriage before the Registrar as binding, that it was a conditional marriage, and subject to the performance of a religious ceremony, the evidence did not, in his Lordship's opinion, establish this, even if it were permissible in law. Even if such an agreement had been made it would have been of no effect in law, the parties having gone through a ceremony which by the Act of 1872 was a valid and binding marriage.

In the criminal appeal preferred by Government, their Lordships could not agree with the Sessions Judge that the marriage before the Registrar was a contingent or instalment marriage, even were such a thing possible in law. Their Lordships continuing remarked that a suggestion was put forward under Section 79 of the Indian Penal Code that the offence with which the accused was charged was no offence, in that he had by reason of a mistake of fact in good faith believed himself to be justified in doing what he did. As to this, their Lordships thought that the mistake he made was not a mistake of fact at all but a mistake of law. Further they could find no trace of good faith in the conduct of the accused throughout. After hearing counsel regarding sentence, their Lordships remarked that the least sentence which, having regard to the circumstances of this case they could pass was one of nine months' rigorous imprisonment.

**Bombay Women's Conference.**—The Fourth Bombay Women's Constituent Conference is to be held to day (Saturday the 21st) at 4 p.m. at the Malabari Memorial Hall, Seva Sadan. This is the constituent conference of the All-India Women's Conference which will be held in Bombay

towards the end of January 1930. Resolutions will be put before the conference supporting the Sarda Bill and the Joshi Committee's recommendations; the extension of the Compulsory Primary Education Act to more wards in Bombay; the abolition of the Fourth Standard Vernacular Examination as at present conducted; a higher standard of examination for training Matriculate teachers; better hostel accommodation for women in colleges and the appointment of women professors in the colleges; and liberalising the law of inheritance in its application to women. Delegates will be elected to the All-India Conference. All men and women interested in these questions are invited to give their assistance.

**Home for Women Students:**—Within the short period of one year that the Home for Women Students has been in existence, it has been supplying, as far as its limited means could permit, a long felt want. One of the great handicaps to women's education in this city is want of suitable hostel accommodation for the large number of women who come from the mofussil to Bombay for their education. The Committee of Management of the Home for Women Students are to be congratulated on the excellent beginning they have made in solving this difficulty. But they are unable to extend their activities for lack of funds. The appeal at the conclusion of the report speaks for itself. "The Home Committee had to spend Rs. 1,813-12-9 over and above the income from the students. This year this deficit was met out of the sums that we received as donations and subscriptions and if the same kind interest continues the Home will grow in its usefulness. There is a growing demand for such a Home and we are sorry to have had to refuse many applications for want of space. The Home is in urgent need of larger premises and we take this opportunity of appealing to the generous well-wishers and friends of the cause of Education amongst women to help us in meeting this growing want." The appeal for such a deserving institution as the Home for Women Students will meet with a liberal response from the Bombay public.

**Education in Indian Villages:**—We published in our issue of February 11, 1928, an article on Ushagram by Mr. Brooks Foley, the Director of that institution. We have now in this issue another contribution from his pen on education in which he emphasises the need for right contacts between the city and the village and the necessity for training Indian youths in their own environment. The educational experiment which Mr. Foley has made at Ushagram is an attempt to achieve this end and Mr. Foley has always been anxious to receive suggestions. We are sure that this article which is a valuable contribution to the Indian educational problem will be read with great interest.

(Continued from the Leader page).

course which events are taking in India is closely parallel to what it took in Ireland. We earnestly trust that the British Government will now at least awake to the actualities of the Indian situation and act in a manner which will prevent their developing into disastrous ways.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1929.

JATINDRA NATH DAS.

On Friday the 13th instant after being without food for sixty-two days, Jatindra Nath Das died in the Borstal Jail in Lahore in which he was confined as an under-trial prisoner in what is known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case. This case, it may be explained, arose out of the murder of Mr. Saunders, a Police Officer, who was shot dead shortly after the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, which, according to an opinion expressed by Lalaji's Doctor, was accelerated by the assault made on him by the Police at the demonstration against the Simon Commission when it went to Lahore in December. Saunders was one of the Police Officers, and it was surmised that this murder had for motive the avenging of the assault on Lala Lajpat Rai. As a result of the enquiries instituted to find out Mr. Saunders' murderer, several young men in different places have been arrested and put on their trial at Lahore, where the crime was committed. Some of the accused complained of the treatment accorded to them, and resolved to go without food unless they were treated with greater consideration. They claimed that, as accused in a political case, they should not be placed in the same category as persons charged with offences involving moral turpitude. Government have conceded this point so far as to appoint a Committee to enquire into it and make recommendations. Jatin was one of the hunger-strikers who refused to consider the appointment of the Committee as a sufficient reason for acquiescing in the treatment he and his fellow prisoners were receiving. A few days before his death, Government, seeing the perilous condition of his health, offered to release him on bail. He refused to accept the offer and died in the prison where he was confined.

The news of his death has sent a thrill of horror and indignation throughout the country. Even the official mind, impervious to all other attempts to reach it, has been staggered by Jatin's death which, in a moment, has turned its strength on which it relies, into weakness. The bureaucratic armoury contains no weapon adequate to cope with a resolution which embraces death as a welcome relief from a mechanical regime. Mr. Milner White the special Magistrate who is trying the Meerut Case in which certain persons alleged to be communists are charged with the offence of "waging war with the King," when the accused asked for the adjournment of the trial for a day on account of Jatin's death, made some observations which are worth quoting: "Whatever we may think of Das's hunger strike, one cannot but

regret his death. It is a sacrifice of himself for an ideal which we presume he believed in, and he deliberately sacrificed himself. There may be different views regarding Das's hunger strike, but there cannot be any doubt regarding his motive. I am sorry his enthusiasm led him to take the step, which has had such an unfortunate result. I am here representing in many ways the law and order of an imperialistic Government. I am not concerned with Das protesting against imperialism. I do not say anything against men fighting for their beliefs but it is not a case in which the Court should adjourn as a mark of respect to the memory of Das." The Government of India which had introduced a Bill to empower Magistrates to try accused in their absence when it is caused by their voluntary acts such as hunger-strike, in order to meet the situation created by the accused in the Lahore Case, withdrew the Bill in deference to the feeling in the Opposition benches in consequence of Jatin's death.

The effect of Jatin's self-immolation on the mind, particularly of the younger generations, is incalculable. It has found itself. Here was a young man, like any one of thousands and millions of young men, who was born of their own nation, brought up among the same social conditions, educated in the same kind of institutions, a youth of Bengal whom as a class Miss Mayo, improving upon Macaulay, has described as physical degenerates and moral weaklings, who endured the pangs of hunger for over two months refusing to give in to the bitter end. Colleges and schools all over the country have been emptied to commemorate Jatin's heroic deed. A moral resolution has been effected and no system of Government which does not take note of the fact and adapt itself to it, has a chance of success. The law and order of an imperialistic system, as Mr. Milner White described, cannot prevail over the human will tenacious of its right to self-expression in its own national medium. Jatin, the Home Member of the Government of India helplessly exclaimed in the Legislative Assembly, was now removed from any earthly tribunal. He is mistaken. It is true that Jatin is no longer amenable to the jurisdiction of any official tribunal. But there is a far greater tribunal, that of the public opinion of his own people to which Jatin has appealed. And the verdict of that tribunal is unmistakable even by Sir James Crerar. The British nation has been sedulously kept in ignorance of the rapid change in Indian mentality which has been in progress during the last half a century. It was similarly kept ignorant of the change in a country much nearer to itself, Ireland. The

(Continued in the 2nd column of 2nd Notes Page).

### THE NEW EDUCATION FOR INDIA.

( BY MR. WALTER BROOKS FOLEY. )

The schools of India are starting points for re-evaluating and re-vitalizing the whole character of the country. "Where there is no knowledge the people perish" is as true today as before it was written. Any slowness of movement within the nation may be attributed, in large measure, to ignorance. The schools should be used definitely to destroy misunderstanding and to promote high progressive aims.

It is a most interesting and hopeful fact that there are schools all over India which are tending to become experimental centers for the new education that India needs. How often I recall the statement of a Government official in one of the Provincial educational departments that "the educational machine which he found when he came into his position ate up so much of the money of his budget that it was increasingly difficult for him to contribute toward experiments, even though he knew they were worthy of assistance." He likewise intimated that standardization processes precluded the promotion of new methods.

Here is a place in the scheme of things where new educational attempts may function to excellent advantage. Our additional efforts from this time forward ought to be devoted to supplementing what is already being done in Government, district and village schools; to promoting the special phases of education, based on sound psychological methods, which assist in strengthening and promoting sturdy character; to constructing educational methods—both utilitarian and cultural—that will fit into Indian villages.

Nothing can assist Indian youth like a real education. For Youth must sort out the grain from the chaff of modern social living in India. Without a thorough-going knowledge of the finest methods available—East or West—Youth will be handicapped, perhaps fatally. With the right educational opportunities and advantages Indian Youth will emerge with a message for the world.

#### THE RE-MAKING OF VILLAGES.

The continent of India with its 650,000 villages has a terrific change to undergo as it mixes its life with the life of the modern world. It is an immediate problem for all of us to face, since much of our activity is definitely related to the villages. The realities of India are still compressed within the villages. Its past and its future lie in them as well. Because of this we must be sure to adopt the right approach to our village educational opportunities.

Friendship is the keynote for the successful promotion of character-education developments in any Indian village. I have been in villages where leaders have tried to work and have found there no symptoms of lasting friendship. Down-right criticism of customs, habits and methods had provoked only a look of interest, not even active opposition to

the new enterprises. Other villages have shown developed appreciations of new values—led to this belief through co-operative comradeship on the part of earnest leaders. Friendship once established, new plans may be promoted.

The day has passed when educational institutions can be located in isolation and yet exert an influence over surrounding villages. Methods, ideas and practical efforts must be carried out to village centers after a real friendship has been built up. Then the program must be carried from the village out into the rest of Indian society.

Most efforts, thus far, have promoted an overhead system of education in the cities and larger towns. Now we must devote strong efforts to reconstructing foundations located in the village. Wherever possible schools must be in actual villages. We must not continue to draw from the villages the best students and in so doing abstract village Youth from the national culture, giving in return only a mechanized message or a standardized system from a foreign land. We must know *where* Youth lives, *how* Youth lives, and what ways Youth may *better* live in its own communities. We must never lose sight of our desire to recreate the village.

#### METHOD-AIMS AND ABILITY TESTS.

When we find methods that are useless they should be scrapped. When we find types of study that have no value they should be displaced. If necessary we should develop a curriculum to meet the immediate actual needs of each environment. During this process we should make a careful study of those students who exhibit most intelligence. These should be singled out for advancement along occupational lines of need and possibility. Vocational guidance is an absolute essential if we would place our students in positions for which they are best fitted.

Such curricula should include trades, arts and crafts; agriculture, stock-raising and attendant occupations—such as poultry-raising; household improvement methods; health studies; elementary knowledge of community occupations; community service; and methods of dealing with social divisions.

Each student should have opportunities for actually practicing the theoretical suggestion secured in the class-room. The disinclination towards physical labor should be broken down gradually and surely. Students should be helped to discover that education is more than reading from book. The values of physical effort should be portrayed by example and enterprise of the teacher.

From the purely cultural point of view the past of India should be thoroughly grasped in outline by the pupils from an Indian approach. An understanding of great factors in Indian progress, or the meaning of India's lack of development along some lines should be stressed. Beginner's course on the high values of practices in other countries should be started. The fact that world peace

based on the friendship-feeling of childhood should be absorbed to its fullest extent.

The two elements basic in our schools must be self-reliance and self-direction. Any educational system, no matter how well established, that weakens the ability of a student to grow is a bad system—even though it may teach obedience and develop memory. Any system that creates or fosters dependence is a system to be eliminated. Our primary schools, middle schools, high schools, and colleges must be training institutions for character development. In them students must begin the process of vital living in their own world.

Tests must be constantly applied. All knowledge imparted must be tested by experience. All ideals expressed must be proved worthy through practice. All principles suggested as facts must be ground in the mill of the world's wisdom. Youth must face reality.

Abilities must be evaluated by a score of scientific tables and processes. We must not hesitate to apply to our students the strictest of rules that we may be governed not by the emotion of sentiment but by the harshness of logic. We want our young people to be upstanding leaders. Nothing can create this variety of individual save a feeling, on his part, of responsibility for his own life and his own organization.

#### INTEGRATION OF VILLAGE AND CITY LIFE.

We have taken away from many of our young Indians their ancient heritage of a capacity to suffer and sacrifice. We have made them weak. Now we must make them strong. This practice is hard to promote in our city centers, where the rush of a thousand ideas from north, south, east and west hurry the minds of our students into meaningless decisions and illogical actions. The city is a difficult place for the strongest of students. Our trouble is that we have many students who have not had the preliminary training to stand out against the new and exciting conditions of Indian city life.

There has been little or no development of right contacts between village and city. The student and the graduate of our city college loses his interest in the exacting problems that exist in the villages which surround the cities. And he does not make up for this loss by learning what he must do to save himself and his city from social destruction. He takes what is handed to him and does little thinking of his own. It is our responsibility to see that the city student, whether he has grown up in village or city, has adequate direction in his pursuit of higher education. In this connection we need to study more definitely the subject of college relationships. Freedom of movement in thought and fellowship between students of various religions and races needs to be fostered through intellectual understanding and mutual appreciation. An unhampered search after the best will lead to the finest results.

In planning for practical usefulness, for instance, a training for village service can be arranged for in the city. It is possible for a group in a city college to adopt a nearby village where, through friendly effort, the social life of all the villagers may be improved, the health standards raised, the economic standard of living become more nearly just.

When such a scheme is worked out the student will begin to feel a larger responsibility for his friends. In this case he will think more especially of the Youth in the village. And in the mind of the man who lives in the village, the city school will begin to justify its existence.

We look forward to an early day when the schools of India will attain to and exceed their ancient significance.

#### MADRAS BROTHEL-BILL.

We give below Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi's dissenting minute to the Brothel-Bill which was introduced in the Madras Legislative Council which has emerged from the select committee stage. A brief history of the brothel Bill and how at long last it came to be introduced in the Council from the pen of a Madras correspondent will be of interest to our readers.

Both the Women's Indian Association and the Madras Vigilance Association drafted the present Bill for the suppression of brothels and immoral traffic some years before and went on Deputation to the then law Member Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer with a request to introduce it as a Government measure. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer after promising that he would do it failed to do so. A little later a second deputation of women waited again on the Law-member who said that the bill would fare better in the hands of a private member and he himself suggested that Mr. K. R. V. Iyer might be asked to take charge of the Bill. Accordingly Mr. K. R. V. Iyer of Madura constituency consented to the proposal but he took several months even to write and obtain sanction from the Government of India to introduce the Bill. Then after obtaining sanction he failed to introduce it at the first opportunity. Subsequently he introduced the Bill which was referred to a Select Committee. Except one Select Committee Meeting he had not attended any other meeting.

He has put 30 Members on the Select Committee the majority of whom do not attend the meetings while our friends Mr. Sathyamurthi and Mr. Venkatchala Chettiar who advance reactionary views make it a point to attend. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi who has spared no pains to get this piece of social legislation enacted has appended a strong minute of dissent to the unsatisfactory Select Committee report.

Your readers can imagine what an uphill task it is for the promoter of the Bill to fight against these antagonistic forces. From Dr. Reddi's dissentient note, it will be seen how powerful are the forces here against any moral reform in this Presidency.

All honour to the few splendid men amongst us, as for example, the President of our Local Council whose advice and suggestions in times of difficulty are very encouraging.

**Mr. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI'S MINUTE OF DISSENT.**

**BILL NO. 16 OF 1928—BILL FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF BROTHELS AND IMMORAL TRAFFIC.**

We consider that the Bill as shaped by the Select Committee is defective in two respects.

(1) The Bill does not provide for punishing a person who makes a living out of the earnings of a prostitute.

(2) It does not provide for punishing any person who keeps or manages or acts or assists in the management of a place of assignation.

Any legislation for the suppression of immoral traffic in women and children will be unsatisfactory and ineffective unless provision is made for the punishment of the person who controls a prostitute and lives on the earnings of the prostitute. There cannot be any objection to legislation for punishing any person for such earnings on the ground of impropriety or inexpediency. The exploitation of female destitution and helplessness for personal gains should not be allowed to go unpunished in any civilised community. The only caution that must be observed is to exclude from the purview of the Bill the class of persons who have to reside with prostitutes on account of relationship but do not abet the prostitution or control the movements of the prostitute.

The essential ingredients of an offence of this class are (1) intimate association for gain, (2) direction or control over the prostitute's movements, and (3) abettment of prostitution. Where these conditions are satisfied, there cannot be any reasonable objection to provide for the punishment of this class of offenders. The clause relating to this class of offence is an indispensable supplement to that relating to the keeping of brothels. It is not unlikely that the traffic in women will simply change shape and flourish in spite of the suppression of brothels unless and until this class of offence is made punishable under the Bill. It is therefore necessary to insert a new clause in the Bill to the following effect.

"Whoever knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earnings of a prostitute and exercises control, direction or influence over her movement in such a manner as to show that he or she is aiding, abetting or compelling her prostitution shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years with fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000 or with both.

The corresponding Section—Section 6 of the Calcutta Act runs thus :—

(1) Any male person who knowingly lives, wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with whipping or with both of these

punishments and also be liable to a fine which may extend to one thousand rupees.

(2) Where a male person is proved

(a) to be living with or to be habitually in the company of a prostitute, or

(b) to have exercised control, direction or influence over the movements of a prostitute, in such a manner as to show that he is aiding, abetting or compelling her prostitution with any other person or generally, it shall be presumed, until the contrary is proved, that he is knowingly living on the earnings of prostitution.

Section V of the Bombay Act and Section VII of the Burma Act are almost identical in terms to that of the Calcutta Act. The provisions in the English Enactment is to be found in Section 1 of the English Vagrancy Act of 1895, 61 and 62 of Victoria Chapter 39 as amended by 2 and 3 George V—Chapter 20 Section 7 (1) and 7 (4).

By these statutes it is provided that whoever knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution shall be punished. Where a male is proved to be living with or habitually in the company of, or proved to have exercised control, direction or influence over the movements of a prostitute in such manner as to show that he is aiding, abetting or compelling her prostitution with any other person or generally, he shall, unless he can satisfy the court to the contrary, be deemed to be knowingly living on the earnings of prostitution. Whoever being a female, for the purpose of gain, exercises control direction or influence over the movements of a prostitute in such manner as to show that she is aiding, abetting or compelling his prostitution with any person or generally, shall be punished.

Clause 6 of the Bill provides protection for a girl living in a place of assignation. Clause 10 provides protection for any woman or girl detained in a house for the purposes of prostitution. The Bill should make provision for punishing any man or woman who keeps or induces or acts, or assists in the management of a place of assignation. This can easily be achieved by the insertion of the words 'place of assignation' after the word 'brothel' in clause 5 in all places where the word 'brothel' occurs in this clause.

The person in charge of place of assignation makes money by permitting it to be used for the purpose of prostitution but as the house may not be habitually used for the purposes of prostitution it may not come under the definition of the word 'brothel' as defined in the Bill. It is desirable to bring the place of assignation also within the purview of the Bill.

**THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.  
MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.**

XXXVIII. WRITERS.

(By Dr. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, Ph.D.).

Much of the charm of literature comes from the way in which the authors dig for us new wells. We

enjoy the homely and the commonplace, but we also enjoy the fantastic, tales laid in far away lands, and old truths clothed in new garments. We like to live with giants, with fairy queens and princes charming. We revel in the creations of the author's imagination, and find joy in making the acquaintance of real people who live lives different from our own. The author who can take us out of our every-day environment and cause us to live imaginatively in the life situations of others is doing us a real service. He refreshes us as does a draught of cool, clear, water.

To select the proper word to convey one's meaning is no small problem. The inexperienced writer has a tendency to run to superlatives. He uses words that should be used but seldom with such frequency that when an unusual situation arises he has no words left with which to express himself. There is nothing that gives the trained ear more joy than to listen to proper speech, while the author whom we read and re-read is the man who through years of study and effort has made the language his very own. A word fitly chosen is a veritable apple of gold—a treasure dearly bought.

The writer owes it to his constituency to speak words of truth. There is no harm done by a tale easily recognized as a fantastic one. We catch the author's spirit and enjoy the vagaries of his mind. But there is harm done by a tale which purports to deal with actual situations, while in reality it is a mere distortion. Far too many of our modern novelists consider that the only way to appeal to a jaded public taste is to call evil good, to substitute darkness for light, and to call bitter sweet. It is time that the novel of filth be called by its proper name instead of being passed by as "an interesting psychological study." The reading public can and should demand a literary house cleaning.

The author with a message, the author who believes himself to have complete understanding of the things whereof he writes, is the author most likely to win the human heart. To write a book for the sake of writing a book is of little avail—there are too many such books. To write a book because one believes it is thus that one give one's best self to the world is of much avail—there are too few such books. The writer is a co-operator with God just as truly as is the industrialist, the agriculturist, or the member of any other profession. His talent has been given him for development, and he is under obligation to do the best work of which he is capable. In so far as he uses them wisely the good is furthered. A writer should guard well that which is committed to his trust.

#### ANTI PROHIBITION ACTIVITIES.

The following Bulletin, World League against Alcoholism, was received by the last mail :—

It is officially announced from Paris that a "world wide war against prohibition has been

declared by thirteen wine growing countries of Europe, whose activities are centralized in the Office International du Vin," whose head quarters are in that city. Dr. Leon Donarcho, it is said, "has been named Commander-in-Chief of the anti-prohibition offensive," the slogan of which is "liberty and temperance," etc. They propose to "drive out bad liquor with good" that is, by the use of wine which these folks have for sale.

There is nothing new about this programme. The Wine men have already been doing this very thing ever since Alexander the Great drank himself to death at Babylon, three hundred years before the time of Christ, 2,300 years ago. These wine makers would like to keep up this game for another twenty three centuries. As they have wine for sale, their ambitions are quite natural.

This modern campaign of the wine men is already well under way. The results are indicated in a volume published a few months ago, "The Near East and American Philanthropy" a "survey conducted under the guidance of the General Committee of the Near East Survey," which Committee was appointed in 1925, and whose report has just been published by the Columbia University Press, (New York).

As an outcome of the world war, France demanded and received the "mandate" for the civilization of Syria, and wine making France made the best of her opportunity. Things are going the way the wine makers want them to go. Regarding the use of alcohol under the management of the French "mandate," the report reads :—

"Almost without exception, correspondents testify to a great and growing increase in the use of alcohol, and observe that before the War foreign beverages were very rare in Syria. The native 'araq,' a strong spirit, and wines of the country were, however, in use. It is noticeable that Moslems who formerly defied in private the Koranic injunction against drinking, now do so publicly. Wine shops, and cafes which serve liquors are now to be found in nearly every town. The common attitude, except among strictly orthodox Moslems is complaisance. Only one temperance organization, a woman's society in Damascus, is reported."

And with the increase of the use of alcohol under the French mandate, other vices that usually accompany the drink, are now thriving as never before. We read from the report :—

"In 1922, the Lebanese government legislated that there should be no commercial gambling places in its territory; the law was over-ruled by the mandatory power, and such places were opened in two mountain summer resorts. In native communities, there are no recognized public gambling houses."

In regard to the use of narcotic drugs under the French mandate, the same increase appears. The report states that :—

In most part of the country there is reported an increase in the use of narcotic drugs, particularly hasheesh and cocaine. Some natives allege that there is a laxness in enforcing the laws. No noticeable public sentiment has yet been aroused concerning the subject."

In regard to social vices, the French wine programme has taken the usual course prevailing under wine making countries. The report states :—

"The Mosaic laws inflicting death on the girl who 'plays the harlot,' and in many cases upon her consorts, were the theoretical basis of the general Syrian attitude towards prostitution. Today, however, licensed houses of prostitution are found in many of the towns. In eleven towns there are well over 1,000 licensed prostitutes, and Aleppo and Damascus each has between 300 and 500. The control of the Profession is said to be in the hands of a small group; the Government is not trying to abolish it, and it is spreading widely. 'Maisens de convenience' are established near all important French military posts, with the approval of the military authorities, who believe that they are a definite protection to the residents of the places in which they are located. Formerly prostitutes in Syria were almost entirely foreign women; they are now recruited from almost every group of natives as well. Few Moslem girls, however, enter public houses; but many Moslem widows and divorces are privately engaged in prostitution. Men who patronize brothels may be classified according to their numbers as: (1) Military (2) Native Christians (3) Moslems. Many report a growing tendency to be indifferent to the spread of prostitution, or else regard it as a natural concomitant of the European influence on the country."

It will be seen, therefore, that this French wine making programme is now well under way in Syria, where the wine makers have a free hand. The increase in the consumption of alcohol is decidedly marked, gambling is spreading, officially protected and prostitution is rampant, legalized and protected. The Office International du Vin proposes to make a world wide fight to force these conditions into every part of the world, particularly into the United States where the laws and public sentiment are against all such things. Dr. Douarhe, the leader and "Commander-in-Chief" of the movement states that "our campaign will be educational and we shall strive to make it courteous, dignified and comprehensive."

These folks are making their campaign in Syria "comprehensive" all right enough.

#### FAILURE OF CHRISTIAN MISSION.\*

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The writer is very much surprised at the changed attitude of the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* according to an article—an editorial in the issue of August 10th.

I heard you speak at the Mid India Missionary Association meeting some years ago. When your address was generally favourably received by all missionaries present. But in this article of August 10th, you are certainly making a number of misleading statements. Is this to show us that you are ignorant of what you are writing about?

1. Is an error in your statement, when you form the wrong conclusion why missionaries are here. No missionaries are here for educational, medical or social work alone. If any are here solely for that purpose, they can no longer be classed as missionaries. Missionaries are in India and in every other country at Christ's command, "Go ye into all the world." They are carrying on educational, medical and social work only as a secondary work. Indians ought to have done that before the missionaries ever came but since the Indian religions did not do this, and did not have any insight and initiative in doing this and were groping in darkness, the missionaries felt called to undertake this for your people in addition to their other work which is heavy in itself.

2. You speak as if the missionaries are here as if they came for proselytizing. This is not true. The missionaries are here because their Lord and Master commands, "Go and preach". And the result is the Holy Spirit takes those words from the lips of missionaries and plants them into hearts of Indians, who also want this religion and its blessings of eternal life, which no religion of India or any other country can give. Forgiveness of sin is found only in the Christian religion and no man ought to object if his fellowman wants sin removed from his heart. Christ will do this blotting out of the heart, if man wants his sin removed. In fact you, yourself ought to welcome this forgiveness of sin to your fellowmen.

3. You say, "their purpose of conversion has put missionaries in a false position." Never. No one, that has been truly converted has ever felt that he has been placed in a false position. Those who feel that they have been placed in a false position, have not been converted. And others, who imagine this falseness, do not know what they are talking about.

\*We should have been glad if Mr. Bradford had pointed out wherein the speech at the Jubbalpore Conference to which he evidently refers differs from the article from which he quotes. So far as the first three points he specifically mentions are concerned there can be no inconsistency because in substance we have held and expressed the same views for some years past. The fourth is merely a manner of expression. We may mention that in view of the possibility of misunderstandings such as Mr. Bradford's Mr. Natarajan has declined invitations to address missionary meetings since the Jubbalpore Conference.—Ed. I. S. R.



4. "Christian Missions have come to be regarded as agencies of religious exploitation." No one that has experienced the blessings of the Christian religion, its forgiveness of sin, etc., will ever make such a statement. And certainly those who have passed into eternal life will be grateful to God that missionaries have brought it to them.

Now I think that I have touched the principal fallacies in your editorial. Should you desire to have more light on the subject be free to write to me, and I will illuminate your points in question more fully.

Dharchula, U. P.,  
10th September 1929. }

Yours, etc.,  
C. BRADFORD.

#### LIFE SKETCH OF JATINDRANATH DAS.

Jatindra Nath Das, son of Sj. Bankim Chandra Das was born at Shambazar in 1904 and comes of a respectable Kayastha family of Calcutta. His ancestral residence was at Cossipore. His grandfather migrated to Puddopulore, Bhawanipur after the Government had acquired his ancestral residence for the establishment of a gun factory. He was educated at Bhawanipur Mitra Institution and passed the Matriculation Examination from the said school in 1921 and then joined Ashutosh College.

#### JOINS N. C. O. MOVEMENT.

The year 1921 which saw the birth of non-co-operation movement also marks the beginning of the active life of Jatin Das. He responded to the clarion call of non-co-operation and gave up his studies and began to serve his country as a humble worker. In this connection mention should be made of an incident which brings into bold relief his intense love for country. His father who was vehemently opposed to his son's joining the non-co-operation movement drove him out of his house when his son threw himself heart and soul into the vortex of the movement. But nothing could daunt that brave young man. He left his father's protection and for sometime put up in the office of the Congress Committee. During his stay there he lived only on 'chira' 'muri'. Even when he was reduced to this plight cheerfulness did not forsake him nor his care-free smile fade on his lips. Those who saw Jatindra Nath at the time predicted that he was going to do something great.

#### SERIES OF ARRESTS.

When the whole volunteer corps was declared illegal by the Bengal Government he wholeheartedly joined the movement and was arrested and sent to jail. After his release he became the Assistant Secretary of South Calcutta Congress Committee and acted in that capacity upto the time of his arrest in connection with Saunders Murder Case better known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case. As Assistant Secretary he went to the flood-stricken area in North-Bengal to lend his helping hand to the people in their distress and was in charge of Patisar centre. After his return from Patisar he

was again arrested while picketing at Burabazar for the boycott of foreign cloths and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. After his release from jail he went on working for the Congress and worked hard with Deshbandhu for the formation of the Swarajya party. He was again arrested in 1925 for the third time under Criminal Law Amendment Act and was a detenu for 3 years.

#### HUNGER-STRIKE IN MYMENSINGH JAIL.

While in Mymensingh jail he resorted to hunger strike as a protest against the treatment of jail authorities and continued it for three weeks after the lapse of which the Government yielded and he was transferred to Mianwali jail in Punjab.

#### NATIONAL MILITIA.

The vision of the formation of a national militia always loomed large before him and on his release he concentrated all his energy on the organisation and formation of a permanent volunteer corps and when the Congress was in session in Calcutta he was the Major of the Bengal Volunteer Corps. Such was his passion for the organisation of volunteers that he went from door to door in the scorching rays of the sun to induce the young men of Chetia, Ballygunj and Kidderpore to join the volunteer movement and it will be no exaggeration to say that the South Calcutta Volunteer Corps owed its origin and existence to the untiring energy and activity of Sj. Das. The Volunteer movement was always in his brain and he was arrested on June 14, 1922. His parting words to his friends and co-workers were "Perhaps I shall not come back, but keep the Volunteer movement alive and see that it does not collapse." Even on his death-bed in Lahore Jail he requested all his friends who went to interview him to make the volunteer organisation a living force.

#### THE IDEA OF FREEDOM.

His activity was not cribbed, cabined and confined to the four corners of the volunteer organisation only. He had an eye on the physical and moral welfare of the youngmen of Bhawanipur and in that behalf he helped to establish libraries, study circles, and gymnasiums in South Calcutta. The list of books shows that he was very eager to inculcate the principles of freedom in the youngmen. He himself drew inspiration from books on Irish Revolution, French Revolution and the lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi.

Now, we come to the last chapter of his life and activities. After Jatin Das was lodged in the Lahore Jail Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutt went on hunger-strike and he followed suit, "I will fight it to the finish" he said and he has right bravely fought it to the finish. Nothing could make him change his mind and even when on the verge of death the Government offered to release him on bail and his bold reply was 'Conditional release is no release' and he spurned the offer of the Government with contempt. His firm will, deathless determination, dogged tenacity of purpose and love

of country did not desert him till the last hour of his life. He was a true Soldier of Freedom and died like a hero and a martyr. The motto of this Indian Macswiney was :—

“ A Soldier's life is life for me.

A Soldier's death ; So India is Free.” and he nobly and valiantly lived up to it.—*A. B. Patrika.*

#### PROCESSION IN LAHORE.

Jatindra Das who was confined in Lahore Borstal Jail as an under-trial prisoner in what is called the Lahore Conspiracy Case, died on the 13th instant at 1-30 p.m., after having been on hunger-strike for 61 days as a protest against the treatment of political prisoners. The news of the death of J. N. Das spread in the city with electric speed and by three o'clock the principal business quarters had been closed for the day. People started gathering outside the Borstal Jail gate but the authorities did not allow more than about a dozen gentlemen and ladies in the jail compound. Mr. Kiranchandra Das, brother of the deceased, was the only person permitted inside the jail. At about 4-30 p.m. the dead body of Das was brought out on a wooden bier shouldered by his brother and jail menials and was placed on the roadside amidst shouts of “Long live the Revolution,” “Long live Das.” Das's eyes were sunken deep in the sockets, his cheekbone protruded out and his face was ghastly and pale. The bier was decorated with flowers and garlands and it was carried in a procession which consisted of Congress volunteers followed in order by Young men, ladies, leaders, bier and the Crown. The procession swelled as it proceeded and the mourners showered petals on the bier. When it reached the outskirts of the city it numbered roughly two thousand.

When the procession reached Anarkali, a regular sea of heads was to be seen. People placed wreaths of flowers on the dead body and others bared their heads in honour of the deceased.

Complete hartal was observed throughout the City, and the procession became swollen in numbers as it proceeded.

The procession wended its way through Paper Mandi, Macchi Hatta, Dabbi Bazar, Kashmiri Gate and reached Delhi Gate at about 8-45 p. m. The dead body was placed on a raised platform on the extensive lawns outside Delhi Gate and a meeting of about 20,000 was held under the chairmanship of Dr. Mohammad Alam.

The body of Jatindranath Das was kept throughout the night in a railway compartment, guarded by Congress volunteers. There was a large police force at the railway station and Government buildings were strongly guarded throughout the night.

The bogie containing Das's body was attached to the Howrah Express of the 14th morning.

The body was placed inside a wooden box which was covered with flowers and wreaths. Jatindra Das's brother, Kiran Das sat by the side of the body. It was in a third class composite carriage, being

the second carriage from the engine, while the other half of it was occupied by a contingent of police officers.

#### ARRIVAL IN CALCUTTA.

A record crowd modestly estimated at a lakh and a half, had assembled at the Howrah Station and the approaches anxiously awaiting the arrival of the body of Jatindra Das. As a railway official put it it was a scene which Howrah had never witnessed within living memory. People of all classes were present, including a large number of women and intense excitement prevailed.

Almost to time on Sunday night the Howrah Express arrived on the platform which was heralded by deafening shouts of Bande-Mataram. It took some time to remove the body from the carriage. A decorated motor lorry was in waiting but the bier was carried by about a dozen young men and was taken to the Town Hall.

#### DAS' BODY "LYING-IN-STATE"

The Central Hall of the Howrah Town Hall was bedecked with flowers, foliage and multicoloured lights. The body of Das was placed on a raised platform in the Central Hall beautifully decorated with white lilies. On all sides of the Hall sat men and women to witness the lying-in-state celebration. Flowers and wreaths were placed on the body.

#### FUNERAL PROCESSION.

The funeral procession carrying the mortal remains of Jatindranath started amidst unprecedented scenes from the Howrah Town Hall at 7-30 a.m. on the 16th, after touching ceremonies performed by ladies who streamed in, long before dawn. From the Howrah Town Hall to Harrison Road, was one seething mass of humanity.

The whole of the Howrah Bridge up to the crossing of the Chitpur Road, a distance of over half a mile was blocked by large crowds. Housetops and balconies were filled with spectators. Traffic across the bridge and other parts of the route was stopped. As the procession reached the crossing of the Strand and Harrison Roads it swelled in number and glided its way along Harrison Road in the College Street. Flowers were strewn en route, from house tops by Marwari women. At the crossing of the College Street and Harrison Road the scene was unprecedented. Here the crowd numbered about five lakhs. The procession still increased in volume and was joined by a large number of students who shouted “Jatindra Das Ki Jai.” It was now over a mile long and the bier was literally covered with flowers and wreaths. The procession reached the Keoratala Burning Ghat, a distance of about eight miles from Howrah at about one p.m.

The body of Jatindra Nath Das was placed on the pyre at 3 p.m. the last rites being performed by Jatindra Nath Das's brother Kiran Das. As the body was taken out of the coffin there was a mad rush towards it for a last look. The cremation was performed according to the orthodox custom ghee and sandal wood being used.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Who is the greatest Muslim Nationalist of India:—The Secretary, Mysore Sarvajanic Sabha, Basavanagudi, Bangalore, writes:—Hindu patriots yearning for national solidarity cherish a special regard for their Muslim brethren who are living examples of inter-communal good will and patriotic zeal. It would interest them to know who is voted to be the greatest Muslim Nationalist of India. Will the Hindu readers of this paper therefore kindly send a letter or post card to the abovementioned address giving the name of the gentleman most esteemed by them as a true Nationalist? Every communication should bear the signature and address of the writer. It may be signed by more persons than one when they vote for the same gentleman. The voting list will be closed on the 30th December and the result announced in due course.

Adjournment-Motion:—When the Assembly met on Saturday the 14th morning Pandit Motilal sought leave to move an adjournment-motion censuring the Government for the death of Mr. Das and the Hunger-Strike situation. It was carried by 55 against 47 votes.

A Remarriage in Bombay:—At the invitation of Dr. and Mrs. S. N. Nayampalli, a large gathering of ladies and gentlemen assembled at Sheth Bhagwandas Madhavdas' residence, Chowpatty, on Sunday, 1st September to witness the remarriage of Shrimati Durgabai Telang with Mr. Laxmanrao V. Kaikini. The gathering included several personal friends and relatives of Mr. Kaikini and the bride and sympathisers with the cause of widow remarriage. The ceremony was performed according to Vedic rites. Mr. G. B. Trivedi delivered a short speech referring to Mr. Kaikini as a confirmed social reformer from boyhood, and congratulated the parties to the marriage on the moral courage they had shown. He was particularly glad to find that a large number of ladies and gentlemen of the Saraswat community were present on the occasion. Mr. Kaikini on behalf of his wife and himself thanked Mr. Trivedi and the gathering for their sympathy. He traced his early leanings towards the problems of social justice to the influence of the teaching imparted in the Sunday classes of the Prarthana Samaj, and said that it really was a question of social justice which ought to appeal to every one and that he and his wife would do their best to deserve the congratulations bestowed on them.

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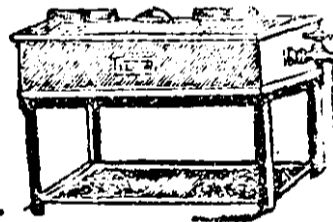
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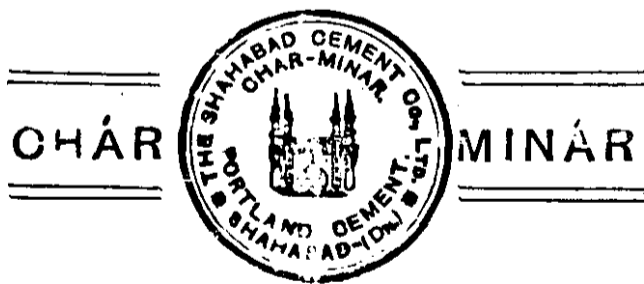
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# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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No. 4

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Satyagraha For Child Marriage:—**Mr. S. Satyamurthi, member of the Madras Legislative Council, advises orthodox Hindus to break the Sarda marriage Bill when it becomes law and take the consequences. We do not think many people will be and to accept his advice as it virtually amounts to their marrying their daughters in infancy to spite the reformers. Any one who tries to do this will be restrained by an injunction from the courts at the instance of the local social reform organisation, and will, in addition, have to face the opposition of his own female relations whose eyes have been opened to the risks of child marriage. These, in addition to the well-known physical risks include the possibility of the husband marrying a second wife, virtually abandoning his first one, of which there have been several instances. What becomes of the doctrine of the inviolable sacrament of Hindu marriage, Mr. Satyamurthi might perhaps tell us. It is impossible to think of a worse case for *Satyagraha* than child marriage which is itself the gross *asatya*—that is to say, a cruel fiction. The enlightened public, however, will have to be prepared to meet attempts to impose child marriage on young children in defiance of the law, by providing homes where children rescued from recalcitrant parents or guardians may find a home until they grow up to years of maternity. Mr. Satyamurthi and others of his way of thinking, will do well to understand that the country is in dead earnest to see child marriages eradicated from it.

**Madras Leaders On Sarda Bill:—**In happy contrast to the relentless orthodox opposition in Madras to the Sarda Bill are the opinions expressed by leaders like Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar and Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu. Interviewed by the *Associated Press* regarding the passing of the Sarda Bill Sir Sivaswami Aiyar congratulated Mr. Sarda, the Assembly and the Government on the passing of the Bill. He further said, "I am of opinion that the age limits now fixed for marriage and for consummation are quite proper and reasonable." Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar said, "I must express my profound thankfulness and satisfaction that the Sarda Bill has been passed by the Legislative

Assembly." He further observed that but for the extreme consideration for the orthodox opinion both by the Age of Consent Committee and the legislature, the minimum age of marriage for girls would have been higher and more in consonance with medical opinion. Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu stated that he was simply delighted that an overwhelming majority voted for the prohibition of early marriage in the Assembly and he added that it filled his heart with joy to see that child marriage had been declared a criminal offence in future. How the women of Madras welcome the measure is well set forth in the interview given by Dr. Muthulakshmi and Mrs. Malati Patwardan who said "It is with feelings of joy and relief that we hear that the Bill has been passed by such a large majority. Women all over India have been most anxious that the marriage age of their children should be raised. The passing of the Bill, we feel, is one of the biggest steps India has taken towards freedom." To people of the orthodox persuasion like Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Aiyar the Bill is unpalatable and they will move earth and heaven in the form of deputations to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in England to get the Bill vetoed. If opposition to the Bill will release their orthodoxy so far as to allow them to cross the seas to wait on the Secretary of State, it will be a matter for congratulation.

**No Extradition For Bigamy:—**Peter Saldanha whom the Bombay High Court found guilty of bigamy and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, has escaped to Goa in Portuguese territory where his second or canonical wife is said to have joined him. According to the *Evening News*, he was last seen in the Bombay High Court till a short while before the judgment was pronounced in the second of the two cases against him. It appears that as soon as he scented an adverse judgment he left the Court unnoticed by anybody. Presumably according to a pre-arranged plan he left Bombay by the next available train, i. e., the Poona express which leaves Victoria Terminus at 2-15 p. m. It appears that Saldanha went straight to Belgaum and from there took a motor-bus or taxi for Panjim. Saldanha was on bail and the usual procedure in an appeal case of this kind is that after the High Court convicts the accused and awards sentence of imprisonment the copy of judgment is forwarded to the Lower Court (in this case the Sessions Court of Nasik) and the District Magistrate issues a warrant of arrest. It is this procedure which has given the accused an opportunity of making good his escape without let or hindrance either by the district police or the Bombay

police. Under article 3 of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1892, bigamy is not one of the offences for which the convicted person could be extradited from Portuguese India to British territory to meet the ends of justice. This is a curious case in which personal law has been vindicated by merely removing outside the jurisdiction of the civil law. The Catholic community is considerably perturbed by the decision of the courts upholding the civil first marriage as against the canonical second marriage of Saldanha, and it is probable that it will agitate for a change in the law.

**Another Book On India:**—The *Hindu* publishes a message from its special correspondent summarising the contents of another book on India entitled "After Mother India." The writer, one Mrs. Herty, makes absurd allegations against Mahatma Gandhi to which, no doubt, he will reply at the first opportunity. We quote from the message: Referring sarcastically to Mahatmaji as the "Twentieth Century Hindu Saint" and as an "outstanding world figure", it is stated that Mahatma Gandhi's memory betrayed him when he denied giving a message to Miss Mayo. The book prints a *facsimile* of Mahatmaji's letter enclosing the revised interview notes containing the message. The book alleges that "this famous Hindu was anxious that the information calculated to hurt his political activities in Western eyes should not reach the whitemen's countries and be of embarrassment to him and his cause" and in illustration of the charge publishes a sworn affidavit of Mrs. D. O. Herty, the widow of an American engineer murdered—during the riots which occurred on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1921 and the boycott demonstrations organised in that connection. In her affidavit Mrs. D. O. Herty alleges that Mahatma Gandhi sent Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to her and "Mrs. Sarojini Naidu asked frankly for the price for my refraining from discussing and advertising the murder in America and also for refraining myself from returning to America." Mrs. D. O. Herty further alleges that she saw herself Mahatma Gandhi and says "He repeated in substance what Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said even more emphatically and stressed that Americans, because they sympathised politically, must on no account learn of the murder lest it hurt his movements in America and prejudice our people against him." The affidavit is dated 14th January, while the *facsimile* letter is dated Ashram, April 4, 1926. The notes of the interview are dated 17th March, 1926. The book publishes a vindication of "Mother India" extracts from the Anglo Indian and Indian Press supporting the fact that the reform waves in India are due to the book. It is again alleged that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu acted for the second time as an emissary of Mahatma Gandhi, when she toured America with the object of preventing the Land of Dollars from discovering the facts. The writer claims that he helped Miss Mayo in editing "Mother India" and acknowledges obligations which Miss Mayo and the writer owe to the India Office for statistics and written statements included in "Mother India".

**The Opium Commission:**—The Commission of Enquiry into Opium Smoking in the Far East left Geneva on September 4th, after a short session in the course of which it has prepared its material and adopted its programme of work. The

Commission is composed of the three following persons: M. Ekstrand, Swedish Minister at Buenos Aires, formerly Member of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations, Chairman of the Enquiry Commission. M. Max Leo Gerard, Honorary Secretary to the King of the Belgians, Director-General of the Sinking Fund of the Belgian Public Debt and President of the Belgian Society of Political Economy. M. Jean Havlasa, late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Czechoslovakia at Rio de Janeiro. This Commission was set up by the Council last March in accordance with a resolution passed by the 1928 Assembly at the request of the British Government. In a memorandum addressed to the 1928 Assembly, the British Government explained that its proposal for an enquiry in the Far East arose out of the difficulties with which it was confronted in the attempt to apply the measures contemplated in the Hague Opium Convention for the gradual and effective suppression of the use of prepared opium. The enquiry will be conducted in the Far Eastern territories of States Members agreeing to this measure. It will be extended to the Philippines, the American Government having intimated that it would receive the Commission in these islands and that the Governor-General would be at its disposal for all information concerning the practical results of the system of prohibition in operation there. The enquiry will bear upon the measures taken by Governments to give effect to Chapter 2 of the Hague Opium Convention and to the Geneva Agreement of 1925, on the nature and extent of the illicit traffic in the Far East and on the difficulties which it causes in the fulfilment of international obligations. The Commission's journey will last some nine months, in the course of which the following districts and countries will be visited: Burma, Straits Settlements, Java and Sumatra, British Borneo, The Philippines, Siam, French Indo-China, Macao, Hong-Kong, Formosa Quantung.

**A point Of Law:**—There was recently reported from Calcutta that a Hindu married woman who had become a convert to Islam, had her marriage dissolved by the Calcutta High Court on her husband refusing to become a Mahomedan at her invitation. It was stated that the Judge acted under the Mahomedan law in granting the dissolution. We understand that the point will be taken to higher tribunals as it is felt that it is too important to rest on the authority of a single Judge.

**Indians in East Africa:**—Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru, President of the East African Indian National Congress, it is stated will go to London to represent the case of the Indians in East Africa to the authorities in London. It is understood that Sir Samuel Wilson's report will be considered by His Majesty's Government on October 16th. Sir Mahomed Habibullah and Mr. G. S. Bajpai are already in London but it has been felt necessary for the East African Indians to have a non-official spokesman there before His Majesty's Government arrive at even tentative conclusions. It is understood that the East African question may be referred to a Joint Parliamentary Committee. Probably the matter will be decided by the Cabinet on October 16.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1929.

THE SARDA BILL IN THE  
ASSEMBLY.

The Sarda Marriage Bill has emerged from the Legislative Assembly practically as revised by the Select Committee. The Bill as originally drafted by Mr. Harbilas Sarda proposed to make all marriages of girls below 12 years of age null and void. In order to meet the case of parents who were not prepared to go so far, it provided that Magistrates on application might grant licenses for the marriage of girls at 11 years of age. The Bill was limited to Hindus. The Select Committee made changes in the Bill of a radical character. It rejected the principle of making child marriages void and adopted that of penalising them. It raised the marriageable limit to 14 for girls and prescribed 18 for boys. It made the Bill applicable to all communities and not only to Hindus. All these changes were in the nature of improvements, but as they affected the principles of the original Bill, the revised Bill was at the instance of Mr. Sarda himself re-circulated for opinion and criticism to the public. At the same time with reference to a proposal before the Assembly to raise the Age of Consent, a committee was appointed by Government, with Sir Moropant Joshi as Chairman, to enquire and report on the working of the present law relating to that subject and to make recommendations. The Committee was not required to report on the Sarda Marriage Bill or, indeed, to take into its scope the question of marriage legislation. But as it had to deal with the question of protection of minor girl wives, the need for legislation restraining child marriages forced itself on the Committee's attention. The Joshi Committee recommended that legislation on the lines of Mr. Sarda's Bill was indispensable in order to ensure adequate protection to child wives. The enquiry of the Committee brought out another important point which till then had been obscured from the public view. It is that child marriages were not confined to Hindus, but prevailed, though not to the same extent, among other communities also, including Mahomedans. We had called attention to this fact more than once in our comments on the Sarda Bill.

When the Bill came up for consideration at the present Simla session of the Legislative Assembly, a notable change had taken place in the attitude of Government as the result of the Joshi Committee's recommendations. Government which on previous occasions had either sat on the fence or was actually hostile to the Bill, declared that it

cordially supported it. It need hardly be said that the support of Government was a great factor in bringing about the successful emergence of the Bill from the Assembly. Next to it, and next only to it, was the strong support of enlightened Mahomedan members, prominent among whom were Messrs. Jinnah, Shah Nawaz and others, against the deadset made on the Bill by their orthodox Hindu and Musalman colleagues who had joined hands for once to throw out this measure of much delayed and urgent social reform. The Shariat and the Shastras were freely cited as being opposed to legislation fixing a limit of age to marriage. But the upholders of orthodoxy knew that they were leading a forlorn hope. With a resolution worthy of a better cause, however, they tried every method of delay, obstruction and attack which the rules of the Assembly allowed. They moved for the further postponement of the Bill to the next Delhi session. When they were defeated in this, they moved to exempt Mahomedans and orthodox Hindus from the scope of the Bill. This of course was absurd and was rejected by a large majority.

They then tried to get the age limit lowered to 12, and in this they had the support of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. But this too the Assembly would not allow. The next move of the opponents of the Bill was to introduce a sort of conscience clause which would have effected by the back door what they had not been able to achieve directly, namely, the stultification of the measure. Then they tried to reduce the penalties for infringement, which, in all conscience, are none too severe having regard to the serious consequences to the victims of the pernicious custom. The last move was to put off the date when the law comes into operation. But this also was defeated and the law comes into force the moment it receives the assent of the Governor-General after passing through the Council of State. When all these attempts failed, a few Musalman members withdrew from the Assembly, while the self-appointed orthodox Hindu champion, Mr. M. K. Acharya, avowing that he bowed to the inevitable, made a somewhat incoherent speech calling anathema on the supporters of the measure. The Assembly unmoved by his jeremiads passed the third reading by a majority of 68 to 14. The course of the Bill in the Council of State seems to be fairly assured and the Governor-General's assent may be expected to be given as a matter of course after the declaration of the attitude of Government by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly. The passing of the Bill by that body has been hailed with satisfaction by Indian opinion throughout the country, only a few voices being raised in disapproval.

## THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

MEDIATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

XXXIX. RESEARCH WORKERS.

(By DR. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, PH.D.).

The function of the research worker is to discover truth. In spite of the great mass of our present day knowledge we live in an undiscovered country. We see nature at work, but we are still in ignorance concerning many of the laws governing the operation of nature. It is to the task of discovery that the research worker has dedicated himself. He desires to help men move from the area of supposition to the realm of fact. He digs deep and lays a solid foundation for the rearing of the social structure.

The man of science is not given to snap judgments. He accepts a theory as a working hypothesis, but before he is ready to declare the theory a fact he tests and re-tests it in his study or in the laboratory. And when he speaks his words have weight. He speaks the things he has experienced, the things of which he knows. In a day when so much loose thinking and hasty generalization is found in our organs of public opinion, it is well to turn to the research worker and to find in his attitude a much needed corrective. "Wisdom is better than rubies; and all the things that may be desired are not to be compared to it."

The research worker is loyal to truth. He starts to work upon a problem that gives every promise of being of benefit to society. Day in and day out he pursues it, following its every lead. Each day seems to carry him a bit further towards its solution, and each day he checks his results with the utmost care. At last it seems as if he is ready to make definite announcement of success, but just at that moment he discovers a slight error which makes the entire calculation unreliable. The scientist does not hesitate. Instead of going ahead and trusting to chance that the error will be undiscovered, he begins at the beginning and painstakingly carries on the entire work anew. He is determined that his mouth shall utter truth.

The research worker is not simply the man engaged in laboratory work. He is the sociologist, the economist, and the historian. He is the philosopher, the theologian, and the man of letters. Every man who tries to organize his life upon an experimental basis is engaged in research. To live by hearsay is not enough. A man must prove the things he hears. He must study and question, submitting all problems to the test of his own reason. He must supplement his own knowledge with the ablest opinions of others. He must select and reject until at last he finds the way of truth. It is only thus that the world attains to progress.

Religion has no monopoly upon faith. Faith underlies every human relationship, and is no where more evident than in the field of research. It is because a man believes that he attempts. It is faith that sends a man far away from home to

stalk fever and death-bringing disease. It is faith that sends the technician into the laboratory to discover new serums and hitherto unknown combinations to further the ministry of healing. It is because of faith that human misery is retreating, and the standard of public health is being raised. All things are possible—if we believe.

## BOMBAY WOMEN'S EDUCATION CONFERENCE.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Women's Committee on Education and Social Reform, the fourth conference of the Women of Bombay was held on the 21st instant, at the Malabari Memorial Hall, Gamdevi, when Mrs. Sundrabai Sirur presided.

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The President in the course of her opening speech said:—

It has now become our duty to see that the future of our girls is well guarded and the chief factor that should occupy our primary attention in this respect is their education which is the true foundation of their future career. For the last three years or so, educational conferences are held all over the country and questions as to what sort of education our girls should receive are being discussed. It is very gratifying to note that elderly ladies like H. H. the Maharanee of Baroda and H. H. the Begum Mother of Bhopal, who are types of the ancient culture of this country, have blessed our efforts by presiding over our deliberations giving us sound advice. This fact clearly shows that those who have undertaken to solve this problem do not merely hunt after modern theories and ideas but seek to blend them with what is best in our ancient culture.

### WOMEN'S UNITY.

There is another matter for which we might justly feel proud of ourselves. We hear it said often that while a hundred men can work together in perfect harmony, it is difficult for two women to work together even for a short time. But if we cast our glance about us, it becomes clear to us that even while men are occupied in differences such as communal or racial, we women can join hands together in a common cause. Occasions such as this Conference in which women of all castes, creeds and communities representing different interests and working in different spheres come together and co-operate with each other in finding out the way that will lead to the common good not only of our own sex but ultimately of the whole nation also, must, once and for all remove this stigma that is often levelled against us, showing that not only can we work peacefully together but we even display a greater spirit of harmony in some respects, specially in social activities, which is one of the most prominent spheres that occupies our energies. It may be that social work unites while politics which is pre-eminently the sphere of men's activities often has

a tendency to divide. However this may be, let us always strive to bring about and maintain a spirit of unity and raise ourselves and the men also above all differences of caste and community which have been the bane of the society.

#### ARE WOMEN INFERIOR TO MEN?

If this is so, the question is asked how do we account for the notion of the inferiority of woman. I may say without hesitation that the fault is ours and we women are largely responsible for it. From times immemorial the women of India have led a life of sacrifice and complete self-abnegation, and they have thus not only effaced themselves but in doing so they have effaced their sex. As a natural consequence of this, man has got into the habit of considering himself as a superior being thinking that his comforts must come first and naturally the woman's claims are over-looked. However, inspite of all these handicaps, the woman, by her spirit of noble sacrifice, forbearance, patience and above everything else, love, has so maintained her position and fulfilled her responsibility in life that great men and leaders have gratefully borne testimony to the fact that this country has survived all the shocks it has sustained through so many centuries because of the women of this country. It is very difficult for strangers and stray wanderers to grasp the secret of the beauty of Indian home life. Some of the ladies of the West think that Indian women are nonentities and that they have no touch of individuality in them. It is true that they cannot demonstrate their individuality in words, but it becomes manifest in their actions and the atmosphere that reigns in the home over which she presides.

#### MRS. RAMABAI RANADE

That a woman who is given proper education can work wonders is shown by the inspiring example of Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, the founder and the heart and soul of the Poona Seva Sadan. Mrs. Ranade as a little girl was so ignorant that when her brother received a letter from her father, she could not imagine how a mere scrap of paper that could not speak could convey thoughts. But Justice Ranade from the very day of their marriage made up his mind to educate his little bride and began to teach her from the alphabets and this ignorant girl who received real education at the hands of her husband grew to be one of the greatest women of our times, who, besides being an ideal wife, dedicated her life to the amelioration of helpless women by founding and working the Seva Sadan. This is also an example of how some of the wives of the social reformers tactfully paved their way and made it smooth for us.

#### WORK OF SOCIAL REFORMERS.

Though we consider our men to be selfish, we must forget that unlike in other countries we have not had to fight for the privileges which we are enjoying to-day; for these we must express our gratitude to the pioneers of social reform in this

country who fought for our cause long before we had awakened from our deep slumber and suffered a great deal of persecution at the hands of the orthodox people. Men of all castes headed by Dada-bhoj Nowrojee who started the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, made a beginning in the direction of encouraging female education. Later on eminent citizens identified themselves with this cause and undertook to teach voluntarily in the schools run by the Society. The question before the public at the time this Society was started was, whether girls should be educated or not. It was feared among other things that if girls were educated they would neglect their household duties and would spend their time in reading novels and writing love letters. The very fact that the number of girls going to schools and colleges is increasing shows that people are realising the importance of female education. I do admit that the woman is the maker of the home, and keeping the house is her first duty. But I cannot see eye to eye with those who say that in whatever circumstances she may be, that the kitchen is her sole realm. Do we live to eat alone? Or suppose we do, do we find real satisfaction in such a life? No. As food is required for the body, something is required for the mind and that is knowledge. Even in the primitive stage man displayed a natural instinct for knowledge, and it is knowledge that has raised us from the low primitive level of barbarians to the high position of civilised beings. It is the function of education to systematise our knowledge and naturally every man and woman must obtain it.

#### COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION.

The aim of education is the acquisition of knowledge. Coming out of the home, the primary school provides for the first time the education as we understand it in its practical sense. Primary education embodies the simple codes of reading and writing if not anything more. Reading and writing is the gateway to the temple of knowledge. I consider that primary education is absolutely necessary and indispensable to everybody. If parents through poverty or ignorance cannot afford to educate their children it is the duty of those who realise the value of education and the importance of every boy and girl going to school, to see that some provision is made which will make it possible and easy to impart elementary education to every child, and for this the introduction of compulsory and free primary education becomes one of our prime needs. We look up to the State for help in this direction. If the State realises its responsibility towards its subjects and is actuated by a sincere desire to promote its interests, then I think it should consider as its primary duty to meet this crying need of ours and do everything that is possible in their power to assist the Municipality which is striving so hard in this direction to further this cause. It is gratifying to see that compulsory and free education is introduced in the 'F' and 'G' Wards and it is the intention of the

Municipality to introduce it in all the others Wards. But this, as is shown in the report of the Municipal Schools Committee, cannot be achieved unless the Government comes to their help. I earnestly hope the dispute that is going on between the Municipality and the Government over the question of Government grant for primary education will be soon settled to the advantage of the cause of education. With regard to the ways in which primary education should be imparted the most important thing is the question of teachers. In this respect it is my humble opinion that women are most suited for this purpose. Primary education is the ground work of all knowledge and provides the fundamental requirements for the growth of mental faculties. As such it should be common to boys and girls. I therefore feel that it is not necessary for the Municipality to have separate schools for boys and girls at least upto the 4th standard.

#### SECONDARY EDUCATION.

Then comes the question of secondary education. Here I feel the necessity of separate schools for girls. By this I mean not only separate places for education but also different curriculum. In secondary schools for girls subjects like domestic science, gardening, arts and crafts as well as some idea of social work should be given prominence to. Our economic condition must also be taken into consideration. Even in an advanced city like Bombay most of the girls who go to school have to do a good deal of domestic work at home in helping their mothers. If the same course that is assigned for boys who can devote their sole attention to school work, is set up for such girls, it becomes too great a strain on them and naturally their health suffers. This is also due to the great importance that is attached in our present educational system to examinations. Those whose health is robust enough to shoulder the hardships of examinations and who have real capacity both mental and physical may go in for them. But unfortunately it has become the sole ambition of every school-going girl to compete for examinations. She feels she cannot call herself educated in the modern sense if she does not pass them. If culture and scholarships were measured by examinations, then men like Rabindranath Tagore and Count Tolstoy could not be classed in the list of scholars. For these various reasons I feel, that a different course of secondary education must be devised out for girls who do not aspire for higher education.

#### COLLEGE EDUCATION.

The next question is about college education. The fact that we are in want of lady doctors and lady teachers naturally shows that higher education is desirable for girls. As the number of girls going to colleges is increasing, I think it is desirable to have a women's college for many reasons, one of them being that girls, according to the existing social conditions, are not free in a men's college and thus do not have the scope of cultivating their faculties in a way as would suit their peculiar

temperament and capacity. Another drawback is that girls coming from mofussil have to suffer inconvenience for want of proper accommodation. Though this want is removed to a great extent by the hostels which are in existence, it would be advisable to have a women's college with a hostel attached to it.

#### SARDA BILL.

It will not be out of place if I refer to a question which so greatly concerns the well-being of our future generation specially our girls and which has created a great sensation all over the country. I mean the age of Marriage Bill. It is our fervent hope that the Bill in spite of the opposition from the orthodox section, will be passed and the Government without any delay will enter it into the Statute Book. I take this opportunity of tendering our thanks to Rai Saheb Sarda who has shown much courage, and to Sir James Crerar who has shown a firm attitude towards the Bill and also to the members who have supported it.

In conclusion Mrs. Sirur said; "I am sure you will agree with me in one thing and that is, knowledge is essential. If it is so for a man why should it be denied to a woman who is also a unit of the society? When we think of the different functions of life, we are apt to be led away by the wrong idea that man is separated from woman. A man cannot do without a woman, and a woman cannot do without a man. They have to depend upon each other in all stages of life. A man, rough, and coarse by nature has to be controlled by the tenderness and softness of a woman; and a woman who by nature is physically weak looks up to a man for protection. How many women are there who think that they can endure the life of a battle field for days together without suffering inconveniences, and how many men would you find who can tend infants and take care of them as women do? Though the functions are different the culture that is required for both is the same. So let us women strive to get knowledge by keeping up our womanly grace and qualities and also realising the dignity of the responsible duties that is assigned to us."

#### RESOLUTIONS.

The following important resolutions were passed unanimously :—

This Conference is of opinion that the legal age of marriage for girls and boys should be 16 and 21 respectively. This Conference supports Rai Saheb Har Bilas Sarda's Bill as amended by the Select Committee as a step in this connection.

This Conference puts on record its appreciation of the recommendations made by the Age of Consent Committee and urges Government to make an early effort to translate them into law.

This Conference is of opinion that the refusal of the Bombay Government to give sanction to the request of the Bombay Municipal Corporation to

extend the Compulsory Primary Education Act to B and E Wards is a highly retrograde step and urges Government to reconsider their decision and trusts that the Corporation would preserve its efforts in the direction of introducing compulsion in the rest of the wards.

This Conference regrets that the condition of affiliation of colleges to the University regarding the provisions of lodgings for students has remained a dead letter so far as women students are concerned, and requests the Senate to see that all colleges affiliated to the University are suitably provided with hostel or approved lodgings for their women students and to direct the Syndicate to ask the Committees that are appointed periodically to inspect the affiliated colleges, to include in their inspection report a statement showing to what extent the condition of affiliation in this regard has been fulfilled by colleges.

In view of the University ordinance requiring each college providing Hostel accommodation for its students and in view of the fact of the long hours and strenuous nature of work the Medical Courses entail, this Conference is of opinion that hostels for women students in the immediate vicinity of the medical colleges are a necessity and recommends that such provision should be made by the College authorities.

This Conference is of opinion that the law of inheritance should be liberalised in its application to Hindu women.

The following ladies were then elected as delegates to the All-India Women's Conference to be held in Bombay in January, 1930.

Dr. Miss Kashibai Nowrange, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Miss Engineer, Mrs. McKenzie, Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, Mrs. Shaffi Tyabji, Mrs. Sarojini Mehta, Mrs. Kashalkar, Mrs. Annigiri and Miss C. C. Thompson.

#### A HANDBOOK OF "FACTS" ABOUT WOMEN.

Mrs. B. NEHRU, Secretary of the Social Section, All-India Women's Conference, in a letter to Miss Rathbone, M. P., Editor of the "Women of India Survey", London, draws her attention to the following passage in a letter dated July 14, of the London correspondent of the *Pioneer* :—

"I am afraid that India must make up its mind to hear more stories of the Mayo type. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, who is one of the editors of the "Women of India Survey" of 4, Tufton Street, S. W. 1, has been most impressed by Miss Mayo's book, "Mother India" and, in any event, is of the opinion that the Simon Commission should recommend no further political advance in India until the evils mentioned in this work are removed.

#### A HANDBOOK.

"Miss Rathbone, as representing the Women of India Survey (or, in other words, the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship) has in preparation

a handbook, 'containing in a short, readable and inexpensive form, all the principal facts concerning the condition of women in India and the organisations working for their well-being.'

"I note that those who are to contribute to the book include Dr. Kate Platt, late Principal of the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi; Mrs. B. M. Gray, who will write a chapter on education; Mrs. G. M. Bell (better known as "John Travers") who is to contribute a section on the "Women of the Indian Army" and Miss Rathbone herself, who proposes to supply the introduction and the conclusion."

#### MISGIVINGS.

Mrs. Nehru adds :—

This news has caused some misgivings amongst members of the All-India Women's Conference, whose co-operation you, as editor, sought for the preparation of the "Women of India Survey". Our Committee feels that if the information provided by it is likely to be used for purposes such as those hinted by the correspondent of the *Pioneer* it would hardly be justified in extending its co-operation to the project.

I therefore invite you kindly to state your position for the information of our Committee so as to enable it to make up its mind on the subject.

#### THE SARDA BILL IN THE ASSEMBLY.

The Sarda Bill was taken up for further consideration in the Assembly on the 18th instant. Amendments to reduce the age to 12 and 11 were rejected by 70 votes and the age of 14 mentioned in the Bill was retained. Attempts to introduce an exemption clause into the Bill to exempt not only individual cases but communities and castes such as the Muslim and the Brahmin also proved futile. The Final reading of the Bill came up on Monday last. Amendments to postpone the date of enforcement of the Bill were also lost without division. All amendments having been disposed of, Mr. Sarda moved that the bill as amended by Select Committee be passed.

#### MADRAS OPPOSITION.

He affirmed that the Vedas preached adult marriage. Ninety-seven per cent. of the population of Madras were non-Brahmans, among whom marriages of girls were after puberty and even a majority of the remaining three percent. of Brahmins were in favour of the bill as evidenced by a meeting held under the chairmanship of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, where the speakers included Mr. T. Rangachariar. In Bengal as against the last resolution of the provincial Hindu Conference at Dacca, there was the resolution passed unanimously by the provincial Hindu Sabha supporting the bill. Mr. Sarda warmly thanked the Government and expressed his gratefulness to Sir James Crerar. Concluding, he urged the Assembly to pass the bill, taking note of the spirit of the times.

## MOSLEM WALK-OUT

SYED MURTUZA, on behalf of those elected Moslem councillors who were opposed to the bill, read a statement describing the bill as being against the Shariat and as offending against the personal law of Moslems. Syed Murtuza, accompanied by a few others then walked out of the Chamber.

After the House assembled after lunch MR. KARTAR SINGH advocated reform in the interest of the intellectual, physical and moral uplift of the people.

MR. P. NAIDU realised that his cry would be a cry in the wilderness, but he pleaded against the House throwing "this thunderbolt of reform on illiterate people bound by century-old customs."

## DAWN OF SWARAJ

RAIZADA HANSRAJ said a similar law had already been in force for five years in the Kapurthala State, where a majority of the population were Moslems and where no difficulties had been experienced.

SIR ABDUL QAYUM, supporting the bill amidst applause admitted that it meant a curtailment of social liberty but when such liberty was abused a check must be put. He was surprised that Government had not made any alteration in the bill as a result of the Age of Consent Committee's report.

MR. GAYAPRASAD SINGH supported the bill. He said his community, the Kshatryas, were not affected by the bill, which he supported because he was convinced that the Hindu religion was not against it.

MR. SHAH NAWAZ, a Member of the Age of Consent Committee, vigorously supported the bill and urged the House to pass it. He remarked that men had no right to keep women in slavery and no right to sacrifice them at the altar of custom. There were really some very orthodox Hindus and Moslems against the bill, but that did not matter at all. In support of his contention that the evil of early marriage and early consummation existed amongst Moslems, he quoted freely from the volumes of evidence of the Consent Committee and challenged any one to disprove the statement. The only effective way of remedying the evil was admittedly penalising child marriages.

SIR D'ARCY LINDSAY (European Group) asked the House to rise to the occasion and save hundreds of thousands of children from suffering by passing this bill of extreme national importance. The people of India would bless the Assembly for passing this bill, which would make a happier India. Sir D'Arcy Lindsay congratulated Mr. Sarma on his noble hearted effort, which had come to a successful conclusion.

MR. NIRMAL CHUNDER affirmed that the All-India Medical Conference had supported the bill and Sir P. C. Roy, in his evidence before the Consent Committee, had also supported it.

MR. NROY asked the House to understand that he spoke not for entire Bengal but only for his constituency, which was opposed to the bill.

## MATRIMONIAL CROSS.

MR. B. S. SARMA (nominated) said he knew the conditions prevailing both in Madras and Bengal and he affirmed that judged both by the opinions reflected in the press and on the platform, opinion in both provinces was in favour of the bill. Surely the "Hindu" of Madras reflected the opinion of the Southern Province. And that paper had editorially supported the bill and its editor had voted for it here. Every influential paper in Bengal had also supported the bill. Concluding Mr. Sarma felt sure that Sir James Creer would be remembered for long for having made up his own and Government's mind in the matter and thus he'ped to prevent the womanhood of India from being crucified on the matrimonial cross.

## BOWING TO THE INEVITABLE.

MR. M. K. ACHARYA made a long speech. Replying to the criticisms of the reformers, he said what was winning was not the logic of the reformers 'case' but the logic of the Government bloc and the logic of the European group. "I admit," Mr. Acharya proceeded, "that the majority here are against me, but I bow to the inevitable."

Proceeding he warned that the effect of the present bill would be to reproduce in India the conditions prevalent today in England and America. He said: "You cannot suppress human nature and sexual instincts. What you will have by this bill is maternity before marriage. You are therefore undermining the foundations of your society. The whole society is going to be corrupted. You will have more divorces, more loose sexual living, lesser and fewer children. This will conflict with our ideals.

"Maternity is a sacred duty of woman, who must bear children for the preservation of the race and must not have a free will to marry as and when she likes.

"Moreover, society demands discipline, control, subordination of the personal desire to expediency. We have stood the attacks of ages on our social system and we have survived them because of our higher national ideals. And this is what you are aiming at and destroying."

## A STRONG NATION.

SIR PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS admitted that the bill was not quite perfect but it laid a foundation for building up a strong nation. It was a grave misfortune that there should be differences of opinion on the issue raised by the bill, but let it be recognised that those who supported the bill were actuated by the same sincerity of conviction as those who opposed it. He therefore pleaded for all of them putting their resources together and forgetting their differences first to see that the bill was given a fair trial and then to have it amended later in the light of experience.

PANDIT MALAVIYA assured those who supported the bill that they were actuated by the same honest convictions as those who were opposed to the bill,



The speaker for one was prepared to hasten slowly and fix the age of girls for marriage at 12. Though he recognised the evil of early marriages and was in favour of raising the age he felt it his duty to oppose the bill as it stood.

MR. NILKANTA DAS and MR. JOGIAH opposed the bill as it stood.

MR. SETHA IYENGAR opposed the bill as calculated to place a premium on blackmailers.

MR. AMARNATH DUTT, though himself a social reformer and though he did not marry any one in his charge before 14, yet would not thrust penal legislation on others.

MR. K. V. BANGASWAMI IYENGAR said under the bill one who sincerely believed that the religious commandments did not allow post-puberty marriage had no asylum in the British Empire. The President called on Mr. Sarda to reply to the debate.

Mr. Sarda thanked the supporters of the bill for their support.

The bill was then put to the vote. The opposition, demanded a division, which resulted as follows:— 67 for and 14 against the Bill.

The result was received with vociferous cheers, in which even some of the opponents of the measure joined.

The public galleries, though considerably thinned, contained a large number of ladies, who had patiently watched the progress of the bill.

#### THE ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT.

Berta Hamilton writes in the *Social Welfare* (Toronto):—

The Adult Education Movement of to-day had its birth in the days of struggle, suffering and stress which accompanied the dying of 18th century England and the coming into being of the England of to-day. The Mechanics' Institutes, started at its close, refused to acknowledge man's deep need and the human challenge of the changing social and economic order and soon fell into the discard, so far as adult education was concerned, becoming, instead, the fore-runners of the modern polytechnic and technical schools. The Sunday Schools, by teaching the people to read and write, were the true fore-bears of this movement, which has threaded its way through political and economic movements such as the London Corresponding Society, the Owenite and other early co-operative ventures, the Chartist Movement whose great protagonist, Lovett, urged the people towards knowledge with the cry, "Think you a corrupt government could perpetuate its exclusive and demoralizing influences amid a people united and instructed." The Rochdale Pioneers from the outset both felt and acted on the belief that co-operation, as they meant to practise it, could only succeed if people had "knowledge." They must be induced to think. At first a literary and reading room was maintained by voluntary contributions, but soon an Educational Department

became recognized as a necessary charge on the movement and 2 per cent. of the net profits was set aside to maintain it.

Within the new Trade Union Movement which had come into being after the repeal of the Combination Acts, in the Working Men's College, in Ruskin College, the Adult School Movement, through many local political and other sorts of clubs, this belief in education found expression.

The present writer is not concerned to make out a case for any particular embodiment of the desire for and belief in education which grows as the years go on, but only to direct the reader to this strong and vital movement in the life of to-day. It is not a movement which commands the loyalty of the millions—only of the thousands; but if anyone will take time to look into the matter, he will find that those men and women, willing to discipline themselves with the hard discipline that thinking demands go slowly but steadily on to become "free people" no matter within what national boundary or social and economic limitations they find themselves. Oftentimes possessing nothing, they yet possess all things. But do not be misled. These seekers after education are no idle dreamers—apart from the world—caring not for social justice, they are merely those, who, while working hard—usually within some recognized organization—for the removal of political, economic or social hindrances to "the good life" nevertheless know, from their own experience, and that of their forefathers who initiated those movements for reform, that a popular leader or an unpopular dictator may sway a mob or force his will; yet, the moment his presence is removed, the mob is as before. It lives as before in thought and deed. They know, too, that no popular leader, no dictator can sway or enslave those whose minds are clear, active and unafraid of anything, refusing what is false whether the false is in a philosophical argument, an economic theory, or in the political, commercial or industrial practice of the day. Their sense of value has not dollars and cents at its base. These, for them, have a value but are not its determinants.

It is quite impossible in the space of a short article to describe how this principle works within the many existing associations; a few incidents, however may serve to illustrate the spirit which is the movement, for where it does not exist, there may be the dress but no person is within it.

In one section of the movement—the Tutorial Class—a student pledges himself to attend each meeting of the class regularly for three sessions of twenty-four two-hour meetings, also to do regular written work for the class. Writing of this, Dr. Dansbridge says, "The difficulties which beset the workman writer of essays can hardly be grasped by those who have quiet rooms in which to work. Tutorial Class students are often amongst the poorest of working people, and their houses are very much crowded. More than one report has been

made of students who rise in the middle of the night to do their essays—their only chance of obtaining quiet. One student who had fallen behind in his essays determined to make a real effort to catch up. He waited until his landlord's family and his fellow-lodgers had retired for the night, then worked till two in the morning. His labours ended, he contentedly fell asleep, in which state he remained until considerably after the time when he should have started work. He was dismissed for being late. He had to leave the town, but secured work in another town where there was a Tutorial Class which he at once joined."

The question of overtime is a difficult one for the Tutorial Class student. The following is an extreme case both of overtime and of the way in which the man concerned dealt with it. He was a man of exceptional determination and physical strength. For some time he was a councilor of his borough, though not while in the Tutorial Class. His work was that of a potter's engineer, and he left school at the age of nine. The record appended covers January to June, 1912, at which time the student was 46 years of age.

Number of hours for 6 normal weeks 1,378.

Number of hours actually worked 1,837½.

Overtime in 6 weeks 559½, or an average of 21½ hours per week.

Number of attendances at Tutorial Class 12.

Number of essays written 14.

Number of papers read to Preparatory Tutorial Class 10.

Number of lectures given to Miner's Class 6.

Number of essays read to literary societies 5.

Number of essays read in helping miner's lecturer who was ill 2.

Number of lecturers given to Workmen's Clubs 2.

Rather an astounding record!

It may be well to remind ourselves that subject, tutor and general conduct of the class are matters for the students. As one member of the movement writes: "Adult study must proceed on lines of complete freedom—ordinary pedagogic methods of a school are unsuitable, even methods of the University are unsuitable, for adult men and women students will not take lectures passively like undergraduates; they desire to diagnose, to criticise or to add to the views of the teachers. They are ready to give their experiences, their cherished ideas to be reconsidered in the light of fuller knowledge and to be fused in a greater whole."

The following story of a young Dane shows the same sort of keenness as does that of the potter's engineer.

During a period of unemployment he was chosen by his Trade Union and other allied organizations to go to the co-operative college in England as an exchange student. After six months there he went to Fircroft. From Fircroft he returned to Denmark to seek work. A few months later the writer

received a letter from him in which he wrote: "Fircroft is a residential college for men near Birmingham, England. I am working—. My wages are very good—. All that money I am using for mending all the holes that have come in my budget while unemployed and in England. I have nearly got rid of all my debts—. I soon can take off my hat to my 'little wee self'—no, but I mean it is glorious to be able to pay every man his."

He next describes a new move for a co-operative book-binding enterprise about to be started in his Trade Union and then goes on, "I hope to be going to France in the summer" (only one year after his return from England) to an international school with the object of learning French. I hope to stay there for three months and, now with very good wages I am able to collect so much money, that it even from the financial point of view is possible."

To illustrate the same point, that of keenness, we may consider one aspect of the movement in Germany. In Wurtemberg, an old house within the walls of Castle Comburg, has been given by its Government to the Volkshochschulverein (People's High School Association). Here, during the first year of the school's history, 19-6-27, while unemployment was rife, an arrangement existed between the government and the association to the effect that a man who went to any of the Employment Exchanges, expressed there the desire to attend the school at Comburg, for a one month or a two month course—all other things being equal—might do so. He, in lieu of his weekly unemployment insurance, was given a few marks for pocket money. The school received from the government payment for his board and lodging. Tuition cost the Association looked after. The allowance to his family, if he had one, continued as before. When the writer visited Comburg in the summer of 1927, the school was full to capacity (40 students) of men in age 18 to 50. For those attending it meant literally a new start in life. Something was becoming theirs from which nothing could part them. A sense of liberation—a growing sense of the worth of the "other fellow's point of view." Friendship based on difference rather than on sameness was becoming more and more desirable to them. Friendship which overstepped age, craft or trade, political party and creed. The student thus meeting in his fellow-students many creeds and all political parties, learned or relearned the worth of the fullest investigation and discussion with no apology but no recrimination.

In the Educational Settlements which have become so much a part of the life in many towns and country districts, one finds a merging of the educational methods of which we have written, together with many others; the dance, folksong, the drama, handicrafts, travels abroad. These settlements usually possess a homelike building and provide in the common meeting place an atmosphere which appeals especially perhaps to those

who are not contemplating going in for the strenuous discipline of a regular class, but who do want to exchange ideas, to come to know people of different experience. Belonging to such a settlement, whatever else it does, secures for each member some mental jolt. He must ever be ready to answer the question "Why?" Why one thinks as one does on any subject and if one does not think, there is still the necessity of answering "why"?

One's belief in this "intangible, indiscoverable but nevertheless real" thing will be in proportion to one's insistence on a programme or on a reality behind every programme. If the latter represents one's point of view, the form which reality takes will be of little moment, but that the reality may have some opportunity to express itself in some way will be of the deepest concern.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Social Reform in Kayastha Community:**—The following news is taken from the *Search Light*:—On the 8th September, at Radha Bhawan, Solan, (residence of Mr. Saohchidananda Sinha, Bar.-at-law) the marriage of Srimati Janki Devi, a young widow, and niece of Mr. Sinha, was celebrated with Mr. B. L. Verma, late Assistant Engineer, Delhi Municipality, and a gentleman of respectability and character. As Mr. Sinha could not join the marriage, being at Allahabad, Mr. Roshan Lal gave away the bride in marriage. The Kayastha brotherhood and gentry of Solan joined the ceremony and the dinner and gave their blessings to the married couple. Mr. Verma is a Bhatnagar Kayastha and the girl a Srivastav widow. This marriage is in accordance with the resolution passed at the All-India Kayastha Conference, Delhi at which Mr. Sinha presided.

**Cable from Mrs Macswiney:**—Mayor Sen Gupta has received the following cablegram from Mary Macswiney, Ireland:—"The family of Terrence Macswiney unites with patriotic India in the grief and pride on the death of Jatindranath Das. Freedom will come."

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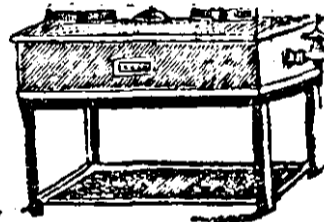
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No. 5

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**President of the Next Congress:—**Mahatma Gandhi having persisted in his refusal to accept the presidentship of the next session of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who received the next largest number of votes from the Provincial Committees having likewise declined the responsibility, and new nominations not being permissible according to Congress rules, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru was elected at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Lahore last week to the office. It was a case of more or less Hobson's choice with the Committee. The result has been received with enthusiasm by few and with frank misgivings by some organs of public opinion. Pandit Jawharlal's own position is not an easy one. To the country at large he stands for independence of the British connection, but he is himself in the position of a captive balloon held down on one side by the pacific idealism of Mahatma Gandhi and on the other by the political realism of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The reasons given publicly by Mahatmaji are not necessarily all his reasons for insisting on the Junior Pandit's election this time to the Congress Presidentship. Politics, national as well as international, is now-a-days largely a matter of gestures, and Pandit Jawharlal's presidentship is a gesture to the British Government. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru may be described as being the most moderate of extremists and Mahatma Gandhi has doubtless calculated the value of his co-operation in keeping the independence school within the bound of practical politics. On the whole, the choice is perhaps the best in the circumstances.

**The Next National Social Conference:—**We are glad to see that friends in Lahore are taking active steps to hold the next National Social Conference. It is very gratifying that the several organising committees are composed of representatives of all communities. The National Social Conference has always been a non-denominational body. As regards the President, an

excellent suggestion was made to elect Mr. Harbilas Sardas, the author of the Marriage Bill now awaiting the assent of the Governor-General to become law. The selection will be a fitting tribute to the patience and perseverance with which Mr. Sardas has piloted his Bill through the Indian Legislature. The general practice of the Social Conference is to select a President belonging to the Province where it is held, although it has been occasionally departed from. In the report of the proceedings of the organising Committee which we reprint from the *Tribune*, we miss the name of Mrs. Brijlal Nehru who served with great distinction on the Age of Consent Committee.

**Women's Medical Service:—**Insidious propaganda is being carried on through the columns of Anglo-Indian journals to introduce more English women in this country in some capacity or other. Rosalie Acazon who wrote condemning educated Indian women, has emerged in the role of a Medical expert to plead for a Women's Medical Service for India to be controlled by the central Government—a scheme for which Miss Rathbone is evidently agitating. A spirited protest against this scheme has appeared in the press over the signatures of three well-known lady doctors of Bombay. They write:—We think that Provincial Governments were perfectly justified in refusing grants to the Women's Medical Service as it exists to-day. We really fail to see the necessity for the formation of a Women's Medical Service on lines parallel to the I. M. S. as suggested in the article. If there is any justification for the I. M. S. which was originally intended as a military reserve, there is none whatsoever for a parallel service for women. The W. M. S. even as it exists to-day, is reserved for women with British qualifications only, of whom the larger proportion consists of British women. It is not justifiable at the present day when so many Indian medical women with adequate medical qualifications and hospital experience are available. The idea of reserving the Service for those possessing British qualifications only is wholly wrong. Obviously the service is not run in the interest of Indian women. We can quote instances where Indian women with the highest British qualifications were refused admission on the plea of want of experience. The L. R. C. P. and M. R. C. S., of England is no better than any of the degree qualifications of Indian universities." We are in entire agreement with what the signatories have said and we would further state that Indian medical women with their

knowledge of the vernaculars and of the needs of the people have proved more useful and efficient than their western sisters of their profession. An increasing number of Indian women seek training abroad every year and we have already quite a number of them with foreign qualifications and training. Therefore, there is absolutely no excuse for the creation of a Medical service for India such as the one mooted.

**The Reversion To Personal Rule :—**The Bombay Legislative Council has passed a Government Bill empowering the Commissioner of Police to take summary action against persons whom he considers undesirable at a time of emergency. The idea of such a measure originated in consequence of the recent riots in Bombay, but the Bill as it has been passed has a wider sweep. The Commissioner will be able now to deport writers and speakers as well as roughs and hooligans. The Presidency towns under the jurisdiction of the High Courts were placed under a more liberal regime than the districts, but today in Bombay City the Commissioner of Police has more power over the liberties of the citizens than the corresponding official in Poona or Ahmedabad. This reversion from the reign of law to personal rule, has been made by a law! Apart from this anomaly, the question of preventing the growth of the hooligan element in the city deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. A Government which loads itself with a large number of weapons for every emergency, is in danger of sinking under the weight of its own armoury. There is no provision in the present system for an agency whose duty is to devise not measures to suppress the symptoms but measures to prevent the causes of social wastage.

**Opium in Orissa :—**One of our foreign subscribers recently wrote complaining of the infrequency of references in the *Reformer* to the opium problem. The fact is that throughout the greater part of the country, opium is a much less serious evil than drink. There are, however, a few places where the consumption of the drug is more than in others. Orissa is one of these, and the Bihar Government recently appointed a Committee to investigate the reasons for the excessive use of the drug. A summary of the Committee's report is reprinted in another column. The Committee conclude that the climatic and economic conditions of the province are largely responsible for the abnormal use of opium which is believed to be a remedy against malaria, rheumatism and other complaints common in the province. "The artistic temperament" of the Oriya, is said to be another cause. Being unable, on account of his poverty, to express his aesthetic instincts on canvass, marble or bronze, he apparently turns to the medium of the opium-stimulated imagination to find satisfaction for them. If this be the case, the establishment of a School of Arts in Orissa may be expected to bring about a reduction in the consumption of opium.

**The Bhutto Case :—**We had commented in one of the previous issues of the *Reformer* on the strange decision of the Bombay Government in issuing the order for the withdrawal of the Bhutto case. When the withdrawal application came up

some time back before the Sessions Judge of Hyderabad, the Judge refused to pass orders for the withdrawal. The trial of the case therefore will run its normal course and will be taken up at a date to be fixed later. An adjournment motion to discuss the Government's interference with the regular course of justice was moved by Mr. Lalji Naranji in the Bombay Legislative Council. That is to say that the Executive Government took the case out of the hands of the Judicial Tribunal and sought to decide it outside the established procedure in such cases. It elicited the reply that Government's decision was arrived at after going fully into the merits of the case and the details could not be placed before the House as the case was sub judice. The motion was talked out.

**Bombay Women's Conference :—**We published in the last issue a summary of the address of Mrs. Sirur who presided over the fourth Constituent Women's Education Conference of the presidency. A frank and liberal spirit pervaded the whole address. Mrs. Sirur gracefully acknowledged the services rendered by men for the women's cause and blamed her own sex for the indifference shown in the past. "We ourselves", she observed, "are past correction. The country has to suffer for our shortcomings or gain by what is good in us". Mrs. Sirur's pessimism in the first sentence is unwarranted. The very fact that Indian women have shaken off their lethargy and are working for their advancement is proof positive that they are not "past correction." Mrs. Sirur in her address pleaded for a separate college for women with a hostel attached to it. A women's college in Bombay would speed up women's education as it has done in the Madras and other presidencies.

**Madras Women and Sarda Bill :—**Under the presidentship of Lady Sadasiva Aiyar a public meeting of the women of Madras was held this week to express their joy at the passing of the Bill for the abolition of child-marriages and to show their sense of gratitude and appreciation of the great services rendered for the progress of Indian womanhood by the members of the Assembly. Some of the lady speakers pointed out that, with the passing of the Sarda Bill, the work of marriage reform had just begun and it is the duty of the women to see it brought into operation. The Bill is expected to come into force only from first April 1930, and some ladies expressed the fear that many child marriages may be rushed through in the interval. The speakers one and all exhorted their audience to do propaganda work and broadcast the provisions of the Bill.

**Social Legislation :—**Among Bills introduced by non-official Members in the Legislative Assembly at the end of the momentous Simla session on Friday the 26th instant, are three by Mr. Jayakar regarding adoption, gains of learning, and amendment of the Special Marriage Act, one by Mr. Jogiah dealing with women's rights of inheritance, one by Mr. Chamanlal about publication of Judicial proceedings injurious to morals, one by Mr. Gaya Prasad Sinha for the abolition of the death penalty, and one by Mr. Ghaznavi for amending the Mussalman Waqf Draft Validating Act.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 5, 1929.

## WHAT IS HINDUISM ?

## I.

Some years ago the late Dr. J. N. Farquhar wrote a small book which he called "A Primer of Hinduism". It was meant mainly for British and Christian readers and was designed on the model of a grammar of a dead language. Passages regarded as typical from Hindu scriptural literature were placed at the head of the several chapters which led up to the final one suggesting that Christianity is the crown and consummation of them all. We have before us another "Primer of Hinduism" of an entirely different type. The author, Professor D. S. Sarma of the Presidency College, Madras, is a profound and devout believer in Hinduism. The book, as he tells us in his touching Preface, was originally intended for his daughter, Gargi, who died at the early age of 14 and to whose memory it is dedicated. She would seem to have been a deeply religious-minded child as her father did not feel that the subject was not above her comprehension. In fact, in conformity with the ancient principle of Hindu pedagogy of severely testing the earnestness of a pupil seeking instruction before the teacher imparts it to him, Professor Sarma put off from time to time his daughter's request for knowledge of her ancestral faith till he found that she would not be denied. The exposition, in order to suit the tender years of the questioner, is put in the form of questions and answers. As many Hindus of mature years are, as regards their religion even less informed than was little Gargi who had passed her Gita examination held by the Hindu Samaj of her native town, Rajahmundry, this form of presentation will be found easy to follow by them as well. This is one of the best hand-books on the Hindu religion, written by an English-educated Indian, that we have come across. Messrs. Macmillan and Co. are entitled to credit for undertaking the publication of this book which should attract a large circle of readers in India and abroad.

The chief defect which we find in it is that the author, instead of frankly avowing that his Hinduism is the Hinduism of the present day, profoundly influenced by modern philosophic and Christian ideas, makes out throughout that it is the direct and unalloyed outcome of Vedic doctrines. Herein he falls into the common mistake of thinking that it is derogatory to a religion to allow or at any rate to acknowledge outside influence.

\* Macmillan &amp; Co., price Rs. 1.

Christianity has been profoundly influenced and modified by outside influences and so have been Buddhism and Islam. In fact, a religion which is impermeable to the influences of its environment is a dead and not a living religion. The Hinduism of the educated Hindu to-day is very far indeed from being the Hinduism of the composers of the Vedas or the Agamas. We do not see why that fact should not be frankly acknowledged. No man, wrote Amiel, is his own ancestor.

One of the most common observations about Hinduism which occurs to non-Hindus, is that it evades definition. It has no founder, no creeds, no single book of revelation, nothing in fact which constitutes religion to the Christian, Mahomedan or Buddhist. What the outsider sees is a complex and to him unintelligible social system based upon what appears to him a rigid division of castes and sects. When the ancient teacher in the Upanishad tried to convey an idea of the Absolute to his pupil, he could only do so by saying "*neti, neti*", "not this, not this" to every description of it which the latter suggested. Even so the seeker after a definition of Hinduism has to fall back upon a like formula. It is not child-marriage, it is not the prohibition of widow-remarriage, it is not pilgrimage or temple-worship, it is not music before mosques, it is not the adherence to caste, it is not even the prohibition against beef-eating. There are many Hindu castes which do not observe early marriage, and in which widow-remarriage is practised under the sanction of hoary custom. Millions of Hindus never go on a pilgrimage to any shrine besides their village temple, and even a visit to that temple is not obligatory on them. No Hindu is required to play music in the streets whether there happens to be a mosque near by or no. Nor is caste an essential of Hinduism, though every Hindu belongs to one. Some of the greatest saints of Hinduism were acknowledgedly outcastes. The prohibition of beef as an article of food is perhaps the most universally recognised tenet of popular Hinduism. But the Vedic seers did not recognise any such prohibition, and some of the untouchables, who are claimed and admitted to be Hindus, are addicted to beef by long-standing custom. The belief in transmigration and re-birth is general among Hindus, but the founder of one of the six great schools of Hindu philosophy denied any First Cause beyond the materialistic one, and the Bhagavad Gita refers to him with the highest respect as the most perfect of sages. Even a belief in God is not essential, because Kapila, like Gautama Buddha, Himself an avatar of Vishnu, dispensed with the Deity in his scheme of the Universe. What then is Hinduism? Prof. Sarma's book is a worthy endeavour to answer this question.

### SARDA BILL IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

On Saturday last the Sarda Bill was passed by the Council of State in the same form in which it emerged triumphant from the Assembly. The Bill was taken up on the 27th September. Mr. Ramdas Pantulu while moving the Bill for consideration said that the advantages of the Bill far out-weighed the disadvantages. As regards the bogey of religious interference he showed that the custom of "sati" had been abolished and that serious inroads had been made in the rules of Hindu Law. He pointed out to the Muslim oppositionists that Egypt and Turkey had enacted such laws more drastic in their nature. He further stated that the opinion of the religious heads did not count for much, as they never had shown any interest in eradicating social evils. The amendment to postpone the Bill to the Delhi Session was defeated. Mr. G. A. Natesan supporting the Bill referred to the grievous consequences of child marriage and told the Government not to be apprehensive of the orthodox people who, he was sure, will veer round to the reformers' view.

The principal opposition to the Bill came from Mr. Khaparde who made a very incoherent and rambling speech attacking the Government for departing from their pledge of religious neutrality in giving their support to the Bill. He capped his arguments by stating that it was against the genius of the people, which, if Mr. Khaparde's interpretation of it is true, does not deserve to be fostered. Dr. Rama Rau welcomed the measure as beneficial from the medical point of view. When discussion on the Bill was resumed on Saturday, the amendments moved for exemption in favour of Brahmins, Muslims and all others having conscientious objections to the provisions of the Bill, were defeated. Sir Fazli Hussein and Sir Maneckji Dadabhoj effectively demolished the arguments of the opponents of the Bill. The former showed that the extension of the Bill to Muslims was made at the request of the Muslims themselves and that Islamic practice and traditions were in consonance with the provisions of the Bill.

After the rejection of another amendment to postpone the enforcement of the measure to 1936, Mr. Ramdas Pantulu in moving the final passage of the Bill put it to the House that the choice lay between national degeneration and stagnation on one side, and on the other, the nation's progress to its proper place in the commonwealth of the Empire. Concluding he hoped that its opponents would reconcile themselves to the measure and would cooperate by giving due publicity to it. The Bill was then passed by the House by a large majority amid great applause and only waits the assent of the Viceroy to become law.

It is significant that in the Council of State the Bill commanded the support of even members holding orthodox views. The Bill has been hailed as a piece of legislation long overdue by the whole of India with the exception of a few die-hards who predict

dire consequences if child marriages are abolished. The few orthodox and pseudo-orthodox persons who keep up the agitation against the Bill in the name of religion, have they conformed in every respect to the tenets of their religion? Do they know what Hinduism is? It is worthy of note that an orthodox gentleman in Nagpur has gone so far as to give up his title of Mahamahopadhyaya as a protest against the Bill. Acts like these are the last shriek of orthodoxy against the abolition of child marriage, which is bound to acquiesce once the Act comes into operation.

### THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

#### MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR

#### XL. LOVERS.

(BY DR. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, PH.D.)

Love is of God. It is inherent in the universe. "From the beginning of the creation God made them male and female"; and from the beginning of the creation male and female have been drawn together in bonds of love. Love is a fact. We do not explain it. We cannot explain it without robbing it of its wonder and beauty. We simply know that it is and rejoice in the treasure of our knowledge.

The husband-wife relationship at its best is fraught with rare nobility. When two young people leave their parents' homes to set up a home of their own they are entering upon that which may be splendid, or upon that which may be less. In the true home love means far more than physical attraction, it goes far deeper than an external courtesy. To those who really love life is a glorious partnership in which each partner shares of his best with the other. It is a community of ideals, and a community of ideas. It is a drawing force which pulls each partner out of himself and bids him come up higher.

While love is eternal, lovers are human and subject to all the limitations of humans. One of the most common causes of unhappiness between lovers is the unbridled tongue. A sharp word spoken at an inopportune time cuts deeply and makes a wound that is hard to heal. Many young people experiencing this become silent and moody, being reluctant to speak at all. Silence may be golden, but in this instance expression is better than repression. The way to overcome hasty speech is not to refrain from speaking, but to cultivate the art of pleasant speech. "Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt."

The law of love is the law of mutual service. A lover gives himself wholly and without stint to the service of his beloved. He does not ask whether the act performed is commensurate with his dignity or whether it will further his social position. He does not care. He only knows his joy is found in the happiness of the one he loves. That for him is

adequate reward. True love knows no rights that work hardship upon another. The love-centric home does not speak in the terms of rights and duties. It expresses itself in terms of privilege. It affirms in no uncertain tone that he who ministers is truly great.

Very few young people can contemplate marriage without experiencing a certain amount of fear. They do not know what the future will bring forth. Will the lover always remain true to the promises that he is making to his beloved? Will the flame that is now burning grow brighter, or will it flicker and grow cold? Can each commit himself to the other with assurance and confidence? And then comes the answer, "Perfect love casteth out fear." It is an adventure of faith, and once the adventure is entered upon the truth itself is experienced. Love develops, expands, and grows richer with the passing of the years.

#### PROF. S. RADHAKRISHNAN ON RELIGION OF INDIA.

Professor S. Radhakrishnan of the Calcutta University, prior to his departure to England delivered an address at the School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay, last week, expounding some of the salient truths about religion and particularly the religion of India.

He began by saying that his address was being delivered under the auspices of the School of Economics and Sociology—two subjects that had assumed great importance in recent times.

The people were imagining that the study of Economics and Sociology was likely to be more helpful to their country and the impression also prevailed everywhere that these studies were bringing closer together the different nations and races of the world.

One feature of the present time was that the study of subjects like philosophy in which he was interested had been given a go by. There was a tendency to regard such subjects as of no value in modern movements—Labour, Socialist or Communist. There was a tendency to lay more emphasis on what might be considered of material value and a decreasing emphasis on the higher studies like philosophy and religion.

It was argued in defence of such a tendency that religion laid too much emphasis on the soul and had no concern for human welfare; that it developed in the individual a spirit of other-worldliness; and that it did not help in the building up of a better or nobler human society. It was even argued that religion invested a sort of divine sanction on the existing social order and arrangement, in virtue of which they were considered too sacred for rearrangement. Again it was argued that if at all religion was interested in the happiness of human life, it was not for the happiness of human life on earth but for the hereafter. There was then the criticism that religion was not a unifying agency. It was complained by some that the world would be a more

religious place if they did not have the religions; that religion was a dividing rather than a welding force.

#### ONE-SIDED CRITICISM.

There were those who told them that men had no right to be happy as their religion taught them that men should lead a life of suffering and sacrifice and travail. A great prophet had suffered and died, therefore men should suffer and die likewise. If that was the kind of religion they were called upon to accept, then the tendency growing against religion had some justification. Such kind of criticism of religion, the Professor went on to say, was utterly one-sided and unfounded. Whatever historical justification there might be for it, so far as the fundamental value of religion was concerned that was quite untenable.

If he were told that religion was bound up with the present unjust social order, that it was not concerned with humanity but with the soul and life hereafter, he would say that that was not the true nature of religion. Religion was something altogether different in its fundamental nature. It was in that respect that the Indian religion was catholic and right in its emphasis.

Their religion had from the very beginning insisted on the necessity of cultivating social good and promoting the welfare of humanity. There was a great passage in the "Mahabharata", which spoke of the great mystery that there was nothing nobler than humanity. If they had anything in this world with which religion was identified that was the promotion of humanity. Religion was not merely concerned with the soul, it was interested in making life better and happier on earth.

To the question whether religion was not to be interpreted as something that divided man from man he would reply that the religion of India stood for utter catholicity in belief and practice. It was really a universal religion, as wide, as humanity itself.

#### PATHS TO ACHIEVE THE GOAL

There was no one particular way or plan, no statutory method by which salvation could be attained. Each individual could reach his own goal in his own way, and religion was concerned with providing men a suitable environment to reach out their ultimate end. To realise the presence of God in life, to live in the presence of God was the highest religious realisation. If that was not possible they could meditate and concentrate upon God, striving for a higher life. If that also was not possible there was the way of worshipping an image, an idol to aid them in meditation and concentration. If there were people who could not rise even to that level, to them there was the path of pilgrimage. Thus they had the four paths of achieving their higher goal: the natural realisation of the presence of God, meditation and concentration, image worship and pilgrimage. The four paths applied to men of varying development and capacity.

It was a recognition of the acceptance of every man at the stage at which he was found. It was not a question laying down a common standard for all people, but to provide for each man a suitable environment for working out his own salvation, his own goal according to his stage of development.

The religious life did not regard material comforts as the be all and end all of existence. They had insisted on what might be called the costly character of religion in regard to sacrifice and suffering. It was by suffering and sacrifice they could go higher in their religious ideal. If he were asked if it was not man's right to be happy he would say 'no,' if, by happiness was meant enjoyment of pleasures, pastime and excitement. The world was not to be regarded as a factory of pleasures. The higher attributes, faculties and powers that were latent in every man required to be stretched and developed. That could be done only if they were prepared to go through fire, to suffer and sacrifice.

#### PATIENT SUFFERING AND CLEAR THINKING

But mere sacrifice or suffering could not be put in the first place. They were not the central things in life. What was necessary to be able to be worthy of a higher life were patient suffering and clear thinking. If they wanted to bring about a new social order they should not only be able to suffer and sacrifice, but they should have a clear vision of their future, their goal, their ideal to be achieved. "Unless we have some clear vision of the goal we are working for, unless great minds are set to work out our ideal and plan, and then try to realise that goal by sacrifice and suffering nothing great is going to be achieved."

The lecturer added that in the political history of India they had instances of men making the supreme sacrifice of their life for an ideal or principle. There was no lack of suffering and sacrifice on their part, but what they wanted was balanced judgment and patient suffering.

The Professor concluded his interesting lecture by pleading for intellectual freedom and exhorting the young men to free their minds from all sorts of bonds and restrictions.

Prof. K. T. Shah, proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, wished him 'bon voyage' and expressed his confidence that he would be able to interpret to the West the real religious and philosophical thought of India.

#### PROBLEM OF EAST AFRICA.

Pundit Hridayanath Kunzru, M.L.A., President of the East African Indian National Congress sailed for England on Saturday by the s. s. "Morea". Interviewed regarding his mission to England, he said that he was going there to lay the grievances of Indians in East Africa before the British Government. Asked to restate the outstanding demands of East African Indians, he said that the East African Indian deputation had already placed before

the Government of India their most important demands arising out of the Closer Union Commission with regard to Common Electoral Roll and the constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council and the Federation of East Africa. Indians in East Africa had been agitating for a long time for a common roll and the Closer Union Commission arrived at the decision that a common roll based on a civilisation franchise would be the best in the interest of all the races inhabiting East Africa. The Government of India put forward the same solution as far back as 1920 and vigorously asserted that there was no justification whatsoever for inequality of status between Indians and Europeans in a Crown Colony. It was true that the Closer Union Commission was of the view that a common roll could be obtained only with the consent of the European community. Indians were unable to accept that condition. It has never been suggested by any European that constitutional changes in Kenya should be brought about only as a result of agreement between Indians and Europeans. How could that be then urged with any kind of justification?

#### COMMON ELECTORAL ROLL.

The question of common roll on which admittedly depended the racial harmony and future welfare of East Africa could not be allowed to remain unsolved because of the European opposition. All those who had given their best thought to the question were of the opinion that the common roll was the only way of creating a common political interest, and unless such an interest was created there could be no hope of healing the differences that existed between Indians and Europeans in East Africa.

#### MISSIONARIES NO FRIENDS OF INDIANS.

So far as the question of Kenya Legislative Council was concerned there were five Indians on it as against 11 Europeans, though the European population was only half of the Indian population. If in the guise of giving representation to natives, the number of non-official Europeans is increased the inequality between Indians and Europeans would become still greater and the European influence would be inordinately enhanced. Indians were cordially in favour of giving seats in the Council to Africans, but if for some reason the Government thought it impossible to nominate natives to the Council, Indians would strongly urge that the present constitution be retained without disturbing the official majority. Some people were of the opinion that if Missionaries were to represent native interests power would not go to the Europeans. That was, however, a wrong notion; for, it had to be remembered that though there were many missionaries who were genuine friends of natives there were scarcely any who regarded the Indian as anything but an unwelcome outsider.

Mr. Kunzru did not also like the Federation proposal which, though at present confined to economic purposes would in due course acquire political power as well.

• GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE.

Regarding the debate in the Legislative Assembly on this question Mr. Kunzru said that he was surprised at the speeches made by Sir George Schuster and Sir Fazli Hussein. At the second meeting of the Emigration Committee to which the representatives of all parties were invited certain satisfactory conclusions were arrived at. He could say both on behalf of himself and Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas that they were under the impression that the views of the non-officials had been accepted by Sir Fazli Hussein and Sir George Schuster who also attended the Committee. The official speeches in the Assembly, however, created the suspicion that the views of the Government which were forwarded separately with those of the Emigration Committee differed from those of the latter. The Government of India were not required to-day to formulate a new policy. That had been laid down once for all in the historic dispatch of 1920 which was again reiterated in a resolution after the publication of the White Paper of 1923. The Government had taken a heavy responsibility for having departed from the principles which were understood to have guided their policy with regard to Indians abroad during the last ten years. The question of the status of Indians abroad was second in interest only to that of constitutional future of India. The slightest vacillation or weakness on the part of the Government of India would complete the existing estrangement between them and the people which was already bitter and growing.

POLICY OF TRUSTEESHIP.

Questioned about Mr. K. C. Roy's speech with reference to the principle of trusteeship Mr. Kunzru said: "Mr. Roy is reported to have asked whether Government of India accepted the principle of trusteeship meaning apparently that it should be uncompromisingly rejected. If this is his meaning then he expressed his own and not the view of the Indians in East Africa. It was Indians who first insisted in 1923 that his Majesty's Government should regard native interest as supreme. Should this be done, it was obvious there will be no justification for the transfer of political power to white settlers. And once the fear of whites dominating in Kenya was set at rest the relations between Indian and Europeans may be expected to become easier. The Government of India having acted so far on the principle of trusteeship, the remedy for the situation lies not in denouncing the principle of trusteeship but in enforcing its acceptance by all means at our disposal."

MR. K. C. ROY'S ATTACK ON MR. SASTRI.

Regarding the criticism that had been levelled against Mr. Sastri, Mr. Kunzru said that last year the East African Indian National Congress passed a resolution eulogising his services and expressing confidence in him. He was in East Africa when the news of Mr. Sastri's visit to the East African colonies was announced and the new

and filariasis are extremely common in all districts. There is a common belief among the people that opium is a valuable remedy for these maladies and that it acts as a tonic and restorative against the depressing and enervating effect of the climate, which bring on decay and old age much earlier than in more healthy parts.

#### CAUSES ANALYSED.

In the opinion of the Committee the following general causes also seem to have been in operation: the influence of Vaishnavism which forbids the use of alcohol and the poverty of the Oriya and his unstimulating and unnourishing food which requires to be supplemented by some cheap stimulant. Medical evidence shows that opium mitigates hunger to which was attributed the sudden and larger increase of consumption of opium after the great famine of 1866. As for cheapness, a sufficient dose of opium for ordinary purposes can be had for one pice. Then, there is the artistic temperament of the Oriya which is attracted towards opium on account of its effect on the imagination. Another factor, in the Committee's opinion, is the influence of the Mahratta conquerors who followed Mahomedans as the rulers of the country and who were also heavy consumers of opium:—The *Times of India*.

#### TRAFFIC IN WOMEN.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the editor of the *Hindusthan Review*, writes:—

Certain cases that recently came up in the Allahabad High Court have drawn public attention to the immoral and unlawful traffic in girls and women that is carried on in certain parts in India. There are men and women systematically engaged in this trade, who find it profitable. A girl or woman, either unhappy or foolish, is inveigled on some pretext or other, taken to another part of the country, sold either as a wife, or for immoral purposes. Commenting on one such case Mr. Justice Sen of the Allahabad High Court observed that the Census returns showed a disparity in number between the male and female population in certain western tracts, but that was a problem that did not concern courts of justice. In dismissing the appeal of the convicted persons he very rightly observed that when such an offence was brought home deterrent sentences should be imposed. As a matter of fact, this infamous traffic is not confined to any particular people or country. It is extensively carried on in Europe and America and is widely known as the White Slave Traffic. In the West it is exclusively a traffic for the purposes of prostitution. In India it serves two purposes, marriage as well as the degradation of women. In another case that also came up at Allahabad a man and a woman had been convicted of abducting a married girl of 19 years of age and attempting to sell her to a Jat in the Nabha State for a wife. The piteous appeals of the young woman so moved the Jat that he refused to buy her. For her obstinacy

she was thrashed and slashed with a knife, and was afterwards sold to another Punjabi for Rs. 500 at Haripur near Abbottabad. Subsequently she was traced and rescued, and the two original abductors were convicted. The abduction of girls and women, or their seduction by plausible pleas to live a life of shame is carried on in every part of the country. The Devadasis of Southern Indian are to be found in the temples. It is, however, only in the Punjab and Sind that girls and women are sold as wives. This is not possible in other parts of the country because of the prevalence of the caste system. There is no caste among the Jats, and in Sind the only two classes are Amils and Baniyas, with a very small percentage of Brahmins. The traffic in women is very prevalent in the Punjab and is known as *bardafaroshi*. Perhaps, the traffic is on the decline, but it is perfectly certain that very few cases are detected and the offenders are rarely brought to justice. Usually, a girl or a woman disappears from her village and nothing is heard of her again. If there is a hue and cry it dies down after a short time. When, therefore, the law tracks down the miscreants engaged in this nefarious trade the punishment should certainly be severe.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Greater India Society Formed:—Dr. Kali Das Nag of Calcutta Greater India Society, delivered a series of five lectures on "Art and Architecture of Greater India" under the auspices of the Bombay University. After the last lecture Fr. Heras thanking Dr. Nag for the series of his very interesting lectures, said that Dr. Nag had come to Bombay to communicate the enthusiasm of the Greater India Society of Calcutta to the people of Bombay. First of all, Fr. Heras recommended that the history of India outside India should be introduced in the B. A. Honours course at our University. Fr. Heras said that he had proposed the introduction of this subject in the Honours course to the University four years ago, but during these four years nothing has been done. It is to be expected that our reformed University will do something in this line. Secondly, a tour of all Indian Universities should be organized to visit the places of the ancient Indian colonies, Java, Oambodia, Siam, Annam, Bali, etc. Thus both professors and students will study the ancient monuments 'in situ'. Moreover, it is necessary to foster Indian Historical Research in our Universities, if we do not want to see our University teaching of history converted into the teaching of a secondary school. Under the name of History are naturally included all the manifestations of Indian culture in India and outside India. In this field of historical research we generally meet with three difficulties which are all financial. Financial difficulties for the acquisition of materials of research: books, documents, photographs of manuscripts, copies of manuscripts, etc. Secondly financial difficulty on the part of the student himself, who is to be helped by scholarships; and finally financial difficulty for the publication of the results of research. Fr. Heras at the end said that he had great pleasure in announcing that a provisional committee of representative people had been formed in order to solve all these problems. Thus, he said, we shall help the noble ideals of the Greater India Society, whose



message has been brought to us by Dr. Kali Das Nag. After this Mr. Vishvanath P. Vaidya, B.A., J.P., Bar-at-law, read the names of gentlemen who formed this provisional Committee. Rev. Fr. Heras, Mr. Vishvanath P. Vaidya, Mr. G. V. Acharya, Mr. P. V. Kane, Prof. A. V. Gajendragadkar, Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. R. Paymaster, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Mr. Irani, Mr. A. A. A. Faizee, Mr. K. H. Vakeel and Mr. C. Muchhala, Joint Secretaries 103, Mody Street, Fort, Bombay.

**"Clash of Colour"**:—Miss Kinniard on British Rule. Under the auspices of the Women's Indian Association, Calcutta, the Hon'ble Emily Kinniard of the Y. W. O. A. gave a lecture last evening at the Annie Hall on the "Clash of Colour". Miss E. Sarda B.A., L.T., presided. The lecturer said that not only differences of race but also of nationality and tongue often led to a clash. The first thing that was required was to cultivate understanding and sympathy. In India it behoved both British and Indians to understand each other. India had indeed to realise her national aspirations. The President, in the course of her concluding remarks, asked who it was that lacked understanding in India, the Indian or the Britisher? The Indians in their own way had been trying to understand and sympathise with the Britisher; but somehow or other she could not get over the feeling that the Britisher never really trusted the Indian. As for the power of Christianity to heal and to unite, she said that the rock-bottom principles of all religions were the same and, correctly understood and practised, they had the same power. She had often wondered whether Christianity had left its mark on the Britisher at all who was responsible for so many deplorable acts and whose treatment of India was so intolerable. The meeting came to a close with the singing of "Vandematharam" by Srimathi Manjeri Kamalam and a vote of thanks by Srimathi E. Narayanakutti Amma-Hindu: Madras.

**Military Training for Indians**:—A notification in *Fort St. George Gazette* says that the third Madras Presidency Urban Infantry class has been formed to provide educated young Indians on upper middle class with the same opportunities for military training as are now given to Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Preference will be given to ex-members of the University Training Corps provided they have attained the age of sixteen and are not over 31 years.

Applications for enrolment should be made to the Administrative Commandant, 3rd Madras Presidency Urban Infantry. Every member of the Urban unit will be liable to undergo a preliminary training of 32 days and an annual musketry course of training to be so arranged as not to interfere with the avocations of the members.

**Widow Remarriage Disapproved**:—A sensational Hindu widow marriage ending in the police being summoned to restore order and a kidnapping charge against Mr. Baji Krishna Rao, B.A., B. L., president of the local Arya Samaj and others—was celebrated last night. The parties belong to the conservative Vysia community. When the ceremony was about to begin a Vysia merchant, with half a dozen men of the same caste, is alleged to have tried to prevent the marriage by forcibly removing the bride. The police had to be sent for. The bride was subsequently given away in marriage by her mother. Feelings have been wrought to a high pitch,

**Dominion Status to India**:—Presiding over the Women's Delegates Conference on Indian affairs at Bristol under the auspices of the local branch of Commonwealth of India League, Mrs. William Graham, wife of the President of Board of Trade, said that she was convinced that India was not getting justice. The need of redress for India was ten times greater than that which had prompted the suffrage movement. She urged that insistent pressure should be put on all members of the House of Commons. Dominion status could not be tinkered with otherwise we would lose the friendship of a great country. The conference unanimously adopted a resolution urging the Government to take immediate action for granting Dominion status to India.

**Prof Radhakrishnan**:—Professor Radhakrishnan sailed on the 25th Sept. by the S. S. "Pilana". He will spend some time with M. Romain Rolland in the latter's village, near Geneva, and then proceed to England to deliver his lecture at the Oxford University on the 19th October. On his way back he may visit Rome, where Signor Mussolini has invited him to deliver an address at the University.

**Indian National Social Conference**:—Arrangements for holding the Indian National Social Conference during the next Christmas at Lahore are making steady progress. Many distinguished ladies and gentlemen of all communities, zealous for Social Reform have become members of the Reception Committee. More are joining it. The passing of the Sarda Marriage Bill by the Legislative Assembly has given much encouragement to Social reformers throughout the country. The Provisional Organising Committee is arranging to publish a number of pamphlets on some of the most important topics of Social Reform by way of propaganda. A fairly large number of subjects has already been suggested for the consideration of the Reception Committee. The Lahore Session of the Social Conference is expected to be highly successful and effective. A general meeting of the Reception Committee will be convened shortly. All persons who are interested in Social Reform in the Panjab are invited to join the Reception Committee and to co-operate in making the Lahore Session a complete success. The subscription for membership of the Reception Committee is only Rs. 5. Communications should be addressed to the provisional Secretaries of the All-India Social Conference, Servants of India Society, MacLagan Road, Lahore.

**Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda Honoured**:—An Ajmer correspondent of the *Associated Press* wires: Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, the sponsor of the Child Marriage Bill arrived here, the seat of his constituency, from Simla yesterday morning. He was accorded a public reception by hundreds of citizens. He was met at the railway station and was profusely garlanded, the Agarwal Volunteer Corps presented a guard of honour. A mass meeting of Ajmer citizens was held at the Town Hall to congratulate their worthy representative upon his well-deserved success in getting the Sarda Bill passed. Messages of congratulations were received from the Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner, Dewan Sahib of Kotah, Sahibzada Abdulwahid Khan and others from all parts of India. After the Rai Sahib in the course of his speech had explained that there would be no police interference in marriages, a resolution was passed congratulating Rai Sahib Sarda on his work and expressing the

pride of the people of Ajmer Merwara at the services rendered by their patriotic representative in the Assembly. Some orthodox people attempted to raise a counter demonstration by getting people to close their shops and holding a meeting. But their effort proved a fiasco.

**Tablets in Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Memory :—** Forty distinguished Indians visited Bristol and made a pilgrimage to various places in the city associated with Raja Ram Mohan Roy. After a civic welcome by Lord Mayor and the Sheriff, the visitors were conducted by Lewins Mead Chapel where the Dowager Maharani of Cooch-Bihar unveiled two handsome tablets in memory of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his successor Keshub Chunder Sen. Afterwards a service was held in Roy's tomb.

**Education in India :—**At Elsinore, Denmark, in connection with the world conference on New Education held on Aug. 19 Mrs. Beatrice Ensore presided. "Education in India" was the subject taken up. The spacious hall was very crowded. The following were among the speakers :—Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya on 'Some Educational Efforts in India', Prof. D. K. Karve on 'The Education of Women in India', Pandit Ram Narayan Misra on 'The Benares Hindu University', Miss Pope on 'The Usmania University', Mr. V. M. Mehta of Bhawanagar on 'The Education in Indian States', Mr. Inamdar of Aundh on 'The New Education in India', Miss Lowe of Madras on 'The Education in Madras' and Pandit Sri Ram Bajpai on 'Ultra-Mural Education' in Hindi which was translated in English to the audience by Mr. Gauri Shankar Prasad of Benares. After the president had delivered her concluding address she was thanked by Mr. Gauri Shankar Prasad. A group photo of the Indian delegates to the conference with Mrs. Ensore, Srimati Krishna Devi Khana of Lucknow and Miss Dutta of Calcutta, both studying in London, was taken. A dinner was given by the Indian delegates to Mrs. Ensore, Dr. Montessori, Mrs. Reeve and other scholars. Thirty covers were laid. A daily bulletin of the conference called, 'The Kronborg Avisen' was published to which some of the Indian delegates contributed articles.

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1929

No. 6

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Sarda Act:—**The Governor-General gave his assent to the Sarda Child Marriage Bill on the 1st October. The Act comes into force on the 1st April 1930. During this time the opponents of the Act will no doubt do their worst to rouse the masses against it. It behoves the reformers therefore, to utilise the interval in making the objects of the Act widely known and to counteract the agitation and demonstration of the opponents of the Act. The Sarda Child Marriage Act is a great step towards social reform. It marks the triumph of the principle of progress and enlightenment over blind tradition and unthinking conservatism. Mr. Har Bilas Sarda's name will go down in history as a great social legislator and he will take rank among the distinguished reformers of our time.

**The Woes of a Girl-Wife:—**Mahatma Gandhi prints in *Young India* a harrowing story of oppression of a girl-wife by her husband, from her brother who in helpless indignation asked Mahatmajji for advice as to what he should do to release his sister from the moral and physical torture. He went on, as usual with such types, to inveigh against Hindu religion and society as being at the root of such shameful ill-treatment of wives. Mahatma Gandhi in commenting on the letter administers a well merited rebuke to the writer for his hysterical generalisations against Hinduism. He rightly points out that there are millions of Hindu wives living in perfect peace as queens in their homes. We reproduce Mahatma Gandhi's remarks with which we completely agree. In cases of this kind which, we are sorry to say, are rather on the increase, Mahatmajji recommends that the unfortunate wife should be educated and trained to useful service in institutions like the Seva Sadan. The only other suggestion which occurs to us is that the brother, instead of wringing his hands helplessly and abusing Hinduism, should invest a few annas in a stout cane and try the effect of a sound thrashing on his bestial brother-in-law. Mahat-

maji as the apostle of non-violence is precluded from advising this course. But, we are sure, he will not condemn violence if used to bring such brothers-in-law to reason. We may add that there are less chances of the real character of brothers-in-law being hidden until it is too late, if sisters are given a good education and left free to choose their husbands at a proper age.

**The Madras Seva Sadan.**—The first annual report of the Madras Seva Sadan bears testimony to a striking record of work done among adult women. The Home was reorganised under its present name and was modelled on the lines of the Poona Seva Sadan in April 1928. Its development during the brief period of one year was rapid and the strength of the inmates rose from 10 to 46. The aims and objects of the Institution stated in the report speak for themselves. "Those for whom the Madras Seva Sadan principally exists, are *grown-up girls* and *young women* who are poor and destitute, such as, deserted wives and helpless widows. Our aim is to impart to them such training as will make them fit, in course of time, to look after themselves. We expect the inmates to make a stay of about 5 years in the Home of the Madras Seva Sadan. During this period, such training is given to them as will enable them, when the time comes for their leaving the Home, to be thoroughly self-supporting." The Home is not confined to any caste or province and the cosmopolitan nature of the institution is a welcome feature. The institution owes its existence to the untiring efforts and munificence of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice and Mrs. M. Venkatasubba Rao whose fine spirit of service others will do well to emulate. The Seva Sadan has issued an appeal to further develop its work in the direction of medical training and to acquire a building of its own. We commend the appeal for the liberal support of the public of not only Madras, but the whole of India.

**Indians In East Africa:—**The East African Indian deputation now in this country went up to Simla in the hope of getting the Government of India to back them up in their attempt to secure equal rights of citizenship to Indians especially in Kenya. The deputation has returned to Bombay considerably disappointed. Sir Fazli Hussain who is temporarily acting for Sir Mahomed Habibullah as Member in charge of the Overseas portfolio, they feel, has not been as warm in his sympathy as they expected him, as an Indian to be, and they fear that there has been a retrogression from the policy hitherto followed by Government of identifying themselves with Indians overseas. We do not think that there



are good grounds for this apprehension. Sir Fazli Hussain is a staunch nationalist, and he cannot feel less strongly than his predecessors for his fellow-countrymen in Africa, and his seeming coldness is partly due to temperamental caution, but largely to the fact that he is not the permanent Member and is not free to act on his own responsibility. The deputation may rest assured of India's complete sympathy with their aims.

**A Plea for Prohibition.**—The Rev. J. F. Edwards who, though a Christian Missionary, is a strong Indian nationalist in many directions, has contributed a weighty statement to the *Observer* of London, emphasizing the importance of the early adoption of Prohibition in this country. The majority of Protestant European Christian Missionaries today are total abstainers, even though they may not be Prohibitionists, and their moral support to Prohibition is of the greatest value to the cause, especially as some Indian Christians argue that, as the Bible contains no prohibition as the Koran and the Hindu scriptures do, they are free to use liquor. It is wrong to say that British rule introduced drink. The very fact of the prohibitory rule of Islam and Hinduism shows that the practice of drinking must have existed and been carried to excess in the olden days. But it is true that while drinking under Hindu and Moslem rule was regarded as a shameful habit, British example has invested it with the sanction of social acceptability. Even non-drinking hosts feel obliged by the laws of hospitality to supply liquor to their drinking guests. We think this is altogether wrong. No guest is entitled to require his host to sacrifice his principles for his entertainment. If he is not willing to accommodate himself to his host's ways, he should seek hospitality only with those who are of his way of life. This, however, is by the way. The opposition of the Government of India to Prohibition undoubtedly detracts from its moral influence with the people of India, which no amount of repressive legislation can replace.

**Madras Government and Prohibition:**—The current number of *Prohibition* has an interesting article, showing how the Madras Government was compelled to yield to the agitation for prohibition and how they, in order to gain time, provided for official temperance propaganda at a cost of rupees 4 lakhs in their last budget. The manner in which they have set about their task has led to considerable misgiving in the minds of the people as to the genuineness of the official attempts to bring about temperance. The liquor and toddy shops are left untouched. A proposal to close some toddy shops was definitely rejected for, says the journal, "there is no change of heart, the ministers are weak and the Civil Service is all powerful." The truth of this remark is amply borne out by the recent defeat the Madras Government sustained on an adjournment motion regarding the reopening of a toddy shop in Triplicane. The Government's Excise policy has elicited the following severe comments from the *Hindu*. "It showed that the Government went back on what was widely understood to be their definite policy of steadily reducing the number of liquor shops in the City. If the Government were not, as they profess themselves to be, apostles of temperance, but tempters of the public and intent on spreading

the curse of drink, they could not have achieved their purpose better than by doing what they have done in the present case. The location of the shop in so prominent a place not only reduces their temperance propaganda to a mockery, but also casts serious doubt on the entire *bona fides* of their excise policy." The role of a prohibition propagandist ill suits the Government of Madras and is only adopted to hoodwink the public.

**Wasteful Expenditure:**—The prolonged ceremonial and extravagant expenditure which are characteristic of marriages in India have come in for a good deal of censure in an issue of the *Young India*. Mahatma Gandhi has taken the occasion of the marriage of the daughter of a Karachi merchant to exhort young men to do away with unnecessary ceremonials and expenditure in marriages and to limit them to the essential rites. Sheth Lalchand, and Sheth Jamsalal Bajaj before him, have provided precedents for others to follow. Sheth Lalchand's daughter's marriage ceremony, we are told, did not take more than two hours and the religious ceremony was performed by a learned Bramhin who explained to the bride and bride-groom the meaning of what they were called upon to recite. As regards expenditure Mahatmaji is of opinion that not more than rupees ten need be spent on the occasion. This simplified marriage ceremony will save many people from debt and ruin. No doubt, there will be some loss of publicity which was perhaps the original reason for the ceremonial. To make up for this, registration of marriages should be encouraged. Without registration and publicity, marriages according to the simplified style run the risk of being repudiated easily.

**"Uncle Sham":**—In noticing Mr. Gauba's book with this title, we said that it was one which had better not been written. The Government of the United States, however, are reported to have proscribed it, which makes us think that, after all, the book might have served a useful purpose. If the American Government, with its high professions, allows one of its subjects to vilify another nation, it should not squirm when one of that other nation, pays back in the same coin.

**Door Closed to Brahmins:**—At the Non-Brahmin Liberal Federation held at Nellore last week, considerable interest and excitement centred round the resolution to admit Brahmins into the fold of the Party. By rejecting the resolution by a narrow majority, the non-Brahmin Party has stultified itself. But signs are not wanting that the Party is being influenced by its best minds. A resolution of the above nature would have been unthinkable a few years ago. In his presidential address Mr. Munuswami Naidu pleaded for the removal of the ban against Brahmins while all other non-Brahmin castes are admitted freely. "It may be," said Mr. Naidu, "that Brahmins may not join even if the ban is removed; but surely our Federation thereafter will not be open to objection on the ground that it is an exclusive organisation." Organisations based on communal considerations cannot be considered national in the true sense of the term.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 12, 1929.

## WHAT IS HINDUISM?\*

## II.

Professor Sarma's exposition of the several literary and traditional sources of Hinduism will be read with interest by readers with a scholastic bent of mind. His daughter, Gargi, would seem to have been of this class as her first questions relate to this historical aspect of the subject. The Vedas proper belong to the sacrificial stage of Hinduism which was finally left behind when Buddha came upon the scene. Post-Buddhist Hinduism was based on the philosophic teaching of the Upanishads and more particularly of the Bhagvad Gita which with gentle irony relegated the Vedas to the dust and oblivion of the upper shelf, swept aside the dialectical subtleties of the several schools of philosophy, and proclaimed the religion of faith and works open not only to the twice-born but also to women, Vaisyas and Sudras. The Gita reconciled the antagonisms not only between religious sects and philosophical schools but also between secular and religious and taught that the disinterested performance of one's duty in the position in which one is placed is the surest road to salvation which, it declared, can be attained in this life, without waiting for the next. St. Paul's words to the Colossians almost literally convey the import of the gospel of the Gita. "Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men." If this gospel of conscientious, disinterested work, so sublime in its simplicity, had been allowed to pervade undefiled the life of the people, Hinduism would have been a powerful dynamic, as it was no doubt intended to be by its illustrious Promulgator, in the national life. Unfortunately, however, sectarians got hold of the Gita and in their commentaries twisted its plain and simple teaching in order to support their own narrow views. Besides the numerous Shastras and Puranas, the Agamas brought, Professor Sarma thinks, an alien strain into Hinduism, though he emphasises that they are thoroughly Vedic in spirit and character. Bewildered by the multiplicity of the sources of Hinduism, Gargi wants quite naturally to know if all these different phases have a common aim.

"India," says Professor Sarma in reply "is a land of religious experiment, and Hinduism is not a simple homogeneous religion. Hinduism is rather a name given to a League of Religions. In its comprehensive and tolerant fold we find all types of religion from the highest to the lowest. For, it does not force all minds into one groove. It

frankly recognizes the various grades of culture that obtain in a community." He goes on to say that the common goal of all the different phases of Hindu religion is to make man a perfect spirit like God. We are not sure that this is the Hindu goal, according to any of the recognised schools of religious philosophy. That seems to be some kind of At-one-ment with God. Perhaps this is what Professor Sarma means by being perfect like God. In using English as the vehicle of religious ideas, we naturally fall into the language of the Bible and one of the great sayings of the Bible is, "Be ye perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect." Professor Sarma continues: "We, Hindus, consider it a sin to say that any religion is false. With us toleration is not simply a stroke of policy, but an article of faith." So distinctive is this belief in the validity of all religions to Hinduism, that the Rev. Father Heras, in a learned paper published two years ago, maintained that Asoka was a Hindu and not a Buddhist adducing, among other reasons, the fact that he proclaimed the doctrine of "religious toleration" which is not so much a Buddhist as a Hindu doctrine. "Toleration" is not the right word to describe the Hindu idea. It is not merely a putting up with other religions, but an active feeling of reverence towards them and their Prophets and teachers that is demanded of the Hindu. This same principle was laid down by Raja Ram Mohun Roy in the trust deed of the first Brahma Samaj, since copied into the deeds of every subsequent Samaj, in which it is forbidden to speak slightly of any religion or object regarded with reverence by any class or community. This indeed, is the peculiar prerogative of Hinduism.

Hinduism differs fundamentally from the religions of Semitic origin in nothing so much as its conception of sin. Professor Sarma's exposition of the Hindu idea of sin might be simplified. Hinduism does not believe in original sin. Sin is ignorance in Hinduism, the cure for it is to enlighten the heart and not merely the understanding. Knowledge is not mere intellectual apprehension but that which penetrates to the sub-conscious and possesses a man so that he cannot act except in consonance with it. It becomes his *dharma*, the law of his being. "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did," said Jesus "they had not had sin: but now have both seen and hated me and my Father." That is to say, they had deliberately rejected the evidence of their souls and spirit. Modern thought remarkably corroborates the Hindu conception of crime and sin as the outcome of a condition of inner unenlightenment rather than that of wilful disobedience to the laws of God. Christ's idea of sin was very much the same as the Hindu, though Christianity has adopted

that of the Old Testament. His love for sinners while hating their sins, is explicable only on the idea of sin as a manifestation of ignorance, to be got rid of by enlightening the mind and soul of the sinner. Even the worst sinner when he gets true knowledge, says the Gita, becomes a pure soul. The Christian doctrine of sin has no doubt been a powerful agent in restraining the exuberant physical energy of the European, particularly the Nordic, races. But on races like the Indian which by the long course of religious and social discipline have acquired non-aggressive qualities, it has a paralysing effect. The Indian to-day is more sinned against than sinning, the sinners being those who want to instil into him the belief that he is the worst sinner in the world and, therefore, requiring to be dominated by others who are no saints themselves. Hinduism, understood and expounded in its simple, dynamic aspect, is what the Hindu needs to lift him out of the mire of dependency into which he has fallen and into which he is sought to be sunk still further, by the well-meant ministrations of our Christian Missionary friends. This may seem to be introducing politics into religion but Hinduism recognises the relativity of things and adapts its message to the needs of the people as they vary from time to time.

#### THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

XLI. FRIENDS.

(By Dr. Clifford Manshardt, Ph.D.)

There is an old proverb which says, "Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend." And this proverb is true. Just as the file sharpens other pieces of metal, so a man is changed by the influence of his friends. Often the piece of iron to be sharpened is rusty. It has been beaten by the elements, but the file soon makes it bright. Often it is necessary that the file should cut very deep into the iron that the resulting edge may be firm and smooth. So it is with friends. The function of a friend is indeed that of sharpening the countenance of a friend. Hardship, sorrow and disappointment may have caused a friend's face to grow dim, but by the skilful application of friendship it may again grow bright. At times there may be rough edges or deep scars to which pressure must be applied, but in due time the imperfections are evened out. Happy is he whose life is being helped by the able counsel of a loving friend.

How delightful is the meeting of kindred spirits. What a joy it is to find one's own inner feelings mirrored in the life of another. What a pleasant discovery to lift the veil of an acquaintance and to recognize there one's own reflection. What refreshment comes from moments of converse with men of like hopes and aspirations. How sacred

are the minutes grasped from an unsympathetic world and spent in the companionship of one who understands. Blessed is the man, yes thrice blessed, who sees his own heart in the heart of another.

Friendship is an interchange, not a drawing account. The man who makes friends for the purpose of exploiting them may be increasing his sales slips, but he is smirching the spirit of friendship. A young man should choose his friends not simply with the end in view of getting, but also with the end in view of contributing. If friendship means anything it means mutuality. As the sweetness of ointment and perfume, so is the fragrance of a perfect friendship.

While friendship is beautiful at all times, it is in the hour of trouble that its real beauty is actually revealed. A friend who sticks through misfortune, sorrow and disappointment is a friend who has proven himself to be worthy. He may not be a man of words, and yet the sufferer cannot but feel the stronger because of his presence. True friendship is a spiritual refreshment. No man can bare his inmost life to another and remain petty and small. As friend communes with friend power passes from one to the other. The commonplace fades away, and for the moment each is living in a new and richer environment. As water soothes the parched land, so doth a friend refresh the spirit.

#### INDIAN INFORMATION BUREAU

IN BERLIN.

HALF YEARLY REPORT.

WORK AHEAD.

The Director of the Indian Information Bureau in Berlin sends us the following half yearly report for publication:—The Indian Information Bureau in Berlin was opened formally on the 15th of February this year as a result of a decision of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, mainly for the purpose of giving Indian students wanting to go abroad for higher education, useful and reliable information about the opportunities for the same in Germany, and helping qualified students on arrival in a general way and to obtain admission into Universities and other educational institutions. Experience had shown that ignorance of the possibilities held out by Germany for Indian students to obtain valuable instruction in a number of useful lines, and the absence of an institution capable of attending in a business-like way to the requirements of the new comers till they got fixed up, acted as two of the principal obstacles in the way of Indian students coming to Germany. It was, therefore, felt, that if those obstacles and along with them also the mistaken conception about the language "difficulty" could be removed more students would be found to take advantage of the opportunities offered by Germany. Universities and other educational institutions in Britain are overcrowded. Political circumstances make the atmosphere in Britain increasingly unfavourable for Indian students

with few exceptions. America is too expensive and Asiatics are not particularly welcome in the United States. Opportunities offered by France and other European countries are comparatively limited. These considerations were behind the decision of the Congress to open an information bureau in Berlin.

The Indian Information Bureau has been in existence now for six months. The work done by the Bureau within this short period taking into consideration the initial difficulties connected with the opening of an institution, the limited means at its disposal, and the opposition from also unexpected quarters which all organizations unfortunately have to share, fully justifies its founding by the Congress. In a short report it is possible neither to enumerate all the achievements of this Bureau nor to dwell on the significance and importance of the Bureau for advancing the interests of India. We must limit ourselves to a few facts.

Since March, through the Bureau, and as a result of its activities, 17 students have come to Germany for higher education or practical training. This number does not take into consideration students from other European countries particularly Great Britain who have come to Germany on short visits and have availed themselves of the services of the Bureau. Out of the 17 students, 12 have come directly from India and 5 from Britain. According to communications to hand, 11 students are still to come; 6 from India, 4 from England and 1 from France. During the period of its existence, the Bureau has proved of use and help in all to 93 Indians, mostly students. The Bureau has arranged suitable lodgings for 15; obtained admission into schools or universities for 5; secured entrance for 7 for the language course; arranged free German lessons on an exchange basis for 4 students; obtained concessions for 2; supplied commercial assistance to 7 and introduced 4 students to professors. It has helped 18 persons to visit factories of various kinds in different parts of Germany. It has helped educationalists from India to see the schools in which they were interested; medical men to see hospitals and attend operations, and doctors and engineers interested in public health to see various kinds of municipal works. The Bureau has arranged for practical training of 10 students; 2 in oil-refining, 4 for soap manufacture, 2 for photography and 2 for electro-technics. During August alone 9 students have approached the Bureau in connection with their practical training. Since the date of its opening the Bureau has received and answered 214 enquires from India covering every range of subjects. During the same period it has issued 4 Bulletins, the last one in printed form. The publication of a Bulletin in printed form is an expensive matter and the Bureau has no special fund for this purpose. The last publication, excluding the postage charge, has cost the Bureau nearly 600 Marks. A good part of this has been recovered by advertisements and a German professor interested in the work of the

Bureau has donated a sum of 100 marks towards the expenses of the Bulletin. We hope that this kind act of the German professor will serve as an example to many Indians. As the Bureau is getting to be known it is being visited by a steadily increasing number for information and assistance, as well as to read papers and periodicals. In March we had 12 visitors, in April 27, in May 34; June 51; July 72 and August 183. The steady rise in the number of our visitors has shown us that it is both necessary and useful to maintain a reading room and library. The obstacle in the way of what is generally stated by all our friends and visitors as an "excellent idea" being translated into action is again lack of funds; we have, however, this month made a start in this direction, hoping that public opinion in India will not be wanting to support a useful venture.

There are several useful lines along which the work of the Bureau could be extended. One such,—the maintenance of a reading room and library—has already been mentioned. There is, besides, the important work of co-ordinating the work of Indian students abroad. The Bureau could do much in this direction. It is also necessary to raise and maintain a loan fund. All these could be undertaken only if the basis of the Bureau itself is first strengthened. Therefore, it is hoped that those who appreciate the work and value of the Bureau will, by timely support, both moral and material, see that the Bureau is put on sound and secure basis.

In concluding this short report, those responsible for the management of the Bureau feel it their duty to express their grateful thanks to the many individuals and institutions in this country, with whom they had to come in contact in the course of their work, and from whom they have received nothing but uniformly hearty sympathy and support. All correspondence should be addressed to the Indian Information Bureau, Berlin W 8, Mauerstr, 52.

#### RAM MOHAN ROY ANNIVERSARY BANGALORE.

A public meeting to celebrate the 96th death anniversary of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy was held on the 27th September 1929 at the Brahma Mandir, Cantonment Brahma Samaj, Bangalore with Rao Bahadur Kandaswami Chetti in the chair. Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswami Chetty quoting Sri Krishna's saying in the Bhagavat-Gita that whenever there was decay of uprightness and exaltation of unrighteousness, God sent forth into the world a messenger to carry out his purpose. Such a man was Ram Mohan Roy who stands as the fountain head of Modern India, a man like Abraham, the father of a new race and of a new type of civilization. Since the evils he was called on to correct were intellectual, moral, social, religious and political all

blended together and interdependent, the reformation had similarly to be on all these lines. Ram Mohan realised the solidarity of Indian Reform, no department being separate from the others, and with no antagonism between one form of reform and any other. This is a fact which requires to be remembered today and the forgetfulness of which has led to a great deal of confusion, misunderstanding and weakness. Ram Mohan realised that the ground work of all reform in India was education on Western lines which alone could introduce the breadth of view and of sympathy so essential to progress, English being the language of unification and of touch with the outer world. This did not mean the neglect of Sanskrit and the vernaculars.

But education was only an instrument of reform in Ram Mohan's hands, reform—religious, social and political. In attacking idolatry, he attacked all forms of superstition, ceremonialism and priest craft and proclaimed monotheism as the essential creed of India, and preached God as the Common Father of all, who being a spirit should be worshipped in spirit and sincerity, with no mummery or memorising but straight from the heart. Ram Mohan Roy's campaign against Sati was inspired by his zeal for the emancipation of women from the selfishness of men in all its forms. He denounced notions of caste superiority based not on merit but on birth. In thus waging war against custom and tradition, he used all the three methods of appeal to the Sastras, to reason and to the legislative power of Government. It is well to remember this fact in connection with the Infant marriage legislation, that when appeal to reason and the Sastras has been carried on for long, it is necessary for rectifying that age-long wrongs legislation should step in with its stamp of authority.

Perhaps the most far reaching act of reform with its social, political and economic consequences was the example he set in undertaking the voyage to England,—the first Brahmin to cross the seas. His object in thus breaking the rules of caste was partly political and partly religious. In celebrating the memory of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, one is apt to forget what Surendranath Bannerjee once called pointed attention to, that he was the father of political agitation in India. Before him there was little public life or public spirit, he was the first to make the people conscious of their civil rights and privileges. He stood up for the freedom of the press, protected against a jury bill based on religion. The greatest achievement of Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the founding of the Brahmo Samaj. In attempting to reform Hinduism, he created a Universal Church in which Islam, Christianity and Zoroastrianism had equal claims with the religion of the Upanishads upon the belief and practice of Indians. If Ram Mohan Roy's activities are to be summed up in one word, it is unity, religious, social and political. He preached the one God, whose nature is righteousness, Love and Truth. If only the evolution of modern India had proceeded on the lines envisaged by Ram Mohan Roy, an enlightened

India, united in God, and free both internally and externally, and if Indian Reform had been conceived and conducted as an organic whole with sympathy and perfect understanding between those engaged in its various departments, many of those difficulties which stand in the way of national progress—like Hindu Moslem differences and the Brahmin—non-Brahmin problem would not have made their appearance. And if only the Brahmo Samaj instead of being a merely religious community would again exert its full influence on the whole of national life, it would hasten the day when India will be as Ram Mohan Roy in a note prepared by him for his English friends said, she should be a Free India.

Mrs. Parvatibai Dewal, B. A., and others spoke highly of the moral courage and the self-sacrificing spirit of the Rajah and his untiring efforts for the successful abolition of Sati.

#### RANI OF MANDI ON SARDA ACT,

Interviewed by our representative, writes the *Leader*, the Rani Sahiba Lalit-Kumari of Mandi, who presided at the last All-India Women's Conference said: 'I am very glad that the Government have helped a great deal towards the passing of the Sarda Bill and on behalf of the suffering womanhood of India I offer my grateful thanks to them and supporters of the measure.

'Personally I would have been glad if the age for marriage had been fixed as 18 but we have to be satisfied with small beginnings. Mr. Sarda, by piloting the Bill successfully in the Assembly, and Sir Moropant Joshi, by preparing the ground by his work in the Age of Consent Committee, have done yeoman service in the cause of Indian reform and progress.

'The reform was long overdue, and I am sure even those who are opposed to it at present will live to bless it as a humanitarian step like the abolition of "Sati".'

The opposition engineered by the irreconcilable section is sure to die out. A great responsibility rests on the shoulders of the educated and enlightened section of Indians at this juncture. Instead of resting on their laurels they should see that the reform is carried to its logical conclusion by carrying on a ceaseless propaganda in the country for educating the masses.

'The passing of legislation alone will not solve the problem unless people are educated properly and Government are helped further in promoting social reform.

'In this the pioneer work has to be done by educated and enlightened ladies, who should work in an organised manner in rescuing their less fortunate sisters from age-long customs which have proved so baneful.

'Education is the only solvent to remedy this state of affairs.'

The Rani Sahiba was very enthusiastic and hoped that many more reforms would follow.

**SIR SAMUEL WILSON'S SCHEME.**

The report of Sir Samuel Wilson on the East African question is published with a preface by the Colonial Secretary that his Majesty's Government is not in any way committed to accepting it or to agreement with the views expressed therein. His Majesty's Government will submit their conclusions to Parliament before any final decision is reached.

**SIR SAMUEL'S REVIEW.**

Reviewing his impressions, Sir Samuel says that all communities, with the exception of some in Tanganyika, appeared to be frightened at any idea of closer political union, and that the Indians in Tanganyika were particularly opposed to any federation. No one during his tour took exception to his view that whatever the circumstances, the Secretary of State for Colonies must retain full control and full responsibility for the direction of policy in East Africa. No one objected to the recommendation of the Hilton Young Commission on the control of native policy, but none favoured making the Central authority directly responsible for the co-ordination of policy on native affairs, and matters concerning the relations between natives and immigrants.

**OUTLINES OF THE SCHEME.**

The scheme proposed by Sir Samuel Wilson involves the appointment of a High Commissioner, who, as the King's representative will rank senior to the Governors of the three territories, and will exercise complete control, legislative and administrative, over certain common services, namely, Customs, Railways, including Posts and Telegraphs Defence and Fundamental research. The High Commissioner, would in the exercise of his legislative powers, be assisted by a Central Council having an official majority, consisting of the High Commissioner as President, three officials at the central head-quarters and seven representatives from each of the three territories nominated by the Governors of the said territories. The powers of the Central Council are to be limited to transferred subjects, all other matters being left to the local Legislature.

**SIR D. CAMERON'S SUGGESTIONS.**

This scheme for economic union has been approved by the Governor of Uganda and the acting Governor of Tanganyika, but Sir Donald Cameron, Governor of Tangayika, has suggested the postponement of any scheme of closer union until an authoritative commission in London has inquired into the question of native policy. Sir Samuel Wilson comments on this that the people in East Africa are tired of Commissions and Committees and above all, want the early termination of the discussions that have been now in progress for over two years.

**INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.**

Dealing with the position of Indians in East Africa, Sir Samuel says that, he has been informed that Indians do not seek a dominating position and that they would not exclude the possibility of their

accepting nomination to the Legislative Council instead of election, provided firstly that his Majesty's Government gave an undertaking that the door was not closed to a common roll and (b) that the Kenya Government would miss no opportunity of using its offices to bring the European and Indian communities together. If these undertakings were given, the Indian community might accept nomination, and have the opportunity of proving its good faith and showing that they were genuinely ready to work for the good of the Colony while not aiming at political domination.

**KENYA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.**

As regards the reconstitution of the Kenya Legislative Council, Sir Samuel Wilson gives three alternative schemes, one of which proposes the following membership of the Council; Officials 12, elected Europeans 15; elected Arab 1, elected or nominated Indians 6 and nominated non-officials 8. These schemes, he says provide for the decrease, in an abnormally large number, of officials now on the Council, give a small increase to elected Europeans compared with their demands in the past, and so divide the Council as to make it impossible for elected Europeans, with the full Council voting, to carry any measure against the views of the Government, supported by Indians, unless they can get seven nominated unofficials or six nominated non-officials and the elected Arab to support them. The Governor, he says, is left complete discretion in selecting for nomination the best men, irrespective of race, to represent general including native interest.

**SIR SAMUEL WILSON'S REPORT  
CONDEMNED.**

Mr. J. B. Pandya, Mr. B. N. Anantani and Mr. Isherdas, members of the East African Deputation, have issued the following statement criticising Sir Samuel Wilson's report. They say :

We have no hesitation in describing this report as a reactionary and one-sided document and an abject surrender to the doctrine of vigorous action of White Settlers in Kenya. Sir Samuel Wilson has attempted to draw a picture with an eye to how it would be acceptable to Europeans without regard to how it would affect Indians and the natives.

The following facts stand out glaringly :

1. The extreme solicitude of Sir Samuel Wilson for the feelings and sentiments however unreasonable or extravagant of the European community in Kenya which he protects and upholds even at the cost of remarkably moderate and reasonable demands of Indians.

2. His hint to the Imperial Government of a possibility of a division among the Indian community based on his impression and private talks with individuals.

3. He was sent by the Conservative Government to soothe the feelings of the European community and make out a case for upsetting the majority report of the Hilton-Young Commission in essential details of federation and constitutional changes in Kenya. This he has done well by adopting the principles of Sir Edward Hilton Young's proposals in regard to constitutional changes in Kenya.

#### QUOTATIONS FROM THE REPORT.

The following quotations from the report prove our contention. Sir Samuel Wilson says "the Europeans would not accept less than 15 seats and the increase in European seats is a small one as compared with the demand made in the past." He further goes on to say "One or two of the Europeans, whom I interviewed in Kenya were at pains to impress on me that the opinions expressed by the European elected members did not necessarily represent the views of the European community in general. In framing my report I have been guided generally by the views expressed by the accredited representatives, whom I interviewed."

If this procedure was adopted in regard to the European community, why was another adopted in regard to Indians? Sir Samuel Wilson says in his report "judging from the discussions which I had with some of the leading Indians in Kenya I would not exclude the possibility of the Indian community being prepared to accept nominations to the Legislative Council instead of election, so that they could have an opportunity of proving their good faith and showing that they are genuinely ready to work for the good of the Colony, while not aiming at political domination."

In another place he says: "I suggested to the deputation of the East African Indian National Congress that since there appeared to be no likelihood at the present time of getting local agreement on the question of the communal roll it might be desirable to explore other avenues of approach which might eventually lead to such an agreement. My suggestion met with no response from the meeting."

When Sir Samuel was satisfied with representing, European view-point by repeating the parrot-cries of the European community why did he consider it necessary to weaken the Indian case by his imaginary talks with individuals?

To begin with, it is bad taste and a weakness to refer to private conversations in a public document of this kind. They cannot be advanced as a ground for serious discussion of a political scheme.

#### OPPOSITION TO A COMMON REGISTER.

We confidently assert that Sir Samuel Wilson has misrepresented the so-called private discussions. We say without the slightest hesitation that if the view point is accepted by the Imperial Government they will find themselves completely mistaken and their false hopes as to Indians accepting nominations are not likely to be realised. Of one thing

above all we are absolutely confident and that is judging from past experience of Kenya Government's attitude of hostility to Indian interests that Government is not likely to use its so-called good offices to bring the Indian and European communities together. Knowing as we do the opposition of the European community to the common roll, unless the Imperial Government definitely declare for the common roll and introduce the same forthwith, we apprehend that the Kenya Government would hardly get an opportunity to use its good offices.

If the position indicated by Sir Samuel Wilson is really acceptable to any Indian of standing in Kenya why has no one from the Indian community come forward to say so? A clear indication of unity on this question has been given by the Indian community when in Mombasa, where the franchise question does not arise in the Municipal constitution, they refused to accept seats in the Municipal Council in order that they may not be misunderstood or misrepresented on the question of common roll. We, therefore, warn the Imperial Government not to be misguided by false hopes raised by the Wilson Report on this vital issue. We can boldly declare that there is no section of the Indian community in Kenya, who believe in moderate doctrines amounting to betraying the cause of the community and, all efforts in this direction have so far failed and are likely to do so in future.

#### DEMAND OF EQUAL SEATS IN THE EVENT OF FEDERATION.

We have opposed the principle of federation and in the event of its being inevitable, demanded an equal number of seats for Indians and un-official, Europeans. Sir Samuel Wilson makes the preposterous suggestion that such seats are to be filled on the recommendation of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council. This is likely to deprive the Indian community of any chance of representation on the Central Legislature which will have the control of important economic questions in which they have great vested interests. The majority of the unofficial members in the Legislative Council are Europeans and unless expressly provided as is the case in the Kenya constitution that so many of the members would be Indians, it is highly improbable for any Indian to get nominated to the Central Council. This would provide the Governor with an excuse to refuse to nominate an Indian unless recommended by unofficial members of the Council.

#### APPEAL TO LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

We are glad of the assurance of the Secretary of State for the Colonies that Sir Samuel Wilson's Report in no way conveys the views of his Majesty's Government. We fervently hope that the Labour Government would take a broadminded and statesmanlike view of the situation and stand by legitimate and absolutely just claims and bring about a lasting solution for the common benefit of all the races in East Africa.

We remind the Government of India that a no time in the history of Indian settlers in East

Africa was the situation so serious, demanding a bold and strong stand for Indians' rights and we remind the Government that a little weakness, a little false step at this juncture would place Indians in a position of helplessness detrimental to their status as equal citizens. In our opinion, the time has also come when the Legislative Assembly should seriously consider sending out a deputation to London as they did in 1923 to support the just claims of the Indian settlers in East Africa.

#### A BRUTAL HUSBAND.

In a recent issue of *Young India* Mahatma Gandhi writes as follows:—

The following is a summary of a long letter of a brother describing the miseries of his married sister:

'Some time ago my sister was married to a man whose character was hidden from us. This man has been discovered to be a rake, and no amount of dissipation and debauchery can satiate him. He has no sense of honour. My unfortunate sister found soon after her marriage that her 'lord' was sinking down more and more deeply day by day. She remonstrated. The man could not brook this, and in order to 'teach her a lesson' indulged in his excesses in front of her. He would also whip her, make her stand, starve her etc. She was tied to a post to compel her to witness his debaucheries. My sister is heartbroken. Her lamentations make us feel wretched. We are helpless. What would you advise her and us to do? This is one of the most shameful aspects of Hinduism, where woman is left entirely at the mercy of man and has no rights and privileges. If a man chooses to be cruel and heartless, there is no remedy left to the unfortunate woman. The man may go on making random alliances, and not a little finger can be raised against him; but a woman once married is at the utter mercy of her lord. Thousands of such women are groaning and weeping. As long as Hinduism is not purged of these and such like evils, can there be any hope of progress?'

The writer is an educated man. His is a much more graphic description than the summary is of his sister's distress. The correspondent has sent me his full name and address. His condemnation of Hinduism, though pardonable under intense irritation, is based on a hysterical generalisation from an isolated instance. For millions of Hindu wives live in perfect peace and are queens in their homes. They exercise an authority over their husbands which any woman would envy. It is an authority which love gives. The case of cruelty brought to light by the correspondent is an illustration not of the evil in Hinduism, but of the evil in human nature which has been known to express itself under all climes and among people professing different faiths of the world. The facility for divorce has proved no protection against a brutal husband for a pliant wife incapable of asserting and at times even

unwilling to assert herself. It is therefore in the interest of reform for reformers to avoid hysterics and exaggerations.

Nevertheless the occurrence to which this article draws attention is not an altogether uncommon occurrence in Hindu society. Hindu culture has erred on the side of excessive subordination of the wife to the husband, and has insisted on the complete merging of the wife in the husband. This has resulted in the husband sometimes usurping and exercising authority that reduces him to the level of the brute. The remedy for such excesses therefore lies not through the law but through the true education of women as distinguished from unmarried girls, and through cultivating public opinion against unmanly conduct on the part of husbands. In the case in point the remedy is incredibly simple. Instead of the brother and other relatives feeling helpless and weeping with the distressed girl, they should clothe her with protection, educate her to believe that it is no part of her duty to placate a sinful husband or to seek his company. It is quite evident that the husband himself does not care for the wife. She may therefore without breaking the legal tie live apart from husband's roof and feel as if she had never been married. Of course there are two legal remedies open even to a Hindu wife for whom a divorce is unobtainable, and that is to have the husband punished for common assault and to insist upon his supporting the wife. Experience tells me that this remedy is in most cases if not in all worse than useless, and it never brings any comfort to a virtuous woman and makes the question of husband's reform more difficult if not impossible which after all should be the aim of society, more so of every wife. In the present instance the girl's parents are well able to support her but where it is not possible, the number of institutions that would give shelter to such ill-treated women is growing in the country. There still remains the question of the satisfaction of the sexual appetite on the part of young women thus leaving the inhospitable roofs of their husbands or being actually deserted by them when the relief given by divorce is unobtainable. But this is really not a serious grievance in point of numbers, for in a society in which custom has discountenanced divorce for ages, a woman whose marriage proves unhappy does not want to be remarried. When public opinion in any social group requires that particular form of relief, I have no doubt that it will be forthcoming. So far as I understand the correspondent's letter, the grievance is not that the wife cannot satisfy her sexual appetite. The grievance is the gross and defiant immorality on the part of the husband. For this, as I have said, the remedy lies in a revision of the mental attitude. The feeling of helplessness is imaginary as most of our ills are. A fresh outlook, a little original thinking is enough to dispel the grief brought about by defective imagination. Nor should friends and relatives in such cases be satisfied with the mere negative result of isolating the



victim from the zone of tyranny. She should be induced to qualify herself for public service. This kind of training would be more than enough compensation for the doubtful privilege of a husband's bed.

### INDIA'S REVOLT AGAINST ALCOHOL.

J. F. EDWARDS, BOMBAY, writes to the *Observer*, London:—The Joint Free Conference of the Simon Commission and of the Indian Central Committee has entered, by its sittings in London, on the second stage of the momentous inquiry which directly or indirectly affects one-sixth of the human race. This is therefore a fitting moment to call attention to one of the most striking omissions in the evidence gathered by the Joint Free Conference in India itself. For over twenty years the present writer has lived in Bombay, where his work has brought him into intimate contact with educated Indians of all classes. This contact has convinced him that there is all over India a genuine revolt against alcohol; for indulgence in it is regarded as a sin by India's two chief religions, Hinduism and Islam, and its ruinous effects are seen in every industrial centre of India. Moreover, India considers the liquor trade to be a negation of that "penetrating Christian ethic" which, in the words of Sir Stanley Reed in Bombay's largest hall last year, is "powerfully influencing India."

That India's moral revolt against alcohol should have found no expression before the Indian Statutory Commission, except in a missionary memorandum, must be regarded as one of the most tragic results of India's boycott of the Commission; and that the boycott should have affected such a subject as Temperance on which all India's political parties are united, illustrates how the chasm is widening between India and Britain. On the other hand, temperance organisations in Britain have rightly felt any approach to the Commission should be initiated by India. Meanwhile a golden opportunity may be lost for many missionaries in India and practically the whole of India's *intelligentsia* believe the liquor traffic to be one of the greatest alienating factors between India and Britain, and no true friend of either India or Britain will minimise such a danger.

#### REVENUE FROM LIQUOR.

If history answers the charge of some Indian extremists that Britain introduced the liquor traffic to India, it also establishes Britain's responsibility for present arrangements whereby so large a proportion of the Indian revenue comes from the trade in alcohol and drugs. In the Provincial Governments this proportion is about 25 per cent., while for the Central and Provincial Governments combined the Taxation Inquiry Committee puts the figure at 18 per cent of India's total tax revenue, last year's total being about £15,000,000 as against £2,000,000 fifty years ago. India's statesmen, writers, and scientists openly denounce this liquor revenue as "tainted money drawn from

the degradation of the people," every bit as tainted as was the revenue obtained from the opium exported to China and other countries by the limiting of which export to medicinal and scientific purposes £1,200,000 net revenue is being nobly sacrificed every year by the Government of India. How direct is the responsibility of the British Government in India for the liquor traffic is shown by the fact that the liquor is manufactured in Government distilleries and sold under a licensing system strictly supervised by Government officials. At the same time this method has the double advantage of preventing India's drink trade from becoming a private vested monopoly as in Britain, and leaving in Government's hands all the factors for solving India's drink problem.

Alcohol is so widely detested throughout India, probably by four-fifths of the population, that when, under the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 Excise became a "transferred" subject—that is, transferred to departments under Indian Ministers—a new hope was born in India. This hope, unfortunately has proved illusory, partly because the financial arrangements under the Reforms made liquor revenue necessary to the financial equilibrium of the State, and partly because Indian Ministers in the Provincial Governments have been compelled to leave the control of foreign liquor to the Central Government, with the consequence that, while the consumption of country liquor has diminished in some Provinces, there has been a serious increase in India's consumption of foreign liquor, about 1,320,000 gallons of foreign spirits (half from the United Kingdom) being unloaded annually on India.

#### WIDESPREAD RESENTMENT.

These and many other facts have led to that deep anger and resentment among all political parties that found expression in the historic Legislative Assembly debate of September 2, 1925, when a solid Indian vote of sixty-nine demanded ultimate prohibition and local option, the European and official Indian opponents numbering thirty-nine. The draft Constitution for India, accepted by the All-Parties Convention last January has for one of its provisions the total prohibition of alcoholic liquor, save for medical or industrial purposes, and a resolution of the same purport was unanimously passed by the Fifteenth All-India Convention of Indian Christians on December 29, 1928. Thus at a time when India is distracted by division a singular unity among political parties and religions is seen on this question. It surely cannot be beyond the wisdom of British and Indian statesmen to devise a plan whereby India's united desire may be met, by eliminating the necessity for liquor revenue within, say, twenty years. The town of Taran-Taran, in the Amritsar district of the Punjab, shows what all India would do had it the power; for out of 2,000 voters 1,600 availed themselves of their privilege under the Punjab Local Option Act, and out of 1,600 not one person voted for the liquor shop.

It is, therefore, of the highest importance that the members of the new Imperial Parliament on whom will fall the responsibility of passing an Act embodying India's new Constitution, should see to it that such provisions are included as shall ensure the carrying out of India's desire on a moral question which is alienating from Britain the best thought of India.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**The Indian Problem:**—Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee, Director of Studies, Institute of International Affairs, London, gave an interesting account of his impressions of a month's tour in India. He said: 'I have been passing through countries which are fragments of the great empires now broken up and divided for various reasons. Here in India, one finds the same situation as existed in the Ottoman Empire a century ago. The Ottoman Empire broke up with infinite loss and suffering because the various races and religions contained therein failed to learn how to live and work together. India is a big country which is still run on a big scale. It makes me wonder how it would be possible to bring together the different communities in this country. The vital question affecting India is the co-operation of these communities. I think it depends upon the younger generation to bring about the unity of India.'

**Marriages in England.**—A surprising feature of the Registrar-General's statistical review of 1928 is the large number of men who married women much older than themselves. A number of youths in their twenties married women twice their ages, and there were cases where the husbands were aged 30 or under and their brides aged 60 years or over and even instances of marriages between septuagenarian women and men of ages ranging from 35 to 50 years. At the other extreme, 67 girls married at the age of fifteen, 440 at the age of 16 and 2,493 at the age of 17. There were 303,000 marriages in England and Wales during 1928. A record number of decrees nisi were made absolute, namely, 4,018, an increase of 828 compared with 1927. Births numbered 660,000, compared with 654,000 in 1927.

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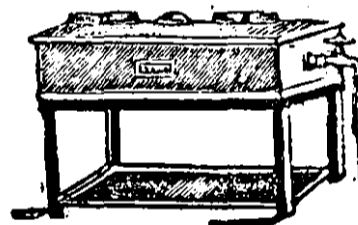
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1929

No. 7

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Anglo-American Friendship:**—The visit of the British Prime Minister to the President of the United States, Mr. Hoover, has been described as a great personal triumph for Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. The immediate object of the visit was to come to an agreement on the question of the limitation of naval armament, but it has been stated that the opportunity has been utilised to pave the way to a friendly understanding covering other outstanding questions in controversy between Great Britain and the States and also generally the relations between the two countries. A century ago, the States had revolted and thrown off the government of Britain. The two today are happy in cooperating as independent nations to secure peace between themselves and of the world. In international politics, when two nations show a special friendliness to each other, the others are prone to suspect that there may lurk behind a plot against themselves. And there generally is. Such apprehensions have been sought to be removed by statements to the effect that Anglo-American friendship is not to be construed as implying any lack of it towards other powers. Such statements, according to diplomatic etiquette, are always publicly accepted at their face value, but privately each nation puts its own construction upon them and steers its course in that direction. A Conference of the principal naval Powers, Britain, the United States, Japan, France and Italy, is to be held next January in London. Outside the naval question, the Anglo-American rapprochement cannot but have reactions which concern the non-European races. Great Britain, her Dominions and the United States are the great strongholds of colour prejudice and a combination of these cannot but be viewed with distrust by coloured races all over the world.

**The Afghan Scene:**—General Nadir Khan has at last succeeded in entering Kabul after breaking down the opposition of Amir Habibullah's partisans. Pressure is being brought to bear upon the General from Afghans, Musalmans and others outside, to invite the ex-king Amanullah to resume his kingship. The General is too shrewd

a man to act on an impulse. Amanullah Khan when he was ruler, had not treated the General very considerably. Apart from personal feelings, General Nadir Khan will no doubt realise that the return of Amanullah will once more rally the conservative and orthodox sections against him. The civil war in Afghanistan served the purpose of a General Election in England. Amanullah voluntarily retired from the contest and Baccha-i-Saqao has failed to maintain a majority in the country. Nadir Khan's success means that the people of Afghanistan are in favour of a middle course between the breakneck reforms of Amanullah and the stubborn conservatism of Baccha-i-Saqao. Amanullah Khan can come back only as the nominee of Nadir Khan and must undertake to act according to the policy laid down by the General. It is doubtful if a high-spirited man like him would like the role of a puppet King which he must be, at any rate for some time, before he is able to consolidate his strength. Since the above was in type, authentic information has been received to the effect that the National Assembly has elected Nadir Khan, despite his repeated refusals, to the Kingship. This is in the fitness of things and we have every hope that under him Afghanistan will make steady progress. The new King has given evidence of the possession of a quality, rather rare among Mahomedan conquerors, of moderation in the hour of victory, which bodes well for the future of the country.

**Prohibition in Indian States:**—Some Indian States like Bhavnagar and Limbdi have introduced Prohibition and it has been working successfully in them. Both foreign and country liquor is banned except under license for medical purposes. The Begum of Bhopal adopted it for her State, but soon after the present Nawab succeeded her, he rather hastily gave it up on the ground that the loss of revenue was not sufficiently compensated by the growth of abstinence among the people. His Highness was then new to the administration. He is from all accounts a genuine nationalist and we trust that he will soon re-introduce Prohibition with the determination to have it succeed. The question was raised in the Mysore Representative Assembly this week, and the Dewan, Mr. Mirza Ismail who, if he were in British India, would be a Congress leader with Dr. Ansari, undertook to sacrifice up to a crore of rupees in revenue, if he could be sure that the drink evil can be put down in Mysore by that means. He cited the example of Bhopal as showing that Prohibition may not succeed in Mysore. Government, however, agreed to appoint a committee to go into the



question. As remarked above, Bhopal's experience, should not be taken as conclusive in the face of the fact that Bhavnagar has been successfully working Prohibition during the past several years. We earnestly trust that Mr. Mirza Ismail's regime will leave Prohibition as its precious legacy to subsequent administrations. Another State which may set the example to British India in this respect, is Hyderabad. Under the skilful and sagacious stewardship of Sir Akbar Hydari, the finances of the State are in a most flourishing condition, the single fly in the ointment being the enormous revenue derived from Excise. His Exalted Highness's Government can better afford to sacrifice the revenue from liquor than any other Government in the country, and we trust that Sir Akbar will initiate an early reform in this direction.

**Depressed Classes and Temple Entry:—**The claim of the "untouchables" to enter Hindu temples, is being brought to a head at the Parvati temple in Poona. The temple dominates the landscape and is intimately associated with the social and political as well as the religious life of the capital of the Peshwas. On Dassara day a party of "untouchables" went up Parvati Hill with the object of forcing, if need be, an entry. The temple doors were closed—an unprecedented thing—and crowds of caste Hindus swarmed up the hill to prevent the pollution of their shrine by the untouchable invaders. Considering that the latter only ask to be allowed to worship Parvati and have no iconoclastic intentions, the opposition of the caste Hindus, particularly of the Brahmins who no doubt predominate, can only be described as ridiculous and suicidal. Armed police are keeping the peace between the belligerents. We trust wiser counsels will prevail and that the example set by Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj and others in admitting freely all Hindus to their temples, will have due weight with those who are trying to keep out their co-religionists of the depressed classes.

**Mr. Bajaj's Exhortation:—**Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj has issued a statement or rather an appeal on the Parvati Temple incident, which for its wisdom and moderation merits the attention of both sides to the controversy. The *Satyagrahis* may be persuaded by his words to give up their attempt, but, we doubt, if the Hindu obstructives will be equally amenable. The community which has produced Ranade, Gokhale, Devadhar, Paranjpye and others of the Liberal school, has an immense capacity for progressive idealism. But this section has been overshadowed in the past by another school which in the pursuit of a narrow political objective has persistently thrown itself athwart the path of social and religious freedom. It was this school which bitterly obstructed social reform in the nineties; it was this school which by refusing recognition to the legitimate desire of the Kolhapur royal family, sowed the seeds of the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra; it is this school which in the Legislative Assembly last month played a dual part in relation to the Sarda Marriage Act; it is this school which is responsible directly and indirectly for the enactment of the most unedifying scene round the Parvati temple. We do not expect this school to pay heed to Mr. Bajaj's appeal. But great social forces are at work,

and those who set themselves against them will soon be swept away as by an avalanche.

**Mr. Wedgwood Benn's Retreat:—**It was given out some time back with all the appearance of authority that Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State would visit India to settle the question of further constitutional reform. This is so obviously the most sensible course that people in India were pleased that it had occurred to the British Minister to follow it. The rumour was allowed to gain currency for several weeks, and then the newspapers which represent vested interests took alarm. They said that it would be an affront to the Simon Commission—and if the Commission was a greater concern than the country—and that the Secretary of State should not try to know at firsthand the conditions in this country and the sentiments of the people. Mr. Benn has been frightened out of the sensible course he had apparently entertained and it is now announced that he will not come out to this country. Several other British Ministers have travelled to distant countries to settle matters on the spot—the Prime Minister to America, the unemployment Minister to Canada. But only in the case of India is the bad old tradition of seeing things through bureaucratic spectacles, to continue. It will be found soon, however, that the key to the Indian problem is no longer in England but in India. The country will not accept a British-made constitution unless it is made on a plan previously approved in this country.

**Hinduism and Toleration:—**The *Catholic Leader* of Madras of the 10th instant devotes a leading article to prove to its own satisfaction that the "toleration" of Hinduism is "the result of lack of religious belief and of an attitude of indifference towards truth and error." We do not wish to say a word with reference to the claims put forward on behalf of Catholicism which no doubt, embodies an important phase of religious truth. But in answer to the *Leader's* belittling of Hindu toleration, we may ask where in all the world has there been a land in which ancient communities like Jews, Syrian Christians and Parsees, have been given asylum and protection to follow their ancestral faiths without any attempt on the part of the majority religion to impose itself upon them? The spirit of Inquisition has ever been repugnant to the spirit of Hinduism.

**Sarda Act:—**We print elsewhere in this issue the full text of the Sarda Marriage Act which was assented to by the Viceroy and will come into operation from 1st April 1930.

(Continued from the *Leader* page).

were subject when it says "It is true that it has been possible for the Ministers of Education to introduce radical reforms into the existing systems of education, but there is no denying the fact that considerable constructive work has been done and improvements effected." Having regard to the above, criticisms of Government of the administration of education as a transferred subject which find place in the report are hardly justifiable and the changes that have taken place, from the public point of view, are to be welcomed and not regretted.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, OCTOBER 19, 1929.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The ninth quinquennial Report, surveying the progress of education in India for the five years ending March 1927 was published recently. The striking feature of the report is the remarkable progress of education in all its stages in all parts of the country. During this period, the number of recognised educational institutions showed an increase of double that of the previous quinquennium and the number of scholars rose to eleven millions. It is in the field of primary education that considerable expansion is noted. In the period under report there was an addition of 30 lakhs of literates in the primary stage. This is no doubt a great achievement, but considering the widespread illiteracy in the country it can only be said that only a breach has been effected. Various causes contribute to the enormous prevalence of illiteracy which obstructs the path of education. One of them is the backwardness of the agricultural and backward class of people who do not realise the benefits of education for their children. To secure the lasting benefits of education, it has been found that adult education is an important factor. This has not received the attention of the Government to the extent it deserves. Almost all the efforts put forward in this direction are by private enterprise. Village education and amelioration which have been attempted by individuals and organisations with excellent results, should be introduced widely. A net work of these organisations will go a great way to banish the defects of the present system. With the advance of primary education a corresponding expansion is noted in the secondary and college education. The Director of Public Instruction of Bombay is of opinion that the increase in numbers of those taking secondary education has lowered the standard of efficiency because of the "fact that lower and lower strata are being tapped." The analogy of lower strata and inferior output may be applicable to industries like mining and tapping, but appears singularly inapt in dealing with mental faculties.

The report states that the present prospect of women's education in British India is bright. This is no doubt due to the recent awakening among women to the blessings of education and to the organised propaganda carried on by women themselves all over India. Women's conferences on educational reform have been to a great extent instrumental in bringing about this happy result. The rate of progress of women's education has not been satisfactory in the higher stages and even in the primary stage it has not kept pace with the corresponding rate of boys' education. It has been found that prejudice

against co-education to a large extent exists and where there are separate institutions for women the educational advance has been quicker. The report favours spending largely upon higher educational facilities for women so as to secure a supply of trained teachers. The recent enactment raising the marriage age for girls to fourteen should favourably react on their education as it will give them more years for schooling.

When the demand for trained teachers is so great it is disappointing to note that the number of training schools has decreased from 926 to 529 and their strength from 22,774 to 21,610. It is argued that the decrease is due to reorganisation and amalgamation and does not mean any serious reduction in the number of trained teachers. Be that as it may, the increase in the number of pupils without a corresponding increase in the number of trained teachers means inordinate strain on the existing machinery of education. Such a state of affairs spells disaster to the future and efficiency of education in the country. It is disconcerting to find that professional and industrial education and training has not received the attention that it should, specially having regard to growing unemployment among the educated in the country.

Coming to the education of special classes and communities the progress of Mahomedan education has been phenomenal in that the total number of Mahomedan scholars increased by over 850,000. "In spite of all that has been written," says the report, "therefore, about the backwardness of the community the percentage of Mahomedan scholars under instruction to the total Mahomedan population is 0.1 higher than the percentage of all scholars to the total population, and the rate of increase in the number of scholars during the quinquennium has been greater in the case of Mahomedans than in the case of all communities taken together." The education of the depressed classes also advanced appreciably and the adoption of special measures such as the opening of special schools, the remission of fees and grant of scholarships helped to send up the percentage of pupils under instruction to 2.8 to the total population of that community.

The present quinquennial report may be roughly taken to be the history of education in India since the advent of the reforms when education was made a provincial, and in the main a transferred, subject in charge of a Minister. It is the virtual transfer of education to popular control as the Minister is elected and is responsible to the local legislature. The expansion of education during the quinquennium should be deemed eminently satisfactory. The report recognises the limitations to which the authorities

(Continued in the 2nd column of 2nd Note Page).

### THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

XLII. CREATORS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

(Dr. CLIFFORD MANSARDT, PH.D.)

The great need of a people who aspire to self-government is education. If the people are to rule it is essential that they know how to rule. If the nation is to take its proper place in the family of nations it is important that the people understand these other nations. If the nation wishes to become great there must be widespread knowledge of what constitutes greatness. To no man is it given to understand all things. Every man is partially dependent upon the opinions of others. We are a part of all that we meet.

The three most potent factors in the making of public opinion are probably the press, the stage - including the cinema, and the platform. The most powerful representative of the press is the daily newspaper. In every city of size there are not only morning and evening papers, but also several editions of each. The paid circulation of these papers runs high into the thousands and other thousands hear the news from the lips of those who have read. The message of the stage, though at first confined to the larger cities, is now being heard throughout the land. The smaller cities and larger towns are having their regular cinema programs, and even remote villages are staging dramatic performances showing the evils of drink, or the benefits of public health and co-operation. The worth of the platform utterance is dependent upon the worth of the speaker. The speaker may be a man of words or he may be a man of real ideas. Unfortunately the men of ideas are all too rare. The most of our lecturers generate far more heat than light. Each of these agencies of public opinion is falling short of its educational opportunity, but upon each agency there rests a high responsibility. The publicist who takes his task seriously must in all humility join his prayer with the prayer of the Hebrew psalmist: "Let the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength, and my redeemer."

The aim of the propagandist is to assist people in making up their minds. He does not want them halting between two opinions. If a great national movement such as a war is to be carried through successfully, there must be singlemindedness on the part of the people. For this reason every war machine has at its disposal competent propagandists to draw the people into line. Truth matters little, unity is the thing. If proper materials are not at hand they must be created. Organs of public opinion must be subsidized that they may blazon forth broadsides of lies and of hatred. The whole thing is wrong, but it is a part of the war method, and will continue and be elaborated until the people put an end to war. May that day be right soon?

Though the technique of propaganda is elaborated during war-time, the propagandist and his art are ever with us. It may be the religious leader trying to extend the influence of his religion. It may be the politician, the social reformer, or anyone interested in human progress. Propaganda in itself is not bad. It is perfectly legitimate when it is established upon the foundation of truth. But a propaganda that is based upon falsehood is worthy only of condemnation. As one reads the religious literature of a previous day one is constantly impressed by the close relationship that seemed to exist between the gods and men. The gods spoke to men, and they in turn conveyed the sacred message to the people. What would happen in the modern world if writers, speakers, and public leaders could feel themselves to be God's spokesmen? Certain it is that our common life would experience a change, and equally certain it is that the change would be for the better.

### THE VISAGRAPH FOR THE VISIONLESS.

(BY MR. H. D. CHHATRAPATI, B.A.)

In this ever advancing age what surprises are daily in store for us! Among the many promises that science holds out to the world, there is none so astounding as the Visagraph. The thought that the visionless can vision through the Visagraph as we the normal people do through sight, must prove thrilling in the extreme. This consists in reading ordinary print. As such for persons blinded late in life, and for those who are familiar with ink-prints, the Visagraph strangely gives a sudden start over others not so blessed. There is no reason, however, for much regret. For those blind from birth may as well master the instrument as those blinded later in life. Robert E. Naumburg, the American inventor, who has given all this information in the "Outlook for the Blind" has actually demonstrated it before several blind people.

D. Loren Davis who furnishes further information in this connection in "The Teacher for the Blind" had the rare pleasure of witnessing the demonstration when the Visagraph was exhibited at a recent meeting of the Printing Industries Division of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and naturally congratulates the inventor.

It is an electrical device. It consists of a metal block with five plungers all vertically placed. It uses light-sensitive cells. The sightless reader takes a page or book he wants to read and puts it in the instrument. He adjusts the guide or the reading element. He puts the index finger on the metal block. Now the guide runs over each letter, each word, each line. Here the plungers rise differently for different letters. They touch the index finger. Each letter thus produces a new sensation all its own. Each combination of plungers thus represents a single letter different from another which the next may present. Thus though slowly at the start, but more steadily and speedily as experience helps, the reader runs on

with the guide till line after line is cleared and he comes to the end of the page. He now turns the page, begins again, and helped by a small lever which aids him in putting every next line into position reads on.

To have a clearer idea of the instrument and its working, it may be noted that while the Visagraph gives no physical eyes, it uses the eyes grafted by nature on the finger tips of the blind as of the sighted, and enables the blind to read with finger-touch all ordinary ink-print as they would have done with eyes. Visagraph thus comes like a great reformer.

Heartily approving the light-giving touch-arrangement of Braille, yet utterly dissatisfied with its rigid caste system that confines the blind to the point or Moon print only, saying "So far and no further shalt thou go" the Visagraph, like a great leveller, with faith in universal brotherhood, breaks their bondage of Braille and Moon print. The Visagraph thus presenting its own peculiar mechanism, like a bridge once more links up the blind with the sighted. Or rather it unlocks the bolts of their cloisters of Braille and Moon literature permitting them once and for ever to freely roam among and shake hands with men of letters of all climes and countries, of all colours and kinds.

May the Lord in His mercy help Mr. Naumburg in perfecting his machine and simplifying it so that not only may it obviate all the difficulties of reading types of varying sizes and shapes even on a single page but He may equally help him so to cheapen it that the blind of all conditions of life may easily take advantage of his extraordinary invention.

#### UNTOUCHABLES AND PARVATI TEMPLE.

The Temple-entry Satyagraha Committee, writes a correspondent of the *Indian Daily Mail*, had given a notice to the Trustees of the Parvati Devastan, some time last week. The Satyagraha Committee had asked the trustees of the Devastan to state if they had any objections to the entry into the Parvati temple by the untouchables, in as much as the temple was believed to be a 'sarvajanic' institution. The Satyagraha Committee had been in the meanwhile organising a satyagraha for effecting the entry of the untouchables in the Parvati temple, by holding meetings in the different parts of the city. The movement was being led by Messrs. Rajbhoj, Kamble, Sakat, the leaders of the untouchables having the support of Messrs. N. V. Gadgil, V. Bhuskute and others. It is stated that the Poona Youth League is to help the Satyagraha when launched upon by the Committee. It was stated also that the Poona public in general fully sympathised with this temple-entry satyagraha. But the fact seems to be otherwise. The principles of the removal of the untouchability are gaining ground in Poona, but the opinion of the public in general does not seem to be favouring the methods of satyagraha.

The 'Panchas' of the Parvati Devastan have now come forward to explain their position. They have published a statement pointing out that the Parvati Temple and the other temples surrounding it are the private property under the ownership of the Parvati Sanstas Committee, to whom, as trustees, the management had been transferred. That they, as trustees, were in no way authorised to do anything which was incompatible with the wishes of the founder. The temples were built about 180 years ago, by Shrimant Nanasahab Peshwa, who had maintained them out of his 'Khajgi' (personal) income. The Government took charge of the temples about 110 years ago, and made such arrangements for maintaining them, as were quite in keeping with the traditions and customs. Amongst the present Panchas of the Parvati Devastan are Sardars G. N. Mujumdar, M.L.C., Raste, and Messrs. Onkar and Patwardhan.

Messrs. L. B. Bhopatkar and Mate, the President and Secretary of the Removal of Untouchability Association respectively, have also published a statement on their behalf. They say that they had addressed open letters to the trustees of the temples, requesting them that they should keep the temples open to the untouchables. But they want to make quite clear, (in view of the misunderstanding prevailing in Poona and outside that they have been backing up the temple-entry satyagraha in Poona) that they are in no way connected with the satyagraha movement. They express it as their opinion that the measure of satyagraha could not be adopted fruitfully in all matters and at all places alike. In solving the difficult problem of the removal of untouchability their conviction was that they could depend more on effecting a favourable public opinion than on adopting the methods of satyagraha, and satyagraha would only render the question more difficult to be tackled.

#### ENCOUNTER WITH THE CASTE PEOPLE.

As was anticipated before, crowds of people had gathered on the Parvati Hill this morning (15th instant) to see what comes out of the Temple-entry Satyagraha, which was to be launched there by the untouchables, with the support of some untouchables who sympathised with their cause. The proposed Satyagraha had created a stir in the city, and in view of the sharp differences arising on it not only among the touchables, but amongst the untouchables as well, it was apprehended that some trouble might arise. Mr. Gould, the District Magistrate, Mr. Isakel the Personal Assistant to the Collector of Poona, the District Superintendent of Police, the Police Inspector, and the City Sub-Inspectors of Police were present on the scene. There was also a posse of armed police ready for a' emergency.

#### THE TEMPLE.

The Parvati Hill, which presented unseemly scenes of rowdyism this morning is situated at a distance of about one mile to the south of Poona

City. About 280 feet high from foot to top, this Hill is to be climbed up by very broad and well-levelled pavements and convenient steps. The Hill is named after the Goddess "Parvati-Bhawani" whose temple was built by Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb Peshwa. There are five temples in all on this Hill, the chief among them being that of "Devadevashvar." The untouchable Satyagrahis wanted to effect an entry into this temple, this morning.

At about 9 a. m. about 150 untouchables were assembled at the foot of the Hill. They performed "Bhajan" for a few minutes and their meeting was then addressed by Mr. Kamble who insisted on absolute non-violence. Mr. N. V. Gadgil summarised the whole situation, explaining to them the difficult task they had then undertaken.

#### DOORS LOCKED.

A batch of about 12 untouchables including 4 women surrounded by a few members of the Youth League—Messrs. Gadgil, Bhuskute, Banade, Shinde, and others—then proceeded to climb up the Hill. But they were soon besieged on all sides by a number of rowdies who jeered, hooted and hissed at them. The Satyagrahis did not think it safe to take women along with them and so they were sent back to the foot of the Hill. Facing the odds that stood against them the brave batch of the Satyagrahis marched further while they were being pushed and pommelled by their opponents on all hands. Mr. Gadgil was assaulted, and handled roughly by many of them. The Police had at first assumed quite a non-interfering attitude and Mr. Isakel was actually persuading the turbulent mob to leave alone the Satyagrahis. But when the District Magistrate and the Police officers perceived from the windows of the Nagarkhana, that the Satyagrahis were not only obstructed but were being roughly handled by the crowds they all went down to the place where Mr. Gadgil and the untouchables were prevented from going further. The crowds were dispersed and the untouchable Satyagrahis were taken up to the doors of the chief temple which were closed since yesterday. The Satyagrahis did not linger there any longer but went back immediately. On their return journey to the foot of the Hill they were again hooted at and abused by some people.

#### TREATMENT UNJUSTIFIABLE.

The Trustees of the Parvati Temples had already locked the doors and it was pretty certain that the unarmed Satyagrahis were not going to use any force or violence to break them open. It was quite a fact that a very large majority of the Poona people did not favour the idea of Satyagraha being used for effecting entry into the temples. But then the treatment which was meted out to a small batch of the touchables and untouchables this morning by overwhelming crowds was to say the least, quite unjustifiable.

#### FURTHER DETAILS.

It was fortunate that nothing serious happened as police authorities had taken all necessary

precautions. Even a small party of armed police was kept in readiness but the occasion to utilise its services did not arise at all. Mr. Gould the District Magistrate, Mr. Isakel the Personal Assistant and Mr. Mills the Police Inspector, tactfully dealt with the situation. What happened in fact was not a free fight. A band of about a dozen unarmed touchable and untouchables calling themselves satyagrahis were climbing the steps of the Parvati Hill with the honest move of effecting their entry into the temples above. On their way from foot to the top of the hill the satyagrahis and their supporters had very unpleasant and provocative experience from the crowds but from start to finish they had remained quite non-violent.

It was however to say the least a miserable sight to see that a few unarmed people being assaulted by an unsympathetic mob and the police had ultimately to intervene to protect them.

Enquiries made show that Mr. Gadgil has received one or two scratches on his anklets and that one Mr. Rajbhoj the leader of Satyagrahi untouchables has received some slight injuries.

#### SATYAGRAHA MEETING.

Caste Hindus as well as "untouchables" addressed a well-attended meeting held on the 13th instant near Reay Market, Mr. Vithal Ramji Shinde presiding, to record strong protest against the conduct of some of the caste Hindus towards the "untouchable" Satyagrahis on Sunday. Kalvankar Sastri, an orthodox Hindu spoke justifying the attack on "untouchables" and declared even if orthodox Hindus had used swords and spears for the vindication of the purity of the temple, he would congratulate them. A Mahar leader who spoke next asserted "untouchables" were Hindus and loved to remain so. They would court death if necessary to uphold their right of worship of God, but would on no account entertain the idea of going over to another religion.

#### JAMNALAL BAJAJ AND POONA SATYAGRAHA.

##### CONDEMNED ATTITUDE OF ORTHODOXY.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Secretary, Anti-Untouchability Sub-Committee, Indian National Congress, who arrived at Poona on the morning of the 15th instant, from his tour in Rajputana has sent the following statement to the Press on the Poona Parvati Temple Satyagraha situation:—

I have read with deepest pain and humiliation the news of the Parvati Temple Satyagraha at Poona. When I first received the news of the Poona "untouchable" friends' resolve to start Satyagraha I felt the step was not warranted to meet the situation. I still hold that the existing conditions not only in Poona but all over the country, do not warrant starting of Satyagraha by "untouchables" for asserting their right of temple worship. Satyagraha should be resorted to as a last measure for the redress of any grievance, whereas the question of entering into temples is a delicate one and needs

special handling. There is a constant danger of creating internal jealousies among the various Hindu communities and also jeopardising Hindu unity.

#### WHO SHOULD REVOLT?

If after all such an extreme step as Satyagraha was justified anywhere and has to be taken I feel the class Hindus themselves should fight with their so-called high class brothers and without the help of "untouchables" rather than that the "untouchables" should take upon themselves to do so. Such are the proprieties of this delicate problem. We cannot afford to land the Hindu community into internecine warfare at this stage of our nation's affair even on the most burning of the domestic problems.

#### CHANGE FOR BETTER.

Without fear of being contradicted I say that the Hindu's angle of vision in respect of the problem of untouchability and the "untouchables" has been positively changed and an atmosphere is being created all over the country day to day which is bringing the community nearer the solution almost hourly. Already a dozen temples have been thrown open in this part of the country to "all Hindus" without much ado. The doors of many more are being knocked at effectively and without resort to extreme measures. The Ganapati, the Navaratri and the Dusserah festivals all over the country this year have been absolutely unprecedented in the initiative and the warmth with which the class Hindus welcomed and fraternised with their "untouchable" brethren.

#### A WORD TO "UNTOUCHABLES".

I deeply appreciate the impatience of the "untouchables" at Poona. I have no heart to quarrel with them for seeking to assert themselves without a due regard to the exigency of taking a wider view. I certainly congratulate them on having stood the ordeal at Parvati Hill without in the least losing their temper and for the injuries they have sustained from the hostile crowd; but I commend for their serious consideration the question if it is wise unnecessarily to mar a countrywide atmosphere of good-will by launching an aggressive campaign when there are fairly bright prospects of achieving the end by lesser means.

#### SHAME AND HUMILIATION.

Having said so much for the Satyagrahis, I am constrained to say a few words about those who have arrayed themselves against the "untouchable" Satyagrahis and their few brave "touchable" friends. I feel thoroughly ashamed and humiliated over the exhibition of temper and worse made by the crowd evidently of high class Poona Hindus at Parvati Hill against the Satyagrahis who had pledged themselves to strictest non-violence. Did those who form the hostile crowd know that they were damning their own case immeasurably by resorting to violence and abuse and making themselves contemptible in the eyes of non-Hindus and foreign spectators who assembled to witness the fun—or should I say—our

shame? Poona has the reputation of being the seat of Maharashtra culture and the fountain head of all its inspiration. Are these to be the fruits of intellect and culture?

I cannot close this statement without referring to the Trustees of Parvati Temple. Their manifesto in reply to the letter of the Satyagrahis smacks, I am sorry to say of bad taste and has been couched in unnecessarily offensive language. It contains no reply to the most essential point in the Satyagrahis' letter, viz., that since they were classed as Hindus in the census report and were not considered as outside the fold of Hindu society even by Hindus, the trustees could not consistently ban them from visiting the temple. The plea of tradition does not hold good for the Satyagrahis can point out any number of occasions in which the tradition has not been respected or has been violated with impunity often for the sake of petty private favours. And this is no special instance of the kind.

#### APPEAL TO THE TRUSTEES.

I appeal to the trustees to read the signs of the times and respond gracefully. Orthodoxy, if she wants to hold her place in the community, dare not continue much longer to glorify the element of blind refusal. The revolution is already on that is to bring about a recasting and a restatement of essential as distinguished from non-essential aspects of Hinduism. "He whose idea has ceased to advance is already in retreat" and orthodoxy must welcome the new fusion in her fold as an advance in power rather than meeting them with terror as a defilement. I hope the Trustees of Parvati Temple will reconsider their position with a cool mind and with a vision for the future and interpret the terms of their trust with dignity and with courage and confer with the Hindu leaders of Poona and with the Satyagrahis to bring this most unseemly, chapter to a happy close.

#### CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT.

The following is the full text of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, recently passed by the Central Legislature and assented to by the Governor-General. The Act comes into force on April 1930 :—

#### ACT NO. XIX OF 1929.

#### AN ACT TO RESTRAIN THE SOLEMNISATION OF CHILD MARRIAGES.

Whereas it is expedient to restrain the solemnisation of child marriages. It is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929.
- (2) It extends to the whole of British India, including British Baluchistan and the Sonthal Parganas.
- (3) It shall come into force on the 1st day of April, 1930.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context, (a) "child" means a person who, if a male, is under eighteen years of age, and if a female, is under fourteen years of age; (b) "child marriage" means a marriage to which either of the contracting parties is a child; (c) "contracting party" to a marriage means either of the parties whose marriage is thereby solemnised; and (d) "minor" means a person of either sex who is under eighteen years of age.

**PENALTY.**

3. Whoever, being a male above eighteen years of age and below twenty-one, contracts a child marriage shall be punishable with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees.

4. Whoever, being a male above twenty-one years of age, contracts a child marriage shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

5. Whoever performs, conducts or directs any child marriage shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both, unless he proves that he had reason to believe that the marriage was not a child marriage.

6. (1) Where a minor contracts a child marriage, any person having charge of the minor, whether as parent or guardian or in any other capacity, lawful, or unlawful, who does any act to promote the marriage or permits it to be solemnised, or negligently fails to prevent it from being solemnised, shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both: Provided that no woman shall be punishable with imprisonment. (2) For the purposes of this section, it shall be presumed, unless and until the contrary is proved, that, where a minor has contracted a child marriage, the person having charge of such minor has negligently failed to prevent the marriage from being solemnised.

7. Notwithstanding anything contained in section 25 of the General Clauses Act, 1897, or section 64 of the Indian Penal Code, a Court sentencing an offender under section 3 shall not be competent to direct that, in default of payment of the fine imposed, he shall undergo any term of imprisonment.

**TIME LIMIT.**

8. Notwithstanding anything contained in section 190 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, no Court other than that of a Presidency Magistrate or a District Magistrate shall take cognisance of, or try, any offence under this Act.

9. No Court shall take cognisance of any offence under this Act save upon complaint made within one year of the solemnisation of the marriage in respect of which the offence is alleged to have been committed.

10. The Court taking cognisance of an offence under this Act shall, unless it dismisses the

complaint under section 203 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, either itself make an inquiry under section 202 of that Code, or direct a Magistrate of the first class subordinate to it to make such inquiry.

11. (1) At any time after examining the complainant and before issuing process for compelling the attendance of the accused, the Court shall, except for reasons to be recorded in writing, require the complainant to execute a bond, with or without sureties, for a sum not exceeding one hundred rupees, as security for the payment of any compensation which the complainant may be directed to pay under section 250 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898; and if such security is not furnished within such reasonable time as the Court may fix, the complaint shall be dismissed. (2) A bond taken under this section shall be deemed to be a bond taken under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, and Chapter XLII of that Code shall apply accordingly.

**DR. KARVE'S VISIT TO GERMANY.**

In the month of August, Professor D. K. Karve, the well-known Indian educationalist on his world tour for the sake of the First Indian Women's University at Poona, paid a visit to Germany.

The reception, Professor Karve received here, was extremely cordial and respectful. The day he arrived in Berlin, one of the most important German newspapers, the 'Berliner Tageblatt', welcomed him by a great article, thus introducing him and his work to the German public. This article had been written by Mr. Kloetzel, one of the travelling correspondents of the *Tageblatt* just back from India, where he had visited Karve's marvellous work on the spot. The journalist calls Professor Karve the "Pestalozzi of India" and believes him to have done more for his country, than all the politicians together.

The "Deutsche Akademikerinnen Bund" (Association of Ladies Graduated) invited Professor Karve to hold a lecture on the women of India in the Lyceum-Club, one of the most exclusive ladies-clubs in Berlin. At that reception, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Home Member of the German Government were represented by high officials of their respective Ministries. As a matter of fact, all important men and women interested in the education of women, had gathered to listen to Prof. Karve.

At Berlin, Leipzig and Hamburg, Prof. Karve visited a number of schools, kindergartens and other pedagogical institutions, in order to find out the facts and ideas suitable to his own work.

The day before he left Germany for America, he was received by Prof. Albert Einstein, the world famous German man of Science. Einstein was very keen to be informed about the conditions in India and Prof. Karve's work. When he learned the details, he wrote a letter to the Carnegie Institution at Chicago, recommending in hearty terms his Indian guest to the board of that enormous American fund.

## SAROJ NALINI ASSOCIATION.

Mr. G. S. Dutt, of the Indian Civil Service and author of "A Woman of India" has returned to Calcutta from Europe. In an interview with a representative of the Press, Mr. Dutt said that although his visit was undertaken for the purpose of a holiday, he found himself called upon, in view of the intense interest which was now being taken in England in Indian social questions generally and in particular in those affecting the position of women in India, to devote a considerable part of his time in acting as an interpreter to the Western public of the position of women in India at the present time as well as in the past. Continuing Mr. Dutt said:—

## DISCRIMINATING ADOPTION.

The initiative and the power of organization shown by the women of rural Bengal in their numerous Mahila Samitis has come as a pleasant surprise to the British public who have hitherto regarded Indian women as an inert mass incapable of any effort for self-improvement.

The British Press were unanimous in commending the ideal which underlay the programme of work of the Saroj Nalini Association, which was not to adopt European manners and customs indiscriminately and to effect a complete westernization of Indian women as was being attempted, for example, in some Middle Eastern countries, but to conserve all that was best in the ancient ideal of Indian womanhood and at the same time adopt with discrimination all that was best in the West.

The London Committee of the Saroj Nalini Association held several bazaars and other functions in London during the last ten months—such prominent women in Great Britain as the Marchioness of Aberdeen, Viscountess Elibank, Lady Astor, Lady Denman and Mrs. Wintringham according active co-operation. This was in fact the first time that the women of England had an opportunity of coming into direct touch with a purely non-official organization of the women of rural India. They eagerly seized this opportunity of demonstrating their goodwill towards Indian women.

The women of Bristol assembled at a meeting sent a numerously signed message of friendship and goodwill to Indian women and several Women's Institutes in English villages have established direct links of sisterhood with Mahila Samitis in Bengal.

## RE-AWAKENING.

Mr. Dutt believed that this direct touch between women would be very helpful in bringing about a better mutual understanding between the two countries.

While there he had pointed out that while women in the West had been fighting to attain a liberty which they had never enjoyed before, in India the women were merely re-awakening into a position which they had enjoyed five thousand years ago; and whereas men in the West, unused to women's liberty, had bitterly opposed the women's movement, India's men, having awakened from their

centuries of slumber to the ideals of their own past, were now eagerly thrusting rights and privileges into the hands of their women even more quickly than the latter were willing to accept them. This explained the complete absence of any conflict with men which was such a remarkable feature of the women's movement in India to-day as compared with the West.

On his way back from Europe Mr. Dutt visited several international women's organisations in Geneva which had expressed their eagerness to establish touch with the Mahila Samitis in India.

## BENGAL'S EXAMPLE.

In Bombay, several leading Indian women social workers of that Presidency met him at an informal conference. It appeared that while Bombay was far ahead of Bengal in the training of women workers through institutions like the Seva Sadan and the Women's University, in the matter of rural women's organisations Bengal led the way through her Mahila Samitis organized under the Saroj Nalini Association.

At this conference in Bombay a provincial committee had been formed under the name of the Bombay Rural Mahila Samiti Committee to consider what steps could be taken to form Mahila Samitis in the rural areas of Bombay on the lines of the Bengal movement. Dr. Miss Jerbanno Mistri, a well-known social worker of Bombay, is the Secretary of the Committee.

## SURE TO SPREAD.

Mr. Dutt believed that the most effective measure for spreading mass education among the millions of India's men and women would be to extend the Mahila Samiti movement initiated by the Saroj Nalini Association throughout India so as to organise women in every village for their own educational, sanitary and economic emancipation.

He was confident that the movement would spread all over India before long. It had already spread into Assam and certain parts of Bihar. Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi was organising Samitis on the lines of the Bengal movement in Madras and both Travancore and the Punjab had sent officers to study the Bengal movement.

## SCHOLARSHIPS FOR SANDHURST.

The Director of Information, Bombay, writes:—The Government of Bombay have revised the rules for the award of special scholarships tenable at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. The revised rules provide that candidates who may gain admission to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich or the Royal Air Force Cadet College, Cranwell will also be eligible for these scholarships.

Two special scholarships of the value of Rs. 3,000 per annum each, ordinarily tenable for 18 months have been instituted one, primarily for Muhammadans and the other primarily for Marathas domiciled in the Bombay Presidency including Sind. When no suitable candidates from either or both of the



communities for whom the scholarships are primarily intended to be reserved are forthcoming, both scholarships or scholarship, so available may be awarded to a suitable candidate of the other community mentioned above or of any other communities domiciled in the Bombay Presidency including Sind. These scholarships are intended only for boys whose parents or guardians are too poor to afford to pay the expenses of the college education. The amount of the scholarship, viz., Rs. 3,000 per annum is the maximum and the amount is liable to be reduced if the circumstances of the candidate do not justify its payment in full.

Applications from candidates who seek admission to a Cadet College in England, for the September and February terms, respectively, should be made to the Government of Bombay, through the Head of the School or institution last attended, and the Director of Public Instruction, Poona, on or before the 31st May and 31st October preceding. Candidates must belong to families of high social standing; preference will be given to those belonging to families whose members have proved their loyalty and martial spirit by coming forward readily for enlistment in the Indian Army.

Candidates who fulfil the necessary conditions will ordinarily be called before a Selection Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay. No scholarship will be awarded unless the candidate approved by the Government of Bombay is finally selected and nominated by the Government of India for admission to a Cadet College in England.

Further particulars can be obtained from the Director of Public Instruction, Poona, or can be seen from the Bombay Government Gazette, Part I of 26th September.

#### FOREIGN LIQUOR IN INDIA.

A pamphlet with this title has been written by the Rev. Herbert Anderson and published by the Prohibition League of India.

For a long time temperance workers have not been able to get at the facts concerning the import and sale of foreign liquors in India. Mr. Anderson's timely pamphlet states the facts and they are startling ones. Whilst there has been in some Provinces a decrease in the consumption of country liquor this has been more than balanced by an increase in the consumption of foreign liquor and beer and of so-called foreign liquor which is manufactured in India. Mr. Anderson says:—

##### INCREASE OF IMPORTS.

Despite the fact that beer and spirits of the same alcoholic strength have been locally manufactured and a steady increase of their consumption also secured there has been a gradual and progressive increase in the quantity of imported liquors into India during the last few years. One has only to refer to the annual statement on Seaborne Trade published in March, 1928 for full particulars. Take the following figures of imports in imperial gallons

from the British Empire and foreign countries, principally Germany, France and Java.

	1923-24	1927-28
	Gallons	Gallons
Ale, Beer & Port	... 2,836,793	4,487,178
Brandy	... 348,408	425,693
Gin	... 83,182	114,108
Liquors	... 13,905	16,393
Rum	... 123,142	90,659
Whisky	... 526,813	647,359
<b>Total</b>	<b>... 3,934,243</b>	<b>5,681,426</b>

The increase in total number of imported gallons is therefore 17,47,183, in the space of five years.

These figures show that imported liquors, intended originally for the use of foreign residents, have now become articles of common consumption amongst the Indian population and their use is steadily increasing. This is a *serious matter* for the country and a heavy drain on India's wealth. The Rev. J. F. Edwards has appealed to Englishmen to give up their liquor for the sake of India. This appeal gains additional force as we contemplate the spectacle of rapidly increasing sales of foreign liquor.

##### THE SHAM OF PUBLIC CONTROL.

The concluding portion of Mr. Anderson's pamphlet is under this heading. Mr. Anderson says "For all practical purposes this share (of public control) is so small as to be worth absolutely nothing." He believes this to be true both of the control by ministers and the local control of Excise Licensing Boards. He says "Autocratic power is completely in the hands of Government officials."

The present writer does not believe that these statements are true of his own Province (The United Provinces). The position is certainly not a satisfactory one. The ministers who control the excise department are largely dependent on it for revenue. The powers of the Boards are limited both in extent, *i. e.* they do not control the sales of foreign liquor or deal with the licensing of hotels and refreshment rooms, and completeness; *i. e.* they can only close a third of the licenses in existence at the time of their triennial election.

But it must be stated that these Boards are of great value to temperance. They have closed hundreds of liquor shops and promoted many measures for the lessening of the temptations to drink and drugs. Whilst they do not control foreign liquor licenses they can refuse consent to the opening of additional shops and have done so.

Again it must be remembered that the largest party on the Boards, and the party which can enforce its policy, is composed of elected members from Municipal Boards. These Municipal Commissioners are by no means temperance reformers and have often used their influence to increase the number of licenses and would have succeeded but for the Government veto.

I believe we have in the Licensing Boards of this Province a useful means of fighting the liquor trade and what is chiefly needed to make them fully effective is that the citizens shall be alert to prevent their representatives from putting private interests before public duty.—*The Indian Temperance News and White Ribbon.*

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Women's Conference**—Two very successful meetings were addressed by Mrs. B. Nehru who came here in connection with the establishing of a branch of the All-India Womens' Conference at Agra. At both the meetings Mrs. Nehru emphasised the need of women's organisations for the general development and growth of the country. She felt neither of these two objects was possible without women attaining their rightful place in society. She detailed the various handicaps from which Indian women were suffering and pointed out that the handicaps could not be removed unless women made a combined effort to free themselves from them. A committee of ladies was formed to carry on the work of the conference.

**Mr. Devadhar on Sarda Act.**—Mr. G. K. Devadhar has sent the following letter to Rai Saheb Harbilas Sarda, dated October 8 :—It was such a great pleasure to me to hear this time, after all, that your Child Marriage Bill has passed through all stages to the tremendous success as it deserves and has received His Excellency the Viceroy's assent. While congratulating you most sincerely for this wonderful success, I take this opportunity of expressing my great appreciation for your sagacity and tenacity of purpose and the able way in which you piloted the bill by steering clear of all the difficulties from orthodox quarters. I know this marks the dawn of a new era in the history of our Social Reform Movement and from my experience of such public work and particularly Social Reform activities of over a quarter of a century I can assure you that the result of this Bill will be wide and far reaching in the Social and Economic progress among the classes and masses of India. I wish you long life and health and happiness to continue your noble work for the social reform movement in India.

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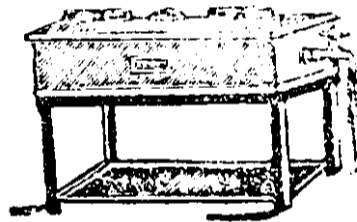
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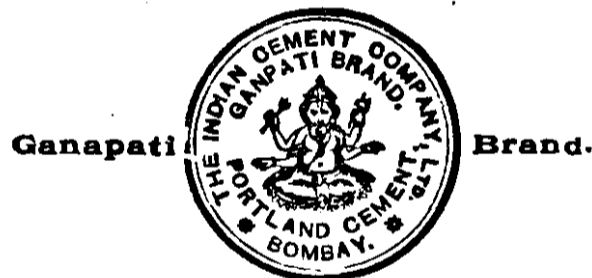
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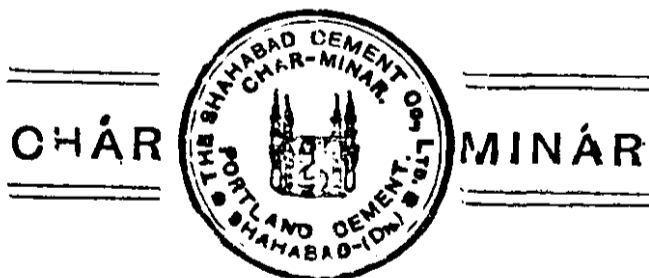
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Vol. XL.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1929

No. 8

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Religious Crisis:**—It is becoming increasingly clear every day that the country is faced with a religious crisis whose consequences may be more far-reaching than those of the political or social upheaval. The demand of the antyajias to be admitted to Hindu temples is being pressed all over the country and must be conceded at no distant date. The columns of the *Bombay Chronicle* are filled day by day by letters from Parsi protestants who inveigh against the sacerdotalism of the fire-temples. Less prominent but not less real is a parallel movement among Mahomedans to question the authority of the priestly heads of the several sects and castes of Islam in India. Among Indian Christians likewise there is an insistent feeling against the isolation from Indian religious tradition which has been imposed upon them by the foreign character of the Christian Churches in India. In every case, however, the protest is not against religion, though there is a small group of anti-religionists also, but against the corruptions of religion. The aim of the protestants is not to demolish religion but to demolish the barriers which have been erected in the name of religion between man and man, and between man and God. This is a healthy sign of the times, and under wise guidance, this movement is likely to do more to promote peace and harmony between our communities than other and more self-conscious attempts to remove differences.

**Essentials of Islam:**—Sir Fazli Hussain is acting for Sir Mahomed Habibullah as Minister of Education in the Government of India during the latter's absence in Europe, and is mentioned as the permanent Minister on Sir Mahomed's retirement which is due shortly. Sir Fazli was invited to open the session of the Bombay Mahomedan Education Conference this year at Poona, in the expectation, no doubt, that he would offer important advice regarding education in his community. He, however, merely glanced at education, and devoted the greater part of his speech to emphasising the essentials of Islam which, he said, were unity of God, human brotherhood and sanctity of human life. Touching on communal movements which, he regarded, as a temporary necessity due to imperfect economic

and political conditions, Sir Fazli pointed out the necessity of keeping constantly in view the fundamentals of religion in order to prevent them from leading to separatism and intolerance. He maintained that the principles of Islam absolutely forbade the interposition of any kind of hierarchy between God and man. They rule out, he said, all spiritual castes which have arrogated to themselves the administration of religion. Another important principle he laid down is that the injunctions of religion were not for platform uses but should form an integral part of the daily practice of all as example is much more potent than precept with the vast multitude of humanity as it is more intelligible to them. These observations are as valid to Hindus as to Mahomedans. The essentials of all religions do not conflict with one another. Those whose religion is based on experience, and not hearsay, agree in their declarations of what is true and just. The mystics of Islam, Christianity and Hinduism give the same account of their experiences, lay down the same rules of human conduct. The purifying of our religious ideas, therefore, is the surest way of learning to live in peace with our neighbours. Sir Fazli Hussain's opening speech at the Conference, which is printed in another column, is one of the outstanding utterances of Indian public men at the present day.

**Lord Irwin's Return:**—With Lord Irwin's return yesterday from his four months' stay in England, the political situation assumes a more active phase than during his absence. Two days before, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Dr. Besant arrived from England and their statements in the press have led the public to expect that Lord Irwin will take an early opportunity of making a declaration to the effect that it is the purpose of the British Government to confer Dominion Status on India. Sir Chimanlal seems to think that this is necessary in view of the doubts which have been cast upon the Declaration of August 1917, and that an authoritative interpretation to this effect, will produce an atmosphere favourable to negotiations about the time and manner in which India is to be admitted to Dominion Status. Dr. Besant seems to expect something more than a more interpretation of the old Declaration. It is, doubtful however, if Lord Irwin will be free to make even an interpreting Declaration, as it will necessarily commit the Simon Commission to finding ways and means to facilitate the transition of India from the present subordinate position to that of equal status with Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions. Lord Birkenhead scenting the probability, has written a letter to the Press vehemently protesting



against any expression of opinion on the Indian question on the part of Government until after the issue of the report of Simon Commission. During the last few months the political situation has been confused and rather aggravated by several prosecutions, prominent among which are the Cawnpore and Lahore ones, Jatindranath Das's death in prison and several minor incidents in Bombay and elsewhere not calculated to enhance mutual confidence between Government and the people. Lord Irwin has a difficult time before him which, it may be hoped, his high idealism will help him to master.

**Lord Goschen:**—On the return of Lord Irwin from leave yesterday, Lord Goschen who was acting as Viceroy for the last five months, leaves India to-day. His name will be associated with the greatest piece of social legislation since the Widow Remarriage Act passed eighty years ago. His Excellency's part in placing the Sarda Marriage Act on the Statute book was not altogether a passive one. The way in which he met the deputations from the orthodox camp and did what he could to conciliate their opposition and the special facilities which his Government provided for the passage of the Bill through the Legislature, were extremely helpful in expediting this memorable piece of social legislation. In Madras, where Lord Goschen was Governor for five years, he has left a high reputation for quiet strength inspired by a sincere desire to promote co-operation between all classes and creeds.

**Economy of Belief:**—Some correspondents who have come to look to Mahatma Gandhi for ready-made opinions on all current topics, have been making it a grievance that he had not expressed his views on Jatindranath Das's starving to death in the Lahore Jail. Mahatmaji tells them in the last number of *Young India* that they should take it that, whenever he does not express an opinion on any subject which is agitating the country, his silence is dictated by the public interests. Mahatma Gandhi goes on to say:—"There are occasions when silence is wisdom. This I hold to be such an occasion. I may inform the reader that there are very many important questions affecting the nation on which, though I hold strong and decided views, I maintain absolute silence, for I believe that it often becomes the duty of every public man to be silent even at the risk of incurring unpopularity and even a worse penalty, as it undoubtedly becomes his duty to speak out his mind when the occasion requires it, though it may be at the cost of his life." There is no man living who has published his opinions on so many subjects, important and unimportant, as Mahatma Gandhi, and one wonders what the other subjects may be on which he holds strong views but remains absolutely silent. Surely he has given room for the impression that, in his opinion, the holding of a belief involves a duty to publish it. The view now expressed will, therefore, come as a surprise to many and as a disappointment to those who, relying on him, have ceased to think for themselves, and perhaps have lost the power of thinking. This is, however, but one illustration of Mahatma Gandhi's latest phase of almost defiant repudiation of accountability to any power or person besides himself.

**Campaign Against Purdah:**—It is a good sign that the conservative Marwari community

has awakened to the needs of social reform. Though belonging to the martial Rajput class, the members of the community are very backward and the purdah system prevails to a great extent among their women. At the recent All-India Maheshwari Conference a number of resolutions condemning evils like the purdah and child-marriage was passed. A striking feature of the conference was that many Marwari women themselves participated in the Conference and discarded the purdah. The excellent example of these ladies is bound to have a beneficial effect on their community and there is every hope that this pernicious custom will soon be a thing of the past. The progressive Marwari youths have determined that the purdah should go, have formed a deputation and are carrying on a wide propaganda throughout the Central Provinces convening meetings and appealing to the people to do away with the baneful custom. The meetings held at Khandwa, Dhamangaon, Yeotmal, Wardha and Akola were attended with great success. The deputationists have fixed November 13th as the anti-Purdah day.

**The Dawn of New China:**—We publish elsewhere in this issue an illuminating article on the Chinese question for which we are indebted to Mr. Manilal Parekh who is now in America. Mr. Parekh informs us that this article together with other matter dealing with the political, economic and spiritual aspects of the problem which he has sent us, will be the basis of a report which Dr. Shen has been deputed to write. Dr. Shen points out that the politico-military aspect of modern China is not the whole national movement and that there are other aspects which should be taken into account. The nationalist movement in China is an accelerated process of adaptation and change. The economic ideal of China is "the distribution of land ownership and the limitation of capital investment." In the spiritual sphere while the people of China are anxious to assimilate the Western spirit of "quest and adventure", there are many fine qualities they have inherited from their forefathers which they wish to retain. In religion the people are becoming more tolerant and, therefore, less subject to persuasion and proselytism.

**The Leader:**—Last Sunday a happy function took place at Allahabad when distinguished leaders of all shades of political thought joined in celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the *Leader*. The Board of Directors of the newspaper company had decided to mark the occasion by opening the new premises of the *Leader* in which up-to-date machinery had been installed and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya performed the opening ceremony. The speeches made by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others must have been gratifying to Mr. C. Y. Chintamani who has with untiring energy worked all these years to establish the paper on a sound footing. The *Leader* holds a position in Allahabad and in the country which might well be envied by other papers in India and we offer our hearty congratulations to Mr. Chintamani and his friends who will be feeling that their labours are rewarded to some extent by the tributes that the *Leader* is receiving on this auspicious occasion from all over the country.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 26, 1929.

## EDUCATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

The Great War was entering on a critical phase in 1917. The British Government was striving might and main to mobilise the full strength of the Commonwealth to bring about an early and successful termination of the life-and-death struggle. The Declaration of August 1917 pledging self-government to India was made at this juncture. By the time the Declaration was translated into a scheme of constitutional reform, however, the War had ended in a victory for the Allies. Pledges had to be redeemed but the spirit in which they were made was no longer dominant. Every word and phrase was scrutinised with a view to find out how little they might be interpreted to mean without the appearance of a flagrant repudiation. The late Mr. Montagu, who was then Secretary of State for India, was, however, genuinely anxious to do something substantial, and he was a man of great ability and, at the time, was very influential in the Cabinet. The bitter struggle which he had with the late Lord Curzon who was also a member of the Cabinet, over the reforms, is vividly described in Lord Ronaldshay's "Life" of Curzon. Unable to stop the reforms, the opposition element in the Cabinet managed to hedge them with the condition that they should be reviewed at the end of ten years by a Parliamentary Commission. Among the subjects into which this Commission was required to enquire was the progress of education under the reforms. The idea evidently was that the next instalment of reform should be determined by, among other factors, the measure of educational advance. The Simon Commission appointed an Auxiliary Committee to do this enquiry for it with Sir Philip Hartog, sometime Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, and a member of the Indian Public Services Commission, as Chairman. Among the members was Sir George Anderson who was Professor of History in the Elphinstone College in Bombay, in the early part of his Indian career. Sir Arthur Selby-Bigge was nominated from England to serve on the Commission. The Indian members were Sir Sultan Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, Raja Narendranath of Lahore and Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi of Madras. The Report of the Committee was submitted to His Majesty and published as an interim report of the Commission last week. The Commission in a covering letter say that they expect that the Committee's report will be of great assistance to them in formulating their conclusions on constitutional reform.

From one point of view the publication of the Committee's report is a disadvantage, in that it exposes its conclusions to public criticism before the Commission has had time to form an independent opinion on them. From the public point of view, on the other hand, the publication of the report is an advantage, as it enables its weak points to be exhibited before the Commission acts upon them. This is the more necessary as owing to the abstention of nationally-minded, as distinguished from communally-minded, Indians from co-operation of any kind with the Commission, the composition of the Committee was not sufficiently representative of the broader aspects of Indian life and thought. The conclusion of the Committee on the main issue before it, namely, the progress of education in relation to the political capacity of the people, is that on the whole there has been little. The value of the vote is not much better understood by the masses now than they were ten years ago. It follows that, in the opinion of the Committee, an extension of the franchise is not justified by the progress of education. The recommendation in the Nehru report of adult franchise, has not been accepted by the maturer minds of the country, and the Nehru Committee itself lighted upon it as the only way out of the impasse regarding communal electorates. What the Indian masses immediately need is sufficient food and clothing, sanitary housing, work which will bring enough wages to keep them in reasonable comfort, opportunities of education for their children and, generally speaking, an increase in the amenities of life so as to relieve them of their present degrading poverty. An extension of the franchise will not directly help them to secure these things. They ask for bread and to give them the vote is no better than giving them a stone.

But it has been found in the West that the possession of the vote has helped the masses to improve their social and economic condition. Sir George Anderson, when he was Professor of History, was rather keen on pointing out that in Great Britain much of the social legislation, including national education, followed successive extensions of the franchise. In India, too, it appears that we may have to tread the same path. The quantitative progress of education during the last ten years is acknowledged to be remarkable. All classes have participated in it—Mahomedans, depressed classes and women. Social legislation, too, has been speeded up. This seems to show that the increase of political opportunity in India as in Great Britain has been followed by increased social and educational activity. It is inevitable that a sudden extension in width should be accompanied by some contraction in depth. Much of the complaint of the Committee about the unsatisfactory

qualitative standard, overlooks this condition. It has caught hold of the word "wasteful" and harps upon it somewhat mechanically. Because a large number of boys and girls do not go beyond the primary standard, the Committee calls education wasteful. There is no country in the world where every boy who enters a primary school emerges a ripe scholar at the conclusion of his college career, as everything which enters as a pig at one end is said to emerge as pork at the other end of a Chicago factory. The Committee has overworked this term "wasteful" which somehow seems to have acquired a strange fascination for it like the word "Mesopotamia" for the old lady in the story. After all, no human system can be more economical than Nature. Yet of fifty seeds she often brings but one to bear

So careful of the type she seems  
So careless of the single life.

#### THE DAWN OF NEW CHINA.

(By DR. T. L. SHEN.)

##### EDUCATION.

The most important development in China in the realm of education is the growth of a modern educational system. As soon as China suffered defeat at the hands of the Powers, she began to realize the importance of the modern facilities of knowledge and training. She observed the futility of merely reading the analects, history and literature of the past, without studying the present day sciences. Accordingly, she abolished the eight legged style of composition and the old examination system for official preferment. In place of the old tutorial institutes, she has inaugurated a system of modern institutions from kindergarten to the university. But Chinese education for the last few decades has been suffering from the fact that its system, though with frequent changes, has not been free from borrowed and transplanted features. There is much room for adaptation and improvement as is instanced by the recent movements for the promotion of the national language, mass education, citizenship training, vocational guidance, etc. Through these new opportunities of training, thousands of Chinese students have been enabled to pursue advanced education abroad. Some have returned to fill positions of usefulness and leadership, shouldering the burden of nation-making and the great task of reconstruction. With similar training, many others have found less exalted but equally useful places in life, venturing with success along many lines of new enterprises in the country. Modern education certainly gives to the Chinese student a wonderful knowledge, a wider outlook on life, a keener power of observation and analysis, a richer imagination, a sounder judgment, more chances for association and better ways of unselfish love and service.

##### MASS EDUCATION.

Practically all major educational tendencies in China now point to the urgent necessities on the

one hand, of education for the mass, and on the other, of education for livelihood. China, although having made rapid progress in increasing the percentage of her educated citizens in the last few decades, still has a tremendous problem to tackle in transforming more than seventy-five per cent of her population into enlightened citizens. The process unfortunately has been retarded by the state of general disorder as a result of internal warfare and the accompanying banditry, pestilence and disrupted communications throughout the country. The same cause has also reduced the number and efficiency of the teaching force with normal training provided for by the government, in that many of them instead of serving in the capacity of teaching for which they were definitely trained, have been turned loose to become agitators and job-seekers unconnected with their proper cause. But the situation has been greatly relieved through the discovery and application of the technique of popular education in the form of one thousand foundation characters and the use of lantern slides as a means of instruction. These tools have begun to penetrate into the farms, factories and even army camps. On top of that, there is a growing sentiment among the educated people for work among the masses. As this sentiment begins to be linked up with the government scheme of mass education, China will certainly see her problem of illiteracy solved in the course of a short period.

##### NEED FOR BETTER LIVELIHOOD.

Besides plain knowledge what modern education should give to the Chinese people is a means to better livelihood. It is almost universally accepted in China that the problem of poverty is in a way even more subtle than that of ignorance, and therefore should be solved simultaneously. Recently there have been studies made regarding the material needs of the people and the results all help to strengthen the idea that through an adapted process of education, the people could be enabled to become masters of their own resources and to be productive and useful elements in the society in which they live. In this connection there are already different experiments made in various parts of the country in the form of co-operative societies, model villages, etc., and some of them are proving unusual successes. Even among the educated the need for better livelihood is easily shown in the general tendency to emphasize physical sciences and subjects of a technical nature rather than metaphysical and theoretical ones. To them, however, there is the added problem of vocational uncertainties and misfits. They are often up against the deadlock that every position they want is filled, while for the vacant positions they do not possess the qualifications. And when they finally get into a position, it is usually one which does not justify nor utilize what they have learned in their education. Sometimes owing to financial pressure they are apt to choose a low and mean business contrary to their high ideals of

life. So the need for vocational training and guidance is evident there.

#### SOCIAL LIFE.

In the realm of social life, the same influence of modernization is most keenly felt among the Chinese people. As soon as China came into touch with the new mode of life, she found her social relationships multiplied, her horizon of contacts widened and her sphere of thought and action enlarged. Thus the old-type social organizations soon proved to be too narrow and limited in their scope and function in an industrial order of society. The traditional virtues of group relationship also have to be re-interpreted and adapted. The individual begins to occupy a much more independent and responsible position in the changing system of social fabric. The prestige of age, wealth, or power is often subject to criticism and challenge. New forms of class consciousness become more and more evident, notably among the students, the women, and the laborers. The age-long conception of scholarship and officialdom as the principal career in life, with all other occupations as low and subservient, naturally goes out of fashion in favour of equal rights and opportunities in profession.

#### DECLINE OF THE FAMILY.

One important effect of the modernization process is the decline of the family as the social unit in China. When China came into contact with the West, the most noticeable difference between the two systems of social organization has been the patriarchal or clan system of family of China as over against the Western family based on the individual couple as a unit. Although the former excels in continuity and solidarity, yet it lacks much of the individuality and strength of the latter. It clings too much to the past through worship of ancestors and parents. This together with the habit of obedience and reverence shown to the elder or the patriarch, encourages conformity rather than adventure, and kills the valuable sense of initiative and responsibility of the younger generation. Again, the law and tradition which entitle every male heir to inherit the property of his father also help to further this spirit of dependence and to decrease his capacity of production. But the most objectionable feature of the "old family" to the average Chinese youth, particularly the girl, is perhaps its system of compulsory marriage in which the bond of union is made "by the command of the parents and through the words of the go-between." These aspects of China's family life are being fundamentally challenged by the present generation on the ground that individuals are not to be looked upon as subjects attached to and owned by the family, but are essentially units and members of society as well as the nation. As such, they shall enjoy the freedom of marriage, and once married they shall establish their own home and shall support and manage it with their own labour and resources. Thus in the professional and business life they shall not bother about the

conflicting demands upon their loyalties nor about the excessive burdens involved in the "large family" system.

#### COMPULSION VERSUS DETERMINISM.

Another effect is the changing attitude towards sex relations. The influence of the Confucian teaching of propriety with its emphasis on the isolation and suppression of the sexes, though beginning to be challenged by the present generation is still strongly felt in their thought and attitude towards sex-relations. This teaching is to a large extent an artificial prejudice and restraint on something, alleged to be unclean and debased which does not admit of any fair and substantial proof. Chinese youths are struggling hard to overcome that tradition in order to have more natural and wholesome fellowship between the sexes. The introduction of the system of co-education into China makes such social intercourse possible under the proper atmosphere. As a result, there have been numerous experiments, some successful and others discouraging, in love and marriage on an entirely different plane from the traditional one of compulsion and determinism. New homes have sprung up from these experiments, which give fresh inspiration and hope to the young couples. Through observation of and contact with these experiments others have become saner and more rational in their fellowship with the opposite sex as well as in their choice of their lifemate. In the meantime, however, the dark side of the picture presents a steady increase of divorce cases which still prove the existence of much emotionalism and prematurity of love. They are also the natural consequences of the popular, prevailing romanticism, the crop of cheap literature on sex, the wrong handling of birth control, the moving picture theatres and the dancing saloons, all of which flourish widely in the treaty ports and are now penetrating into the interior cities. These attractions so sap the vitality of many promising youths that their parents and school authorities are beginning to feel the need of proposing some wholesome substitute through a scientific program of sex education.

Space here does not allow one to go on with other important aspects of Chinese social life. Subjects like the labor movement, the women's movement and various attempts along lines of eradicating social evils, such as opium, gambling, concubinage and prostitution, all deserve separate and detailed treatment.

#### THE FUTURE OF CHINA.

A bird's eye view of the conditions, needs, and problems of China will ultimately land us where we shall want to know what after all are some of the clear and unmistakable lines of new advance on which we can base our reasonable hope. First of all is the gradual crystallization and articulation of public opinion in China. As in no other country in the world, the will of the people is supreme in that where the public opinion goes, there national affairs will take their due course.

## THE DEMAND FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK.

The second line of advance is that of a popular demand for construction. The revolution has swept away the major obstacles in the way of nation building and before the tearing-down process proves too destructive and expensive for the people, a note of construction has been struck throughout the length and breadth of the country. According to Dr. Sun the concluding phase of the military stage of revolution calls for the ushering in of a period of political tutelage with various plans of rehabilitation. His outline of national construction contains a very comprehensive scheme of important reforms, psychological, social and material, the last item including national projects of industry, agriculture, communications, etc., to be sponsored by the government. Here the political leaders have a much harder task to fulfil than that of military exploitation, and their future support by the people is largely determined by the success with which they can discharge their duties. The various national conferences recently held under government auspices have adequately interpreted the national needs for construction in concrete terms, and it only remains to be seen how the hundred and one recommendations will be put into actual effect. For that purpose a host of trained experts is badly needed, and proper recruiting and placement will help to partly solve the problem of unemployment, speculation and mis-use of talents, and on the other hand to direct useful leadership into proper channels.

## THE EMERGING OF A NEW TYPE OF LEADERSHIP.

Another line of advance is the emerging of a new type of leadership hitherto circumscribed in China. With the defeat of militarism, the parasitic mandarin officialdom also begins to be shattered. The moral effect of the revolution in trying to establish an honest and efficient government cannot be overstated. The martyrdom of Dr. Sun leaving after his death a task instead of a fortune is a profound inspiration to the present generation. So we find today a new group of men in public service, of course with many exceptions, men who are young, energetic, honest, conscientious, and capable of standing great temptations. In certain sections of the country, government discipline in simplicity and hardship is strictly enforced among its civil and military officers, perhaps unparalleled anywhere in the world. Incidentally a modern examination system enlisting candidates for government service is being universally adopted and the basis of official preferment is thus changed from favoritism to disinterested qualifications:

## THE EMPHASIS ON DISCIPLINE.

The looseness and irregularity of Chinese life can no longer stand the forces of modernization and are gradually giving place to unity and order. Recently there has grown among the people a new appreciation of the positive functions of law as over against the traditional attitude of keeping oneself aloof from rules and regulations. In Dr. Sun's outline of

social construction, he also gave the essential requirements of a democratic form of society and emphasized practical training for citizenship. The new system of government which finds its adoption even among the contemporary people's organizations offers large opportunities for such training. In this connection good habits, such as keeping engagements, punctuality, care for public properties, budget-making, etc., are also acquired through accumulated observations and contacts. Everywhere in the country the art of self-government is being taught and exercised and the technique of organization is being put into daily practice. Further, training for normal leaders is being attempted in various centers of the country and those leaders will be expected to carry out the important program of political tutelage. But the idea of discipline, being brought home only recently in China, has as yet little political significance.

## THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

## MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

## XLIII. PRISONERS.

(Dr. CLIFFORD MANSCHARDT, PH.D.)

The individual whose knowledge of crime and of criminals is based upon the daily newspaper is very apt to have most positive opinions concerning the general degradation of criminals. He lumps them in a class and designates the class as bad. The man, however, who has spent long hours in visiting and interviewing prisoners has a much different view of the situation. There are few cases of crime which, when one is familiar with the entire history of the criminal, do not present some extenuating circumstances. The prison visitor cannot but feel humble, recognizing what a narrow line separates him from his less fortunate brothers.

The criminal is a sick soul. Crime is a disease and should be so treated. The man who wrongs another is in most instances socially maladjusted. He is a victim of his environment or has some hereditary weakness. Imprisonment should not be conceived as society's method of taking revenge. It should rather be conceived as society's attempt at hospitalization. Such a conception means a radical reorganization of the present prison system, but it is the only method of conserving social waste. No prisoner should be committed without first having been examined by a board of psychiatrists to determine his exact mental state. Prisoners differ, and that which will help one man may be the ruination of another. Sympathetic, individual treatment will do much to restore the prisoner to society as a social asset instead of a liability.

There is a glamour about the life of crime that makes a strong appeal to the starved soul of underprivileged youth. The boy who has never had a normal home life, and has never been afforded the opportunity to express himself in normal channels, looks upon crime as a fascinating game and as the means of proving his manhood. The

element of risk and of danger overshadows any possible moral considerations. It is not until he finds himself within prison walls that he discovers that he has been digging for himself "broken cisterns, that can hold no water." To help such boys to direct their energy into useful channels is our clearcut duty.

While the jails are public institutions, it is but a small percentage of the public who take any interest in jail conditions. Ventilation, cleanliness, and decency are just as important to the criminal as to the ordinary citizen. A prisoner enters a jail with no criminal record behind him. By all laws of justice he should leave the jail a better man than when he entered. But through our own stupidity we are turning out enemies of society and not co-operators. True penology is a matter of conservation—of gathering the fragments, that nothing may be lost.

The prisoner is not alone the man who is confined within a jail. Wherever men are caught in the meshes of hate, selfishness, suspicion, greed, jealousy, anger and petulance, they are in need of deliverance. Common seekers after a better way of life, let us help each man his brother.

#### THE SASTRI COLLEGE, DURBAN.

The following account of the Sastri College in Durban appeared in the *Servant of India*: It may without exaggeration be said that the opening of the College will be a new epoch in the entire history of the Indian Community in that country; for all the social and cultural improvements which will make the position of the Indian supportable in the midst of the European population there, educational improvement is without doubt the very fountain head and matrix. Of the practical appreciation of the basic fact of the Indian problem, by our own countrymen and the Union Government alike, the Sastri College will be a shining embodiment.

Various are the serious shortcomings in Indian education in South Africa and we may confidently expect, they will gradually be rectified by the Sastri College. It is to comprise two Departments: (1) a general High School teaching up to the Matriculation Standard, and (2) a Training School for teachers and primary schools. It will contain spacious class-rooms, well-equipped laboratories, a well-stocked library and ample play-grounds. And it will be equipped with properly qualified Professors—many of them being lent out from this country by the Government of India. Let us hope that these Professors will be men not only of high academic attainments, but also of all those fine social qualities and cultivated manners of life which will at once secure for them the approbation and respect of the Whites and serve as an example for emulation to their own fellow-countrymen. There is some need to emphasise this personal side of the equipment of the Indian Professor going out to South Africa. For some years ago, a Christian

Missionary imported a few Indians to serve there under him as teachers; but the experiment to put it mildly was not a great success. The Professors will naturally be looked upon as the best exponents of whatever is good and bright and worthy in India's tradition and culture; and if they do not prove themselves equal to the best classes of the Whites in all matters of conduct and accomplishment, their advent in South Africa can scarcely prove a blessing to their countrymen.

The Sastri College will be financed and managed by the Administration of Natal. This is an unmistakable proof of the radical change that has taken place in the attitude of that Government towards the Indian question. Formerly, not only was the money allotted for Indian education scanty; but part of it was being diverted to other purposes. European public opinion was dead against the addition of a penny to the expenditure on Indian education. But now the Government and the White community at the back of it have begun to show that they realize how the Indian problem is a part of their general responsibility and how they must discharge it if they would earn a name for fairness and honourable dealing in the eyes of the world. The Sastri College will thus be the first important visible vindication of the high principles of the Cape Town Agreement.

But this vindication, no more than just though it be, was facilitated by the practical good sense and patriotism of our own people. They have contributed gladly and liberally towards the cost of the College, and thereby proved that they are sensible of the duty which they owe to their adopted country no less than to themselves, and that they are earnest about discharging that duty well. Of course, they have to do much more that way. They will have to institute prizes and scholarships, and endow chairs for new branches of learning. Then will be the dawn of a new day for the Indian in South Africa. That will be the real fruition of Mr. Sastri's labours.

We cannot on this occasion omit to recall how deeply the Indian community in South Africa is indebted for this happy consummation to the steadfast friendliness and benevolence of Mr. Hugh Bryan, Superintendent of Education in Natal, and his European colleagues. In the dark days of the Indian community three years ago, when the entire White population was hostile, Mr. Bryan and a few of his European Inspectors of Education remained brave and firm in their loyalty to their ideal and in their fellow-feeling for the Indian, thus furnishing a contrast to the bitter antipathy and blind prejudice of the official hierarchy. Their idealism has now at last triumphed; and together with our assurances of lasting gratitude to them, we may well couple our warm congratulations on the happy atmosphere which, largely as a result of their own high-minded struggle, has now come to surround their further labours for the uplift of the Indian.

## MUSLIM EDUCATION.

### I. MUSLIM LADIES EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Amidst scenes of enthusiasm the sixth session of the Bombay Presidency Muslim Ladies Educational Conference, the first of a series of Muslim Conferences, commenced this afternoon at Haroon Hall which was gaily decorated for the purpose. The Conference met under purdah arrangements, several European and Indian non-Muslim ladies attending. Mrs. Clayton opening the Conference spoke on the great and urgent need for spreading education among girls and women and hoped that the Conference would carry out its mission successfully.

Miss Mustafa Khan extending a cordial welcome to the delegates explained the present needs of education for Muslim women and thanked the Hartog Committee for recommending that in all schemes of expansion, Government should give special attention to the women's education. On the proposal of Lady Ebrahim Haroon Jaffar, Begum Haji Abdulla Haroon was then elected President. Mrs. Sarlabai Naik of Seva Sadan addressed the Conference on Education.

The President in the course of her address deplored the great illiteracy prevailing among women and asked Muslim Ladies who were "sleeping educationally" to wake up from their slumber and to realise their duty and responsibility to the community. The President wanted instruction in religion, social science, health, nursing, arts, music and home industries, besides school education to be given to girls. She suggested the establishment of industrial homes on the lines of Seva Sadan where women could earn an honest respectable living. She complained that Government had done so far nothing towards the education of Muslim girls, except starting a few primary schools. There was no college for Muslim girls even in Sind. She suggested the establishment of Anglo-Urdu Secondary Schools and Colleges and Ladies Anjumans for the discussion of various problems.

Concluding the President supported the purdah custom but appealed to the audience to do away with antiquated customs. The Conference then passed 8 resolutions affecting women's education in relation to Muslim girls and dispersed.

### II. POONA MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The fifteenth session of the Bombay Presidency Muslim Educational Conference began here this morning at the Haroon Hall. Among those present were Sir Gulam Hussein Hidayatullah, Mr. B. V. Jadhav, Mr. Bottomley of the Bengal Government, Moulvi Shafee Dawoodi, M. L. A., Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtoola, M. L. A., Syed Murtuza Saheb, M. L. A., of Madras and others. The Hon'ble Mr. Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, Minister of Education, Government of Bombay was absent.

The proceedings commenced with prayers from the Koran. Sir Fazli Hussein was then presented an address of appreciation by the local Anjuman-i-

Islam. He then performed the opening of the conference session.

Sir Fazli Hussein in his speech after referring to the past activities of the Conference, said :—

"When thinking what to say when opening this Conference, the question that naturally suggested itself to me was; Why have an organization of this kind at all? Educational activities and provision for orphans fall within the scope of Local Self-Government. Therefore, why not let the Local Self Government discharge the obligations of primary importance? Why have an organization and that of a communal nature? The reason is not far to seek. Local Self-Government in India has not yet developed to such an extent as to discharge its obligations in full. The need for such organization, therefore, is unfortunately obvious and pressing.

#### ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES.

"Grave and glaring economic inequalities, in some cases, leading to the denial of the means for the physical and intellectual well-being of the next generation, in some cases, leading to denial of even human equality, creating barriers of caste and colour, equally repugnant to the conception of human brotherhood, afford not only justification, but pressing, irresistible demand for institutions which will, in some measure, reduce these handicaps, overcome the obstacles in the way of elevating human society to a stage at which economic and educational inequalities will be reduced to a minimum. As Local Self-Government develops, both in its extent, and in its intensity, or to put it differently, in its scope and in its efficiency, the need for such organizations will become less pressing, and the ideal stage will be reached when it ceases to exist.

"As long as such organizations proceed on communal or racial lines, it is of the utmost importance that their undoubted utility in removing certain inevitable defects and checking equally dangerous tendencies, due to imperfect administrative machinery causing economic inequalities, should, in our present stage of development, not be discounted by their creating angularities which would cause friction in the body politic. We should guard against the possibility of communal organizations leading to separatism and intolerance. It is of the utmost importance that the true principles underlying the faith of a community be kept intact and separate from the excrescences which tend to gather round them. Islam brought no new religion to the world: it was the religion of Abraham that was represented to the world. It should be the duty of all of us to see that the principles of Islam, as such, remain the same as were presented to us 1,300 years ago, and that we should not permit to subsequent developments and adjustments, the same sanctity, the same inviolability which, by right, belongs to the primary principles mentioned above.

## THREE GREAT PRINCIPLES.

"I wish to invite your attention to three of these, viz. the unity of God, the brotherhood of mankind, and the sanctity of humanity. It should be noticed that these three primary principles take no count either of race, or of caste, or of colour. These three primary principles are so interrelated that no one of them can be adopted without others also being accepted. From these principles, certain rules of conduct of the highest importance in India can be derived, and the first is that of "Tolerance." If the brotherhood of mankind is a reality, then it is obvious that each human being should adopt the principle of tolerance as the governing rule of conduct of his life.

"In the group of virtues which each religion enjoins, let tolerance occupy the foremost place. The freedom that every human being longs for should be subject to the same freedom being guaranteed to other human beings. Brotherhood of mankind further necessitates the provision of equal facilities to all, so that such handicaps as economic development of society imposes on some should, as far as possible, be removed.

## SPIRITUAL CASTES.

"From these primary principles, it also follows that there should be no hierarchy between God and man. This rules out all spiritual castes which have arrogated to themselves the administration of religion. Remember that these are the injunctions not for being reiterated from public platforms, but they should form the integral part of the daily practice of all. It is this spirit of human brotherhood which places the prince and the pauper on the same footing.

"Again, remember that though principles are of the utmost importance, example is much more potent than precept; and for the vast multitude of humanity, far more intelligible than precept. Therefore, the measure of your success as workers in the cause of humanity and also your country, is the measure, by your example, of demonstrating the principles that you stand by. In your daily life, emphasise the principle of human brotherhood, the principle of sanctity of humankind. Remember that India cannot afford to let any community or class wage wars of extermination against any other community or class.

## SERVING OTHERS.

"Again, your life should be based on righteousness and sincerity, and the striking element of supreme effort, noble effort, should pervade all your action, and that effort should be effort in the cause of serving others. Let not the service of community be only a phrase which is current in public press, on public platforms. It should be your ceaseless effort to afford equality of opportunity to those who, in the struggle of life, lack it. The achievement of this ideal is by no means easy. Many a noble spirit in this world has passed through dark, disolate, and dreary days of supreme and noble effort, and

with failure, fatigue and faintness. Yet, with hope, sublime hope, and determination, it is not impossible to overcome the obstacles. Each effort is its own reward irrespective of the measure of success attending upon it. Effort, continuous effort, supreme effort, accompanied with determination and faith in the success of righteousness, each effort, each success bringing us nearer and nearer to the promised millennium. Life under those circumstances cannot be stale, unoccupied, listless or vain. It consists of moving from effort to effort, success to success, its own reward attended by supreme satisfaction of having done one's duty. Society pervaded by these principles, conducted on these lines, consisting of such action, cannot but succeed in elevating itself. Once more let me repeat; with righteousness, hope and determination, work on, struggle on; your goal cannot be far away."

## PROHIBITION AND INDIA.

Rev. John Haynes Holmes writes in the *Searchlight Anniversary Number*:—It is now nearly ten years since the United States adopted its Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution and thus entered upon its fight to the death against the liquor traffic. This fight is still raging with intensity, and the end is not yet in sight. Even the most optimistic of prohibitionists in this country feel that it will take at least a generation to achieve victory. But two facts of impressive importance are clearly manifest as a result of this ten years' battle.

First, the Prohibition law, although feebly enforced by officials who are either half-hearted or secretly hostile, has greatly improved conditions as compared with the old days when the liquor traffic was free and unfettered in its operations. We have a large minority of citizens who are opposed to Prohibition and seek the abrogation of the law. But no man is "wet" enough to want to return to the old saloon conditions. Prohibition has accomplished one great thing if it has accomplished nothing else, and that is that it has done away with the saloon beyond all hope of any return of the licensed traffic which it represented. This means an improvement of the whole social condition all along the line. Prohibition at its worst in these, its initial and extremely difficult, stages, is infinitely better than anything ever known before the "dry" amendment to the Constitution was enacted.

Secondly, the Prohibition law has placed firm ground underneath the feet of those who are fighting for the conquest of the drink evil. So long as the liquor traffic was inside the law, temperance advocates were battling with the law on the side of their enemies. Now the law is on their side—on the side of decency, morality and the right. This means that, no matter how long the ultimate victory is delayed, victory is now at last certain. The law should always be on the side of what is right. Its highest and noblest function is to vindicate the basic ideals of public good. Its most effective



achievement is to establish the conditions under which education in the good morals of citizenship can be carried on with effectiveness and sure promise of success. There are many discouraging conditions in the Prohibition situation to-day in this country, but the law is for us and not against us. And thus does the battle for a temperate nation go on with unfaltering courage and sure hope of victory.

It is this situation in America, our own sure progress toward the "dry" goal, which makes us sympathize so eagerly with the fight for Prohibition in India. In espousing this great cause, Mahatma Gandhi shows his characteristically clear vision of the truth, as well as his unfailing fidelity to the highest social ideals for his people. I am persuaded that there is no one thing which would do so much for India to-day as the establishment of prohibition and thus the annihilation of the liquor-traffic. This would cleanse the lives of the Indian people, and clear their minds for the great work of liberation that lies before them. I believe that the freedom of India cannot come, perhaps should not come, until the people, by their valor, sacrifice, and noble fidelity, show themselves to be worthy of the control of their own destinies. The first and perhaps the greatest step toward this demonstration of their fitness for Swaraj is the accomplishment of the prohibition ideal. The fact that the liquor traffic and the opium traffic are sustained by Government is only one more reason for the fight against it, as it is also one more proof of the need of liberty. As a friend of India, and a humble disciple of your great prophet, Mahatma Gandhi, I would exhort you to give your utmost support to the prohibition campaign. Let the Indian people join hands with the American people in fighting for the destruction of the greatest single social evil that now exists in the civilized world.

#### REVOLUTION IN MEDICINE.

The "Statesman" understands that when Sir Jagadish Bose delivers his address at the anniversary meeting of the Bose Institute next month, he will have some remarkable revelations to make regarding a hitherto unknown drug made from a plant found in the sub-Himalayas.

The properties of the drug were discovered at the Institute during experiments designed to show whether the hearts of plants and animals are identical in their response to stimuli. It will come as a surprise to many people to learn that plants have hearts; but the fact is, as an assistant at the Institute explained in an interview, plants have regular pulsatory systems, consisting of long tubes through which sap is propelled up and down. Organs of a similar character are found in worms.

The experiment comprised injecting poisonous vegetable drugs into the plants and observing how far the plants revived when other types of vegetable drug were afterwards administered to them. It was discovered that a certain plant extract, originating

in the sub-Himalayas, had, when injected, extraordinary powers as an antidote. Plants that had been poisoned and were on the point of death were marvellously transformed by it. In as short a time as two minutes they ceased to droop and appeared as though they had only just been plucked.

Knowing, from other investigations of the remarkable identity of the reaction of plants and animals to chemical agents, Sir Jagadish had the experiment made on a frog. The creature was poisoned and, its heart beat stopping, it became to all intents and purposes dead. A few drops of the new plant extract were then introduced into it by means of a hypodermic syringe.

Not only did the heart beat revive, it acted even more strongly than before. The frog returned to life and seemed little the worse for its adventure.

From the lower stage of animal life the experiment was carried to higher. Its complete non-injuriousness to human tissue having first been established, the drug was applied as a cardiac stimulant to a certain number of hospital patients suffering from serious streptococcal infections and consequently in danger of dying of heart failure.

It is claimed that the drug was a great success. Without being dangerous it is extraordinarily potent. Its main importance, however, is believed to be its power of causing a permanent revival when the heart has failed so completely as to render the ordinary stimulants (strychnine, digitalene, etc.) ineffective. At the Bose Institute the opinion is held that the drug will cause revolutionary changes in this branch of medicine. To the ordinary man it is enough to know that a big step forward has been taken in the seemingly impossible task of conquering death.

Sir Jagadish reached Calcutta on Tuesday from his four-months' European tour. While he was in England, the *Statesman* was informed, the eminent scientist was invited to demonstrate some of his plant experiments before an audience of M.P.s, including the Secretary of State for India. By means of his infinitesimal Contraction Recorder Sir Jagadish showed how plants react violently to shocks that are negligible to a human being.

On the Continent Sir Jagadish was welcomed by many learned societies and during his tour he took the opportunity of demonstrating the efficacy of the new drug he has discovered. In Vienna the Faculty of Medicine was greatly interested in his experiment with the dead frog. Incidentally, one outcome of his researches into plant life has been that an important Indian research organisation is attempting to produce vegetable serum for curative purposes. Vegetable serum, it is held would be free from the harmful effects sometimes associated with animal serum.

One of the outstanding exhibits at the next anniversary meeting of the Bose Institute will be a new apparatus that shows the action of wireless waves on plants.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Sir J. C. Bose's Return:**—Sir Jagadish Bose arrived recently from his world tour. The great interest roused, in Europe by Sir Jagadish Bose's discoveries, particularly in relation to biology, is indicated by full details received by this week's mail of the Bengali scientist's recent tour in England and Geneva. South Africa was amongst the first of the countries to recognise the potentialities opened up by the application of Sir J. Bose's conclusions to practical agriculture, South Africa's staple industry. The result of this recognition was an invitation which was conveyed to Sir Jagadish, through the Colonial Office, to visit the Union as a guest of the Government. Owing, however, to engagements at Geneva and the India Office he could not accept the invitation. In the course of a demonstration at the India Office Sir Jagadish drew special attention to the severe economic danger, which faced India. It was tragic that with her great potential wealth India should be in such a plight. Sir Jagadish demonstrated the recent invention of infinitesimal contraction recorder to an appreciative audience composed of prominent leaders of the House of Commons and eminent scientists. The most recent discoveries of Sir Jagadish will shortly be published by Longmans under the title "Growth and Tropic Movement of Plants". Sir Jagadish, who left for Calcutta by Nagpur Mail, will give a demonstration of his latest discoveries at the time of the anniversary of the Bose Institute on November 30.

**All-India Federation of Teachers:**—The reception committee of the fifth annual conference of the All-India Federation of Teachers have decided to hold a conference on the 27th, 28th and 29th December and have elected the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as President of the conference.

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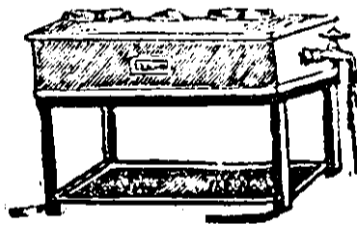
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# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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No. 9

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Satyagraha And Social Reform:—**The threat that if Hindu temples in Bombay and Poona were not thrown open by a given date to antyajias, the latter would force their entrance into them, has served only to stiffen orthodox opposition. Several trustees of temples to whom the ultimatum was delivered a few days ago, have replied refusing to agree to the proposed reform, and some of them have expressly stated that they would resist by force any attempt to break the long-standing practice on the part of the antyajias. The threat of "direct action" by the more aggressive antyajia leaders, has thus seriously come in the way of the conciliatory negotiations set on foot by Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj and other Hindu leaders to persuade temple authorities in the interests of Hindu religion to let down the barriers raised against this particular class of the Hindu community in respect of temple entry and other social and religious incidents. The problem would have been brought more quickly nearer to a pacific and, therefore, permanent solution, if the caste Hindu reformers had been allowed unhampered to negotiate with the social and religious leaders of the community. We have never believed in "satyagraha" as a method of religious, social or even political reform. There is no hard and fast line between these spheres. When an individual or set of them feel that they are called upon to act in accordance with some high truth which appeals to them as a matter of conscience, they are entitled to obey the call disregarding persecution and injury. But when it is a question principally of getting other people to accept their point of view and act in accordance with it, "satyagraha" is merely a method of coercion—there is no moral element, which always implies disinterestedness, in it. The question of the removal of untouchability, including temple entry, is mainly one for the higher caste Hindus as it involves their giving up a prejudice which has come down to them as a tradition. They will be very foolish if they do not read the signs of the times aright, and rectify practices which are unjust and, in some cases, inhuman. If they fail to do so, Hinduism will be judged by the world at large as a religion with a past but with no future. They

may decide that it is better that Hinduism should perish rather than that they should change their old habits. If they do so, their posterity will hold them responsible for destroying a precious culture which, chiefly because of its adaptability to changing conditions, had come down to them in an unbroken chain from the immemorial past.

**India And Dominion Status:—**The Viceroy has issued a statement, which is printed in another page, giving the result of his conversations with the British Government during his recent visit to England on Indian constitutional reform. Lord Irwin, it will be remembered, is a Conservative in British politics and was appointed by the Conservative Government to the Viceroyalty in succession to the Marquess of Reading. The fall of the Conservative Government in consequence of the defeat at the General Election and the accession to office of the Labour Government in June, necessitated personal consultation between the new British Government and the Viceroy regarding the future of constitutional reform. The Viceroy observes that, he conveyed to the British Government a faithful picture of the political situation in this country and that the latter have authorised him to state clearly that in their judgement it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status. It was so understood by almost everybody, taken particularly in the light of India's signing the Treaty at Versailles and taking her place as an original member of the League of Nations. But Sir Malcolm Hailey speaking as Home Member a few years later in the Legislative Assembly, drew a distinction between responsible Government which the Declaration of 1917 promised and Dominion Status, and since then an explicit declaration promising Dominion Status has been demanded by Indian opinion. The Viceroy's statement makes it clear that the Labour Government understands the Declaration of 1917 to mean Dominion Status. Nothing is said as to whether the leaders of the other British parties accept this interpretation. Anyhow, it is a distinct gain that one important party has authoritatively given its interpretation and may be expected to stand by it.

**The Round Table Conference:—**The other important part of the Viceroy's statement is that relating to the calling of British Indian and Indian States' delegates in consultation by the British Government before formulating their proposals on the report of the Statutory Commission on Indian constitutional reforms prior to their submission



to Parliament. It will be recalled that there was great dissatisfaction in this country amongst people of all shades of political opinion regarding the composition and procedure of the Simon Commission from which Indians were deliberately excluded. The dissatisfaction manifested itself in an almost complete boycott of the Commission by politically minded Indians, most of those who gave evidence or otherwise co-operated with the Commission being representatives of communal and sectional interests who wished special privileges or concessions for themselves. For a long time, the Commission and the Anglo-Indian press pretended that the boycott did not much affect the Commission's enquiry. The fact however, was quite patent, and the Chairman of the Central Committee which assisted the Commission, Sir Sankaran Nair, was quite plain that the Commission and the Committee had to carry out their duties in the face of the opposition of the intelligentsia. The Viceroy could not but perceive it, and His Excellency, no doubt, told the British Government that such was the fact. To rectify the mistake about the constitution of the Commission was impossible, both because it was too late and because Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, as leader of the Opposition, had not only approved but even vehemently defended the exclusion of Indians from the Commission. So a way had to be found in a somewhat roundabout manner, as is usual with Governments, to correct their mistakes without openly acknowledging them to be mistakes. From the first, the National Congress party has taken exception to the pre-amble to the Government of India Act of 1919 which makes the British Parliament the final judge of the course and pace of Indian constitutional reform. It has demanded a Round Table Conference at which representatives of Britain and India can sit as equals and discuss and decide on constitutional matters, as was done in the case of the Irish Free State. The Viceroy announced that representatives of British India and the States will be invited, when the Report of the Simon Commission is ready, to place their respective points of view before the British Government prior to their making any proposals to Parliament. The bringing in of the Indian States, which have so long been encouraged to keep aloof, at this stage into the business is viewed with suspicion in some quarters where, it is regarded, as analogous to the use of tame elephants to break in the new captives of the Keddah to man's service. But it need not necessarily be so. On the other hand, the representatives of British India might influence the State representatives to view their own problem from a new and comprehensive point of view.

**Organised Proselytism and Religious Freedom:**—*Indian Witness* of the 10th instant gave the first place to the following under the heading "Gwalior Not Guilty":—

"In our issue of the 22nd August we referred to Gwalior State as having enacted legislation which imposes severe restrictions on the legal right to be converted. Correspondence with a friend living within the State has elicited the joyful information that the legislation in question was not actually enacted. It was proposed as a State Bill but did not become law. Opposition seems to have developed from several realms. That the would-be Hindu dictators were not strong enough to pass the

Bill is a cause for gratitude. If Hindu politicians, either in the Indian State or in British India, proceed with such a legislative programme as that they will deserve to be stigmatized as enemies of national well-being. In no other part of the civilized world, except among the Bolsheviks, would a modern State, or a party strong enough to form an alternative Government, propose to interfere with the right of a citizen to be converted to any religion that he believes to be right and best for him."

Gwalior is just at present under a minority administration and it is, perhaps, as well that an important piece of legislation should not be passed by a provisional regime. The opinion of our contemporary that those who promote anti-proselytising legislation are enemies of national well-being, is not shared by many outside professional missionary circles in India or any other country. America prohibits the mere entry of Asiatics except under stringent conditions. As our contemporary mentions the Bolsheviks, it may be pointed out that Bolshevik propaganda which is against private property is forbidden under stringent penalties in British and other Christian countries. Proselytising missions, financed from abroad, which aim at nothing less than the uprootment of the moral and religious basis of Indian civilization, we are solemnly asked to believe, cannot be prohibited without the principle of religious freedom which, we may remind our contemporary, was adopted in this country as an internal part of national policy long centuries before Europe thought of it, and which, therefore, is in no peril of being discarded by the Indian people. The *Witness* misconceives the prohibition of organised proselytism as being the same thing as the right of the individual to follow the religion which appeals to him. There is a world of difference between the two. Organised proselytism is nothing but an exploitation in the religious field, the same as commercial exploitation in the economic.

**University Ideals:**—In his opening address at the Inter-University Conference which is now holding its second session in Delhi, His Excellency the Viceroy emphasised the necessity of maintaining a high standard of proficiency in the Universities. He further pointed out that the function of a University is to create and maintain the three-fold standard of learning, judgment and conduct. Continuing Lord Irwin pointed out that they (the Indian Universities) must insist on maintaining such standards of admission as to exclude those who have neither the capacity nor equipment to profit by University training. We find ourselves in agreement with much that has been said in the address but we must confess that the aristocratic theory of University education comes to us as a surprise. It is, we believe, primarily in the field of education that the principle of equal opportunity should be recognized. It is a strange coincidence that Signor Mussolini's views of higher education bear a striking resemblance to this view. In his "Autobiography," Signor Mussolini devotes special attention to the Fascist educational programme which he says "puts on the scrap-heap the democratic conception which considered the State School as an institution for everyone—a basket into which treasure and waste was piled together."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1929.

ANTI-PROHIBITION FALLACIES.

In his concluding remarks at the close of the Dussarah Session of the Mysore Representative Assembly the Dewan, Mr. Mirza Ismail, referred to the discussion on what he called the "time-worn topic of prohibition." The topic is by no means "time-worn" since Prohibition as a policy of State is not quite ten years old, and was the central issue at the presidential election only last year in the United States. Mr. Mirza Ismail's remarks show that he has not made himself thoroughly familiar with the results of the Prohibition policy in that great country and, perhaps, he has derived his information largely from the anti-Prohibition propagandists who are so influentially represented in the Government of India and the Anglo-Indian press. The present prosperity of the United States, it has been repeatedly pointed out, is largely due to the Prohibition policy which has transferred a large part of the earnings of the working and middle classes from the drink saloon to the savings banks, and wrought a striking and altogether beneficent revolution in the lot of their women and children. No administrator, particularly in this country where he generally belongs to classes to which drink and its evils are more or less abstractions, can realise in all its tragic magnitude the seriousness of the Prohibition issue, unless he has constantly before his mind's eye the sordid picture of starving children, ill-used wives and desolated homes of the wage-earners given to drink. "Given to drink"! Many of these men have confessed that they are fully and painfully conscious of the curse of the drink-habit, that they would like to free themselves from it but could not, so long as they have to face the temptation of a liquor shop in their neighbourhood. The mere removal of liquor shops in a village has often put an end to the drink evil. We are not drawing upon our imagination. If Mr. Mirza Ismail has any doubts on the point we suggest that he should ask Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who is engaged in an intensive campaign against drink in Gujerat. Or, if he thinks Mr. Vallabhbhai is a politician whose point of view cannot be acceptable to a practical administrator, we ask him to consult Dewan Bahadur R. Ramchandra Rao, who retired only last year from high administrative office in the Madras Presidency, and who is devoting his leisure to the work of rural re-construction in one of the poorest villages in the Salem district. We had recently a long conversation with him on his work which in some respects is quite as good if not better than that of Mr. Brayne

in Gurgaon of which much has been written. "What do you think of Mr. Brayne's work," the Dewan Bahadur was asked. His reply came promptly. "You perhaps expect me"—we didn't—"to speak disparagingly of it because he is a European. No, it is quite good. The excellence of it is due considerably to the co-operation of his wife, which unfortunately I do not possess as my wife is the daughter of a Jaghirdar." We quote his words in a private conversation to show the spirit of the man so entirely absorbed in his work. To come to the point. Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao took up the work as a Co-operator. He was one of the first Registrars of Co-operative Societies, and his work was so successful that some officials actually suspected him of politically subversive intentions. The intimate knowledge and experience gained during his term of office, he is now utilising in the great experiment he is carrying on in the Salem village. The Dewan Bahadur was led early in his research into the causes which militated against the spread of his co-operation propaganda, to the village liquor shops. The peasants in reply to his enquiries replied in the terms which we have quoted above. He got the shops removed after a struggle with the Excise hierarchy, and he met almost immediately with gratifying improvement in the response to his efforts.

Mr. Mirza Ismail declared that the Mysore Government was as anxious as Prohibition advocates to abolish the drink traffic but they have to consider first the loss of revenue which in Mysore he estimated at about one crore of rupees. This is about one-fourth of the total revenue of the State and to give it up without finding other sources of replacing it is unthinkable. Mr. Mirza asked the Assembly whether it was prepared to forego it. That, we think, is not a fair question to put to the Assembly. When years ago a Temperance Deputation waited on Mr. Gladstone, the greatest of British Chancellors of the Exchequer, one of its members started to suggest how the loss of revenue could be made good. "Leave that to me," interrupted Mr. Gladstone, "If the country wants reform it is my duty, as its Finance Minister, to find other ways of reimbursing the Treasury for the loss." Mr. Mirza Ismail is not the first administrator who has put this question as a poser to Prohibitionists. It is wrong. It is the duty of the Minister to find ways and means for carrying out a policy favoured by the people. Let us ask Mr. Mirza a question. He of course, like every thinking Indian would like to see people giving up liquor. Supposing by voluntary propaganda, the people of Mysore are induced to become total abstainers, there will be the same loss of revenue. What would Government do in that case? No doubt there will be a saving of the expenditure on the preventive establishment

but this in India will be very much less than in Western countries, because the sentiment, religious and social against drink, is so strong and widespread. The sentiment against drink is even yet sufficiently strong to be utilised as an asset by the statesman who is anxious to save his people from the demoralising and degrading influence of drink. The very fact that the State depends to the extent of a fourth part of its revenue on the drink traffic, provides food for the statesman's anxious consideration. The crore of rupees revenue from drink means at least four crores worth of waste and demoralisation apart from the expenditure on jails and police which crime associated with drink entails. In this question at least, "the arm-chair critics" whom the Dewan ridiculed are better informed than the practical administrator who is so often the victim of a vicious routine. Mr. Mirza Ismail's observations are calculated to cause deep disappointment to those who, like us, are aware that his outlook on national progress is, in other respects, precisely the same as that of progressive nationalism. And the unfortunate part of it is that he had not only sought to justify the Mysore Government's indifference in this respect, but to place at the disposal of all other governments which are equally indifferently disposed, an argument in support of their lethargy. Prohibition is now one of the first planks of the national programme. From that place it cannot be dislodged by specious arguments of the kind we have criticised in this article.

#### A PREFACE TO MORALS.\*

The generation that has grown up after the War has displayed the world over a tendency to look with distrust not only at the faith of their fathers but at the existing social and economic order. Even the code of morals which has never been doubted by the most ardent "protestant" of the past is now questioned since it is so closely associated with religion. That India which has been regarded as the cradle of religions is herself witnessing such a revolt is amply demonstrated by the controversies raging in the local newspapers on religious questions and by the proposal by a college principal to introduce theistic education in our schools and colleges which is now before the Senate of the Bombay University. Mr. Walter Lippman's "Preface to Morals", therefore, comes at an opportune moment. There have always been, Mr. Lippman points out, a few educated men in all ages who have not found the established religion broad enough for them but now disbelief has become widespread. Moreover whenever men have preached against existing faiths they have invariably set up a new orthodoxy but at present people have begun to doubt their own rebellion. At the same time

though the capacity to believe is lost the old need for a religion is still there and the pressing problem is to supply that need. Mr. Lippman's book, as he points out at the outset, has not been written with a view to shake the belief of the orthodox nor is it concerned with those who are still exhilarated by their escape from some form of orthodoxy but with those who are perplexed by the consequences of their own irreligion.

Belief in theocracy has been always a feature of popular religion and though the world counts among its great teachers many who do not accept the conception of God as Sovereign, disbelief in the personal relationship of God and man is regarded as indicative of an irreligious mind. But, says Lippman, religion is not so much a cosmic government as the education and discipline of the human will. The great teachers knew this but they seem to have withheld it from the masses of mankind whom, as our author points out, they never in fact attempted to teach. They believed evidently in an aristocracy of religion. The rigorous discipline imposed on their followers—a discipline which obviously only the few could endure—by some teachers and the fact that others avoided setting up any organization worth mentioning show that they were more concerned with the few who were dissatisfied with the religion in which they found themselves than with the masses who were not moved by doubt. But this view naturally has not been accepted by their followers who having established a new orthodoxy, have glossed over the inconvenient utterances of their masters and have attributed them to misinterpretation and to faults in translation. Now that the majority of the people are moved by doubt the necessity has arisen for high religion to be diffused among the masses. It would be as dangerous and wrong to withhold the truth from a people ripe for it as it would have been to disclose it prematurely. It is now time to search the words of the world's teachers—and not only of the "religious teachers"—because they represent the highest wisdom and the crystallised experience of humanity and not as revelations from on high.

Right through the ages mankind have held in esteem certain qualities which have all had in them an element of disinterestedness. Various attempts have been made to attain a detached attitude through a system of discipline, an extreme instance being asceticism. But the ideal of disinterestedness is inherent in the modern world and Mr. Lippman proceeds to demonstrate this in three important spheres of modern life—business, politics and sex. With the advent of large industrial concerns it is becoming increasingly difficult to control and regulate business without a high degree of socialisation. In politics the work of government in advanced communities is not to rule the subjects but to help the people to rule their own affairs. It is not enough, say Mr. Lippman, that the subjects in a modern state should be a law abiding people, they should also be law-enforcing, else an energetic minority will defeat the provisions of the law. The

\* Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Price 10s.

inapplicability of external control is most evident in the field of sex. The general diffusion of birth control and the economic independence of women has contributed largely to create this situation. In every aspect of life therefore the slackening of external control and the difficulty of exercising it have given rise to the necessity for the development of the internal checks which are inherent in man. The moralist has fallen into disrepute because he has insisted on exhorting the people to good. "But he is irrelevant, if not meddling and dangerous, unless in his teaching he strives to give a true account, imaginatively conceived, of that which experience would show is desirable among the choices that are possible and necessary."

The emphasis in Mr. Lippman's book is laid on education and discipline. Freedom, he points out, can only be made use of by the mature. It is true the process of educating the minds of men and training them to lead the good life is slow and the impetuous reformer may prefer to make men "moral by Act of Parliament." But there are no short cuts to progress and the only certain method is that of education. The law in a modern state, to be effective, must not be too far ahead of public opinion. A good part of the book—particularly the portions relating to business and government—is not applicable to this country. This is due to the fact that India is in the transition stage. During this period there should be an interim rule to train the people to adapt themselves to the industrial system, and Lippman points out that this has happened in Russia and Italy and, we may add, is just what is happening in China. The exposition of general principles, however, applies and we have no hesitation in warmly commending the book to our readers as one of the most thought provoking books we have come across in recent times.

#### THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

XLIV. BUILDERS.

(Dr. CLIFFORD MANSCHARDT, Ph.D.)

The builder is one of God's most important fellow workers, and he should be one of the happiest. Very few men can actually see the results of their labours, but to the builder there is the picture of homes occupied by happy families, schools swarming with eager children, temples of worship thronged with believers, and massive piles pulsating with the life of business. The builder is an artist, a creator, and a master craftsman. Though at times members of the building profession grossly misuse their talents in building cheap and flimsy structures for the sake of profits, the standard of the profession as a whole is a high one. The true craftsman prides himself upon the quality of his work, and looks upon himself as an essential element in the great world enterprise.

The story has been told many times of Sir Christopher Wren inspecting the work of his builders.

Approaching a group of three workmen engaged in the same task, he inquired of the first, "What are you doing?" "I am hauling stone," answered the man, thinking to himself of the hard physical labour which his task involved. "And what are you doing?" asked the architect of the second. "I am earning ten shillings a day," replied the worker, and the thought of gain was to him some compensation for the monotony of his task. "And you," said Sir Christopher to the third, "What are you doing?" "I am building a cathedral, Sir!" and the note in his voice was a note of exultation. To this man work was much more than drudgery or making money. He was a sharer in a great co-operative enterprise. And so it is with all true builders. They are not simply craftsmen, they are builders of cathedrals, taking pride and finding joy in the character of their work.

In the history of the Hebrew people there is a passage telling of the repair of the temple. In this passage we find the significant words: "Howbeit there was no reckoning made with them (the builders) of the money that was delivered into their hands, because they dealt faithfully." Here indeed we have the picture of an ideal building operation. Carpenters and masons are entrusted with funds to buy timber and hew stone, and such is the confidence of the authorities in their integrity that no reckoning is required of them. These early builders were working for more than money. They held before themselves the ideal of a task well done. When a builder once senses the meaning of perfection he does not need to be watched for fear that he will substitute inferior work. He cannot do otherwise than to deal faithfully.

The world traveller stands many times in awe before the building projects of past civilizations. As he sees gorgeous temples carved directly from the solid rock, gigantic stone bulwarks thrown up against the sides of mountains, pyramids, aqueducts, and ruins of cities giving evidence of large scale masonry, he cannot but ask the question, "How was this accomplished?" And the answer probably is none other than the words—"forced labour." Those who built the marvels of the ancient world were slaves driven by the lash of their taskmasters. For the dawn of a new day in which building helpers are rising to the status of persons we give our heart-felt thanks.

#### APPEAL TO TEMPLE TRUSTEES.

"In view of the fact that the question of solving the problem of untouchability among the Hindus is coming to a head and cannot be further delayed without putting the whole future of the community in jeopardy, and in view of the fact that spasmodic attempts are now and then made to solve the problem by various individuals or organisations in the country according to their own lights, without cohesion and often to great detriment of Hindu solidarity, we are firmly of opinion that the time has now come for the Hindu community as a whole

to move from the present untenable position. We, therefore appeal to all thinking Hindus, heads of Religious Orders, leaders of caste organisations, Panchayats, Samajas, Sabhas, and all other Hindu organisations modern or ancient, to fix a day—conveniently the next Kartiki (ray Prabhadas) Ekadasbi—as a day of the extinction of untouchability, disregard thenceforward all conventions that prescribe observance of untouchability and deal or associate without distinction with all castes recognised as being within the fold of Hinduism. All those depressed Hindu classes who have hitherto been termed as “untouchables” and kept at a distance should be re-admitted into the social fold and allowed to share common benefits of free association and intercourse in all outdoor dealings, in all public places and on all public occasions, fairs, festivals, processions, meetings etc. including in temples of Gods which should be considered as the last place for any distinction between man and man.”

The above is signed by the following gentlemen:—  
Shantaram Narayan Dabholkar, Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Chunilal V Mehta, M. R. Jayakar, Narottam Morarji, Lallubhai Samaldas, Vasantao N. Dabholkar, G. V. Deshmukh, N. C. Kelkar, L. B. Bhopatkar, Rewashankar Jugjiwan, Shoorji Vallabhdas, Vithaldas Damodhar Govindji, Jagjiwan Ujamsi, Masukhlal Chagganlal, Rajendra Narayan, Khanderos Ramachandra, Baji Vishnu Nerulkar, A. K. Pai, B. G. Kher, S. B. Vaidya, V. V. Jerajani, C. V. Jerajani, Mulrag Karsandas, Vijaysingh Govindji, Bhimji Ramdas, Dhauji Kalyanji, Liladhar Ratanji, D. D. Sathye, P. V. Kane, A. B. Gajendragadkar, S. L. Silam, B. V. Vagh, A. C. Amin, K. N. Dharap, B. S. Turkhad, V. C. Rao, Y. N. Nadkarni, D. B. Manerikar, B. G. Rao, M. D. Nanavati, K. G. Tambe, S. R. Dongerkar, A. R. Vaidya, R. G. Nayak, and Nayan H. Pandye.

#### MR. JAMNALAL BAJAJ'S STATEMENT.

In releasing the above appeal to the Press, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Secretary, Anti-Untouchability Committee, Indian National Congress made the following statement:—

In sending this appeal for publication I desire to make a few observations. The readiness with which the idea of issuing such a general appeal was hailed in all quarters and the promptness with which leaders of both Deccani as well as Gujrati sections in Bombay, many of them well-known for their conservative outlook, signed it has only confirmed me in my belief that the Hindu community as a whole clearly realises to-day the basic injustice involved in the attitude hitherto maintained and that an all pervading earnestness combines the Hindu leaders to-day in one supreme effort to heal this running sore on the body of the community.

It is a pity that some of the leaders of the untouchables should choose just this time for a vociferous self-assertion by “satyagraha” to effect entry into temples and should have issued what are

bound to be characterized as “ultimatums.” The caste Hindus, I feel confident, will not, as they never should, hesitate for a moment from discharging what they deem to be their debt of honour, simply because some of the recipients take it with illgrace or even disdain to receive it as a gift. It is regrettable that those who desire to establish their due claims should insist on asserting themselves by an exhibition of power when those claims are already admitted on grounds of justice and when so many of those who count in the community are striving to get them respected in practice. My recent experience of the earnestness of Hindus in this matter emboldens me to say that this curse of untouchability would be a thing of the past throughout the length and breadth of India if the Congress is allowed twelve months more to tackle the problem through propaganda and persuasion and if the extreme wings instead of provoking each other into stiffening their backs help to maintain the present atmosphere of universal goodwill towards its solution.

It is some consolation however that the latest news from the Satyagraha quarters is that they do not favour a hasty precipitation of the methods of direct action if the Hindu community rises to the occasion and makes a reassuring response in time.

More signatures are coming in. Those desirous of joining in the above appeal may send their signatures at 395, Kalbadevi, Bombay.

#### ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

##### HALF YEARLY REPORT.

AUGUST 1929.

Since the Patna Session, the Third Annual Report has been published in English, and distributed not only amongst our own members, and all those interested in our work in India, but widely in Europe and America by our Organising Secretary Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, and Mrs. Cousins.

It was decided at the Patna Session to issue the report also in Hindi and Urdu, which had not been done previously; the only vernacular Report so far being a Marathi edition of the first Annual Report, for which a special donation had been received.

In framing the Budget this year special provision was made for these two vernacular reports. It has proved, however, very difficult to obtain a suitable translation into Urdu, and to get estimates within the sum allotted. We owe many thanks to Mrs. Miles Irving for her persistent efforts towards this end in spite of many discouragements and disappointments.

Notwithstanding all her work on the Age of Consent Committee, Mrs. Nehru, Secretary of the Social Section, took up the work of translating the report into Hindi and of seeing it through the Press. We extend to her the grateful appreciation of the Conference for the courage and devotion thus placed at its disposal.

It is hoped to distribute these two versions shortly; and that the experience gained this year will allow of the Hindi and Urdu reports being issued next year within the first quarter. It is most essential for the spreading of our work among the masses of Indian women that an account of it should be available in various vernaculars; and in this connection we welcomed the request of the member for Sindh for permission to publish, from local resources, the report in Sindhi, as neither of the other versions is useful in that Province.

In May our Organising Secretary, Mrs. Chattopadhyaya, proceeded to Europe to represent our Conference at the International World Congress of Women held in Berlin in June; and at the Fifth World Conference on Education held at Elsinore, in Denmark, in August. She was also chosen by the All-India Federation of Teachers as their delegate to the Third Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Educational Associations, held in Geneva at the end of July.

At the time of writing this Report, we hear from her of the great success of the Congress at Berlin; and of the important part taken there in the debate on Child Marriage by the various Indian ladies present, some of whom were Members of our Conference.

While in Europe Mrs. Chattopadhyaya has been able to do a great deal in spreading, among the women of the several countries she visited, a knowledge of the ideals, and of the work, of our Conference. She has also been able to arrange for European firms to exhibit labour and time-saving devices at the Household Exhibition which will form part of our Bombay Session. During the absence of our Organising Secretary, Mrs. Hamid Ali, our late Chairwoman and one of our Vice-presidents, has been acting as Organising Secretary; she has also organised a Local Women's Association in her new district—Alibagh.

Our first Chairwoman, one of the originators of our Conference, Mrs. Cousins, has been travelling in America, lecturing and visiting educational and social institutions. She writes that she has gathered much material for the use of our Conference; and has been able to make our aims and work known in many parts of the States. To the list of twenty-eight Constituent Areas as found in the Third Annual report two more must now be added:—

*Kashmir* with Mrs. Mukerjee as Standing Committee member and *West Punjab* represented on the Standing Committee by Mrs. Dobson.

From the half-yearly reports submitted by our Standing Committee members, it is clear that splendid and varied work has been done by the local committees, which, since the Patna Session, are divided in most cases into Educational and Social Sections.

Crèches, clinics, primary education in villages, work in jails, girl guiding, sanitation are some of the activities most often mentioned in these Reports.

Any of our Areas intending to start any of these, or other activities, would gain most useful information by writing to our Organising Secretary in order to be put in touch with others already at work in any special direction.

Many of the Areas have accepted the Social Service Resolutions suggested by Mrs. Nehru and have passed resolutions denouncing Child Marriage. Other Areas have realised the importance of improving the economic conditions of women and have started Industrial Homes for them.

The Constituent Areas have, in many cases, been thoroughly organised by sub-division with local sub-committees, notably as follows:—

Sindh	...	with 3 sub-constituent areas.
Oudh	...	1     "
Cochin	...	2     "
Mysore	...	3     "
Ajmere	...	2     "
Central Punjab.		5     "
Malabar	...	2     "

In nearly all our Areas public meetings have been held to explain the work done at Patna and in connection with *Child Marriage*.

It is with great pleasure we note that propaganda in the country against Child Marriage is having the effect of converting many people to our point of view. The youth of the country has taken up the matter in a spirit of social service; and practically all Students' Associations have passed resolutions in some way connected with the abolition of Child Marriage. A college in the Punjab has doubled its fees for married boys; and girls too are gradually realising their responsibility in the matter.

Her Highness the Rani of Mandi, convener of our Child Marriage Sub-Committee, has suggested having a competition for all Indian boys and girls to write an essay on the abolition of Child Marriage, and awarding a handsome prize for the best essay. The matter is under the consideration of the Secretary of our Social Section.

Legislation in Baroda has recently made the marriage of children under eight *invalid*.

Since the Patna session the women of Bihar and Orissa have received the franchise.

From the report received, we are gratified to learn that the number of women on boards and committees controlling education is constantly increasing, either by nomination or election. In this connection we have pleasure in recording the election to the Bombay University Senate of Mrs. Sharada Mehta. There are as yet no women representatives on the Legislative Assembly; and in view of the fact that many bills are pending which affect women vitally, such as the Child Marriage Act, the Women's Law of inheritance and others, it is felt by the Conference to be absolutely necessary to have women representatives in the Assembly; and whenever occasion may arise the Conference will work towards this end.

At the Delhi Standing Committee meetings, the following resolution was passed unanimously. "In view of the extreme necessity of the presence of women on all legislatures, the Standing Committee impresses on its members the need for women contesting seats in the coming elections, and for helping women candidates in their election campaigns. It also urges the members of the Conference to approach all intending candidates; and to persuade them to include, as an important item in their election programme, support of the cause of women and children". Mrs. Nehru proposed that the Standing Committee should request the leaders of all Parties to adopt at least one woman candidate, and this was passed unanimously. Action was taken immediately and a deputation of nine Standing Committee members attended on the leaders of all parties then present at Delhi, with the following result. Pandit Malaviya and Pandit Motilal Nehru promised to put the matter before a joint meeting they were holding the next day, and to adopt a candidate if a suitable woman came forward. Sir D'Arcy Lindsay pointed out that the representation of his party scarcely allowed them to adopt a woman candidate. Sir Zulfikar Khan promised to consider the question if a Muslim woman candidate came forward.

With regard to the Royal Commission on labour we put forward the claims of Indian women to be represented on it by an Indian woman. Unfortunately Mrs. Anasuya Behn, whose name would have carried great weight everywhere, declared herself unable to serve on the Commission, and the Government stated that they were unable to find another suitable Indian lady. Some of the Standing Committee Members went on deputation with regard to this; and, as part of the result, the Joint Secretary of the Commission has written to say that the Royal Commission on Labour "will welcome the co-operation of the members of the All India Women's Conference in securing evidence, both written and oral, in respect to the conditions of labour affecting women and children in important centres of industry."

The Standing Committee Members have been circularised, and it is hoped that in every industrial area at least, we shall be able to find a lady who will collect evidence and be willing to be examined and also be prepared to accompany the Commission round the works, factories, etc. with which her evidence deals.

In the last Half Yearly report we recorded with regret that so far our action with regard to the physical education of girls in the Madras Presidency had not been successful. Since then, the Committee appointed by the Government of Madras have asked our Organising Secretary to send in a report with her opinion on the following subject: "To investigate the question of physical education of girls in the elementary and secondary schools in this Presidency". In her reply our Secretary included

all the resolutions passed by our Conference on this subject.

The Madras University has recognised the importance of physical culture and we are glad to note that this has been made a compulsory subject. It is regrettable that the Bombay Government have disallowed a bill of compulsory physical education but while this report is in the Press we hear that the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to inquire into Physical Culture in the Presidency, among other recommendations, strongly advocate the appointment of an Indian lady to be in charge of the Physical Education of the girls in the Bombay Presidency.

Representations have been made to the Provincial Governments on the subject of appointing a woman Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies in each Province, as has already been done in the Punjab.

The Baroda Local Committee has done a good deal of propaganda to remove some clauses from the Divorce Bill which was pending before the Baroda Legislative Council. It protested strongly against relaxing the marriage laws and making divorce easy before safeguarding the economic position of women by legislating in their favour with regard to the Hindu laws of inheritance. The Local Committee was helped to a great extent by the members of the *Dhara Sabha* and by many Hindu lawyers of Baroda. Ultimately the Bill has been postponed until the laws of inheritance have been passed.

Owing to Dr. Muthulaxmi's efforts the Devadasi Bill has been passed by the Madras Government. There is a similar bill pending before the Bombay Council which, we hope, will be passed this year.

Our Social Section Secretary, Mrs. Nehru, a member of the Age of Consent Committee, has been since the Patna Session, very busy with the work of the Age of Consent Committee. This Committee have now presented their Report; and it is expected that it will have a considerable effect towards raising the Age of Consent as well as the legal age of marriage.

The Standing Committee met at Delhi in April to consider the constitution of this Fund; and meetings in this connection were held at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, under the chairmanship of H. E. Lady Irwin. At this meeting, the constitution was finally settled; a provisional Governing Body and officers arranged for; and every step taken for registration. H. E. Lady Irwin is President; Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, Treasurer and Mrs. Faridooji with Mrs. Miles Irving as assistant Secretary.

The next Annual Session is to be held in Bombay in January 1930; and the time of it is being so arranged that members of the All India Women's Conference who are members of the All India Women's Education Fund Association will be able to attend the first General Meeting of the Association and those of them who are Governors of the Fund Association can attend the meetings of the Governing Body.

The Bombay Session will include Visual Instruction in the form of visits to educational and social institutions, and Exhibition of Time and Labour-Saving Household Apparatus as well as the usual debates and business meetings.

#### CONCLUSION.

In conclusion we may add that, in receiving the reports of the Constituent Areas, and in viewing all the direct and indirect work of the Conference, we feel assured that the Conference is meeting the need of the women of India in finding expression for the awakening powers which lead them to come forward and join forces for the benefit of their sisters educationally, socially and economically. No one can view the work of the last three years without dreaming dreams and seeing visions. For the work of the last three years has been comparable to the ploughing of land which already held living seed—a ploughing which has set free the life hidden in the seed; and allowed it to begin the fulfilment of its purpose. Soon shall we see that fulfilment nourishing and sanctifying all the educational, social and economic life of this land; giving to it the synthesis which it sorely needs—a synthesis not only organically uniting the India of the future with Her Past, but uniting this Land in loyal comradeship with all Sister Lands to the "Greater Glory of God and Service of Humanity."

### INDIA AND DOMINION STATUS.

#### THE VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT.

The following announcement was made by His Excellency the Viceroy in a *Gazette of India Extraordinary* issued on Friday:—

I have just returned from England where I have had the opportunity of a prolonged consultation with His Majesty's Government. Before I left this country I said publicly that as the King-Emperor's representative in India I should hold myself bound to tell my fellow-countrymen, as faithfully as I might, of India's feelings, anxieties and aspirations. In my endeavours to discharge that undertaking I was assisted by finding, as I had expected, a generous and sincere desire not only on the part of His Majesty's Government but on that of all persons and parties in Great Britain to hear and to appreciate everything that it was my duty to represent. These are critical days, when matters, by which men are deeply touched are in issue, and when, therefore, it is inevitable that political feeling should run high, and that misunderstandings, which would scarcely arise in conditions of political tranquillity, should obtain a firm foothold in men's mind. I have, nevertheless, not faltered in my belief that behind all the disquieting tendencies of the time there lay the great mass of Indian opinion overflowing all divisions of race, religion or political thought, fundamentally loyal to the King-Emperor, and, whether consciously or not, only wanting to understand and to be understood. On the other side I have never felt any doubt that opinion in

Great Britain, puzzled, as it might be, by events in India or only perhaps partially informed as to their true significance, was unshaken in its determination that Great Britain should redeem to the full the pledges she has given for India's future. On both countries the times have laid a heavy and in some ways a unique responsibility; for, the influence on the world of a perfect understanding between Great Britain and India might surely be so great that no scales can give us the measure either of the prize of success or the price of failure in our attempts to reach it. In my discussions with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State it was inevitable that the principal topic should have been the course of events in India. It is not profitable on either side to discuss to what extent or with what justification the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission two years ago has affected the general trend of Indian thought and action. Practical men must take facts and situations as they are and not as they would have them be. Sir John Simon's Commission, assisted, as it has been, by the Indian Central Committee, is now at work on its report and until that report is laid before Parliament it is impossible and, even if it were possible, it would, in the view of His Majesty's Government, clearly be improper to forecast the nature of any constitutional changes that may subsequently be proposed. In this respect every British Party is bound to preserve to itself complete freedom of action. But what must constantly engage our attention, and is a matter of deep concern to His Majesty's Government, is the discovery of means by which, when the Commission has reported, the broad question of British Indian constitutional advance may be approached in co-operation with all those who can speak authoritatively for opinion in British India. I would venture to recall some words which I used in addressing the Assembly eight months ago in reference to the then existing political situation. "On the one side", I said, "it is as unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgment on the problem, as it would be short-sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India." We shall surely stray from the path, at the end of which lies achievement, if we let go either the one or the other of those two main guiding principles of political action. But there has lately emerged from a totally different angle another set of considerations which is very relevant to what I have just stated on this matter to be the desire of His Majesty's Government.

The Chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission has pointed out, in the course of correspondence with the Prime Minister, which, I understand, is being published in England, that, as their investigation has proceeded, he and his colleagues have been greatly impressed, in considering the direction which the future constitutional development of India, is likely to take, with the importance



of bearing in mind the relations which may, at some future time, develop between British India and the Indian States. In his judgment, it is essential that the methods by which this future relationship between these two constituent parts of greater India may be adjusted should be fully examined. He has further expressed the opinion that if the Commission's report and the proposals subsequently to be framed by the Government take this wider range, it would appear necessary for the Government to revise the scheme of procedure as at present proposed. He suggests that what might be required after the reports of the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee have been made, considered and published, but before the stage of the Joint Parliamentary Committee is reached, would be the setting up of a conference in which His Majesty's Government should meet representatives both of British India and of the States for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament. The procedure of the Joint Parliamentary Committee conferring with delegations from the Indian Legislature and other bodies, which was previously contemplated and is referred to in Sir John Simon's letter to myself of February 6, 1928, would still be appropriate for the examination of the Bill when it is subsequently placed before Parliament, but would, in the opinion of the Commission, obviously have to be preceded by some such conference as they have suggested. With these views I understand that His Majesty's Government are in complete accord. For, while they will greatly desire, when the time comes, to be able to deal with the question of British Indian political development under conditions most favourable to its successful treatment, they are, like the Commission, deeply sensible of the importance of bringing under a comprehensive review the whole problem of the relations of British India and the Indian States. Indeed, an adjustment of those interests, in their view, is essential for the complete fulfilment of what they consider to be the underlying purpose of British policy, whatever the method for its furtherance which Parliament may decide to adopt.

The goal of British policy was stated in the declaration of August 1917 to be that of providing for the "gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." As I recently pointed out, my own instrument of instructions from the King Emperor expressly states that it is His Majesty's will and pleasure that the plans laid by Parliament in 1919 should be the means by which British India may attain its due place among his Dominions. Ministers of the Crown, moreover, have more than once publicly declared that it is the desire of the British Government that India should, in the fullness of time, take her place in the Empire in equal partnership with the Domi-

nions; but in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government, in enacting the Statute of 1919, I am authorised, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status. In the full realisation of this policy it is evidently important that the Indian States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place, and, even if we cannot at present exactly foresee on what lines this development may be shaped, it is from every point of view desirable that whatever can be done should be done to ensure that action taken now is not inconsistent with the attainment of the ultimate purpose which those, whether in British India or the States, who look forward to some unity of All-India, have in view. His Majesty's Government consider that both these objects, namely, that of finding the best approach to the British Indian side of the problem and secondly of ensuring that in this process the wider question of closer relations in the future between the two parts of greater India is not overlooked, can best be achieved by the adoption of a procedure such as the Commission has outlined. When therefore, the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their reports, and these have been published, and when His Majesty's Government have been able, in consultation with the Government of India to consider these matters in the light of all the material then available, they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them separately or together, as circumstances may demand, for the purpose of conference and discussion in regard both to the British-Indian and the All-Indian problems. It will be their earnest hope that, by this means, it may subsequently prove possible on these grave issues to submit proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent. It is not necessary for me to say how greatly I trust that the action of His Majesty's Government may evoke response from, and enlist the concurrence of all sections of opinion in India; and I believe that all who wish India well, wherever and whoever they are, desire to break through the webs of mistrust that have lately clogged the relations between India and Great Britain. I am firmly assured that the course of action now proposed is at once the outcome of a real desire to bring to the body politic of India the touch that carries with it healing and health and is the method by which we may best hope to handle those high matters in the way of constructive statesmanship.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

The Next Social Conference:—A meeting of the Reception Committee of the forty-second session of the Indian National Social Conference was held this week

at the Brahma Samaj Mandir, Lahore. Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni was in the chair. About thirty-five members were present, including two ladies. The meeting elected the Chairman, six Vice-chairmen and the various Sub-Committees. Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni was elected chairman of Reception Committee and the following were elected Vice-Chairmen:—Rai Bahadur Mohan Lal, M. L. C., Rai Bahadur Lala Sewak Ram M. L. C., Dr. Muhammed Alam, Mr. K. L. Rallia Ram, Mr. Sudhans, and Mr. Shah Nawaz. The election of the President of the Conference was deferred till the third week of November. It was decided that meanwhile a general invitation be issued through the Press to all social reform associations and prominent social reformers in India requesting them to suggest names for the presidency of the conference by the 20th November next. *Tribune Lahore.*

**Opposition to Child Marriage Act:**—The opponents of the Child Marriage Act under the lead of Mr T. R. Ramchandra Iyer and others had convened a meeting on the 19th instant at Trichinopoly. The subjects for discussion included the formation of a central Sanatana Dharma Sabha and a new political party for placing their views before the legislature, contesting seats on its ticket, starting a daily newspaper and sending a deputation to England.

**The 2nd Bombay Provincial Andhra Social Conference.**—The above conference will be held this year in Bombay City under the auspices of the Provincial, Andhra Mahasabha in the 1st week of December. Sjt. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu Garu, Editor, The Andhra Patrika is expected to preside. Arrangements are in progress.

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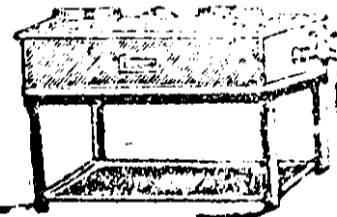
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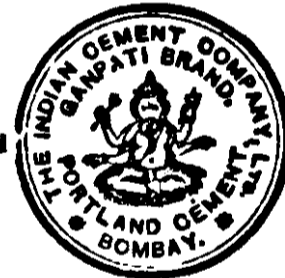
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1929

No. 10

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**The Late Mr. Narottam Morarjee:**—A very large circle of friends will mourn the death in distressingly sudden circumstances of Mr. Narottam Morarjee, which occurred on Tuesday afternoon. Mr. Narottam was returning to Bombay from Sholapur in a motor-car and stopped near Lonavla to have a view from one of the highest points of the Western Ghats. By a fatal mischance he lost his balance and was flung down a height of about 1500 feet into the valley below where his body was found twenty-four hours later. The position which Mr. Narottam held in the business world was such that the news of his death sharply affected the Share market. But it is as a cultured and warm-hearted friend with overflowing sympathy for all good causes, that Mr. Narottam will be best remembered by those who knew him.

**Marriage and Sacrament:**—There are only two religious systems in which marriage is regarded as a sacrament—the Hindu and the Christian. Among Christians, it is only the Catholic Church which strictly enforces the sacramental character of marriages, refusing to recognise divorce except under a special license from the Pope. The Church of England also adheres to the sacramental view of marriage but except very strict Anglicans, that view has ceased to be regarded as obligatory. Hinduism goes much farther than these two Christian denominations. It makes marriage not only indissoluble but, so far as women are concerned, it makes it indissoluble even on the death of the husband. This approximates to the Positivist ideal which, however, would apply equally to husband and wife. Among non-Christian religions, marriage has been generally recognised as a purely civil contract. But it is curious that while one school of Hindu reformers wish to annul the sacramental character of marriage and make it a civil affair, there is a tendency among Mussalmans and Parsis to claim that marriages among them are not civil contracts but sacraments. Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, in the speech on the Sarada Marriage Act which we reprint, called attention to this ten-

dency among Mahomedan witnesses who appeared before the Age of Consent Committee of which she was a member.

**Mr. Brayne's Work at Gurgoan:**—*Young India* is publishing a series of articles on the work of village uplift which was carried on at Gurgoan in the Punjab by Mr. and Mrs. Brayne. Mr. Brayne was Collector of the District but has left it. The writer of the articles describes the position since then. It seems that nearly all the activities started by Mr. Brayne are showing signs of slackening. Much of the success which attended them in their inception seems to have been due to Mr. Brayne's official position which he freely utilised to push on his projects. In fact, he seems to have followed the methods of the ex-King Amanullah in Afghanistan. Here is a specimen:—"An important thing requiring mention is the famous Brayne Meo High School at Nuh Tehsil opened for the Meos of Musalman community," writes the correspondent. "The foundation stone of this school was laid in 1913 by Sir Fazal-i-Hussain then the Education Minister of the Punjab Government. Funds were raised for this school by Mr. Brayne and his subordinates from the Meos themselves. The manner in which the collection was made was most objectionable and arbitrary. Mr. Brayne issued orders to all the revenue officers to collect 40 per cent. more revenue from every one besides the usual revenue amount. None could defy his authority, and the fixed subscription was paid. Out of that fund this institution was erected. Mr. Brayne introduced scouting in the schools. But the scouts are not of any practical service to the villagers. They are only meant for shows and give salutes in uniform to the officers whenever anybody happens to be on tour in the villages. These boy scouts are generally too young to serve on the occasions of fairs or such big gatherings. Mr. Brayne also started night schools for adults. But these have failed. He introduced co-education in schools. He taught that the girls should be taught reading and writing and also household duties. He further suggested that the boys and girls should be made to sit together on the same benches. To the villagers this was outrageously shocking. So the people did not accept this idea, but a very small number of the villagers, through conviction or under official influence, sent their girls to common schools. After Mr. Brayne's retirement co-education exists only in name. I have visited five or six such schools. The number of girls on the rolls is very small. Even out of these very few actually attend. I did not find a girl in any such school. The teachers told me that it was only to



please Brayne Sahab. Now nobody takes any interest in it?"

**A Movable School:**—Very little is known in India of the work that is being done in the United States to bridge over the gulf between White and Black, while much is written about lynchings. Mr. John L. Goheen who has recently returned to Sangli from a visit to his country, gives an interesting account in the *Dnyanodaya* of Negro Education in the States. Among institutions for promoting mass education, he mentions one which might be found useful in India. It is what he calls "the movable school." "The Booker T. Washington Movable School," he writes, "is a remarkable example of taking education to those who may not be able to come for it. In the early days this Movable School was a four-wheel spring wagon drawn by a pair of mules, but to-day it is a very serviceable motor truck, with a body much like the bodies of motor busses seen on the roads of India. It carries a farm extension expert, a community nurse, and a home economics expert, the latter two giving their attention to the women while the former sees to the men. What an inspiration it was to see these three actually at work, out in a small hamlet some miles from Tuskegee! The equipment they take is of the simplest yet most useful sort, and they give demonstrations of pruning trees, starting sweet potato sets, making simple rugs out of jute bags or sacking, showing how to make a sick person in the home comfortable, and have conditions in and about the house as sanitary as it is possible to make them. They meet the needs of the different seasons or circumstances that confront them and what untold good they are doing in this wonderful extension work of genuine education! The writer has come back to Sangli with a ship-load of satisfaction over the fact that the Sangli Industrial and Agricultural School has been promised such a Movable School."

**Lahore National Social Conference:**—Vigorous efforts are being made for the success of the forthcoming Indian National Social Conference to be held at Lahore during the Christmas week. The Reception Committee have addressed letters to various institutions carrying on social reform work inviting their opinion with regard to the subjects that should be taken up at the Conference. With the removal of some of the disabilities of Indian women and the depressed classes for which purpose the Social Conference was started, the scope of the Conference has been extended to include labour problems also. Stressing the necessity of a permanent organisation, the circular letter says.—"It has been felt that besides focusing public opinion on a number of important social problems the forth-coming session of the Social Conference at Lahore should take steps to adopt a constitution and establish a permanent body for the purpose of carrying on social reform and welfare work in the country throughout the year. We shall be obliged if you will kindly send us a brief report of the work done by your Association at the same time giving an idea of the nature of work you intend to take up in the future." A permanent body would greatly help to accelerate the work of social reform and counteract the criticism that the Conference has often unjustly incurred of consisting of all talk and resolutions.

**Indian Women's Protest:**—We publish elsewhere a statement which appeared both in the British and Indian Press signed by prominent Indian women now in England, about the unsavoury episode in the Women of India Conference. The signatories to the statement are themselves actively engaged in educational, social and welfare work on behalf of their Indian sisters and they have done a distinct service by exposing the intentions of their so-called well-wishers of Miss Rathbone type. The high-handed manner in which it was sought to put down Mrs. Rama Rao when she questioned the *bona fides* of those who convened the Conference is highly reprehensible. The dual part played by Miss Rathbone as the supporter of Miss Mayo and as the saviour of Indian women does not represent British womanhood at its best.

**A Free College For Women:**—We reproduce this week an article by Mr. Ramanand Chatterji on the Benares Hindu University Women's College. This institution is of peculiar interest to Bombay as it owes its existence to the munificence of a Bombay merchant. With sufficient public support, the college as Mr. Chatterji points out, will become a centre of women's education. Moreover the existence of such a college is bound to have a beneficial effect in northern India where women's education has been neglected by most of the Universities. Women from all parts of India will meet at this institution and this will bring about a better understanding between the various provinces. Pandit Malaviya is taking a keen interest in the college, particularly in the arrangements for physical exercise and recreation. But owing to insufficient resources they are at present unable to develop the college as they would like to, and it is to be hoped that there will be an adequate response from the public all over India.

**A Novel Interpretation:**—We have from Rajahmundry a novel interpretation of the Sarda Act. The District and Sessions Judge of East Godavari District giving permission to the marriage of a ward of the Court, aged 12 to a girl aged 10, stated, "that he would not have given permission for the marriage, but for the fact that the Sarda Act was coming into force on 1st April next. He said that the marriages amongst Vaisyas and Brahmins were only betrothals, but that the consummation would take place only some-time hence. But unless rich wards like the present one were not married early, there was danger of their falling into evil company, and getting spoiled, and though the marriage would take place now, consummation would take place only after the attainment of the proper age. He concluded that the early marriage of the boy would prevent illegitimate fatherhood, and that the Marriage Act would prevent premature birth of legitimate children". If the learned Judge regards the Marriage Act as a substitute for Birth Control, all that we can say is that he has not read the Act. It looks very much as if he intended to avoid the Act and gave the necessary permission in order to get the boy married before the date when the Act comes into force.

**Copies of the Index to Volume XXXIX are available and can be had on application.**

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1929.

## DOMINION STATUS FOR INDIA.

We published last week the Viceroy's statement announcing and explaining the new procedure to be adopted with reference to the report of the Simon Commission and, incidentally making it clear that the meaning and intention of the Declaration of August 1917 was that the end of British policy is to grant Dominion status to India. The new procedure is that as soon as the Simon Commission had made its report and before formulating proposals thereon to be presented to Parliament, His Majesty's Government will invite representatives of British India and Indian States to a conference whereat the question of the relation of the States to British India in addition to questions bearing on constitutional reform in British India will be freely discussed. This is a notable advance in the procedure originally announced which provided for inviting Indian representatives only after Government proposals had been presented and referred to a Joint Parliamentary Committee of both Houses at Westminster. Under the new procedure, the Simon Commission's Report, assuming the worst, will present the case against further constitutional advance or even for a curtailment of the Montagu Chelmsford reforms, but His Majesty's Government will not frame their proposals on it without giving full opportunity to Indian political opinion which had largely withheld co-operation from the Simon Commission, to place its point of view before them. It is only fair to say that the suggestion to adopt this new procedure originated from Sir John Simon himself. The Prime Minister warmly approved of it and, with the consent of the leaders of the other British political parties, authorised the Viceroy to announce it to the Indian people. In carrying out this instruction Lord Irwin was also authorised by His Majesty's Government to make it plain that they understand and have always understood the Declaration of 1917 to intend the conferment of Dominion status in due course on India. The Viceroy in doing so pointed out that the Instrument of Instructions delivered to him on his appointment as Viceroy of India by His Majesty and the statements of responsible Ministers left no room for doubt about the correctness of the interpretation of the present British Government.

A correspondent writing in the *Times of India* cites from a judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on an Indian appeal, given by the late Lord Haldane. We reprint the letter in another column. Lord Haldane, with whom were associated four other eminent Judges, said

that it has been publicly said that India is recognised by the Imperial Government as being on the way to becoming now a self-governing dominion. This is only an *obiter dictum*, no doubt, but coming from a statesman of Lord Haldane's eminence, it shows clearly that the interpretation of the Declaration of 1917 now authoritatively announced, is the same as that implied, and widely understood to be implied in that Declaration. This is not all. The admission of India as an original member of the League of Nations has the same significance. A. B. Keith in his little book entitled "Dominion Home Rule in Practice," holds the same view. "The new status of the Dominions" he observes, "is confirmed by the covenant of the League of Nations, under which not merely is the British Empire a member but so also are the four Dominions and India, the position of the latter being motivated by the fact that she has been assured in due course self-government on the Dominion model." In the face of these authorities, it is vain for Lord Reading to contend, as he did in the House of Lords on Tuesday, that he himself, when he was Viceroy of India, was very careful to avoid using the term Dominion status with reference to India's future position in the Commonwealth. His plea that while he had no objection to Dominion status as a goal, he objected to Indian's being led to think of it as an attainable goal, was a plea for making a promise without intending to keep it. That a man who has occupied the highest offices under the Crown, the Lord Chief Justice-ship of England and the Viceroyalty of India, should descend to this low level of statecraft, is most deplorable. A similar debate was held in the House of Commons on Thursday. The Secretary of State defended the Viceroy's statement and the question dropped.

The immediate advantage of this explicit declaration by the Viceroy with the concurrence of the British Government, is two-fold. It is an intimation to the Simon Commission that in making their report they should keep in view the fact that Dominion status for India is the definite political objective. In the next place, the declaration makes it possible for the Indian representatives to the proposed Conference to see how far the proposals of the Simon Commission are in keeping with this aim and to bring forward counter-proposals better calculated to lead to its achievement at an early date. This is a great opportunity and properly utilised should result in materially advancing the prospects of self-government. The statement drawn up at an emergency meeting of men of all parties at Delhi, has expressed satisfaction at the statement and made some suggestions in order to make the proposed Conference fruitful. Bombay leaders, including Liberals and Independents and representatives of

trade and industry, have accorded it a hearty welcome. The Princes headed by the Maharaja of Bikaner have warmly approved of it and so have Moslem leaders of different political schools. Non-Brahmins and the Depressed classes have likewise acclaimed it. There is thus in India an unprecedented amount of unanimity about this important pronouncement of the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, which has revived faith which had been almost lost, in British goodwill to India.

### THAT MEN ALL BE BROTHERS.

MEEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

XLV. PIONEERS.

(DR. CLIFFORD MANSCHARDT, PH. D.)

The pioneer spirit is not determined by age. Some men are hopelessly in the rut at thirty, while to others life is a continuous unfolding. When new discoveries open up hitherto unknown fields of knowledge the pioneer does not hesitate. He considers the new in the light of the old, pulls up his tent, stakes and prepares to march. His horizon is an expanding one. He climbs the mountain top, sees new territory, and sets forth to claim it. The keynote of his life is growth. The passing years all make their contribution, and the end is but the beginning of a new adventure.

Conservatism is ever offended in change. The pioneer must endure the criticisms of his contemporaries. Conservatism is a type of mind. It feels the need of stability. It roots its authority in the past. We need it. But we also need the type of mind which dares. It is because some men dare more than others that the world makes progress. One man accepts life at its face value and settles down to enjoy it. Another man continually measures life as it is, against life as it might be, and dedicates his powers to the quest of the ideal. As social conditions change the ideal changes, and hence the pioneer is ever in the position of going forward. The outpost stations which he abandons are occupied by those who come after, while the trail blazer advances to a new outpost, and still another. The world needs both the pioneer and the settler, the visionary and those who follow. "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

The world's great religious leaders have been pioneers, but almost before the leader is dead his religion tends to become conventionalized and formal. The acts and sayings of the leader are fastened upon, and are handed down from generation to generation. Were the religious leaders of the past to return to the modern world they would undoubtedly be the first to question, "what is it all about? We gave you an inquiring spirit, but you have imprisoned the spirit in the house of convention. Open the doors, and go forth to discover new truth for your own generation. Set your faces forward. Advance!"

The road builder is the forerunner of civilization. If there is to be trade, cooperation and

friendship between people there must be avenues of communication. The hills must be laid low, and the crooked paths made straight. It is to the road builder that we owe our cities, our industry, and our community of ideas. He it is who goes before, preparing the way. And in our modern social organization we also need those who go before. We need industrial pioneers, who endeavour to smooth the road between employers and employees. We need educational pioneers and religious pioneers. We need social reformers and moral reformers. We need idealists and visionaries. Blessed are they who penetrate the wilderness, charting a road for posterity.

### MRS. BRIJ LAL NEHRU ON CHILD MARRIAGE ACT.

Under the auspices of the Lahore Student's Union Mrs. Brij Lal Nehru, a member of the Age of Consent Committee, delivered on the 30th October an address to the students on the "Child Marriage Act" at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Lahore. The hall was crowded and included a number of ladies. Prof. Abdul Majid Khan of the F. C. College was in the chair.

Mrs. Brijlal Nehru who spoke in Hindustani, reports the *Tribune*, said during the tour of the Age of Consent Committee she was able to study the social conditions of the people in different parts of India. She found that although child marriages were not prevalent in certain parts of the country, in most of the provinces they were still in force, particularly in Gujrat, Madras and Bengal. It was a matter of gratification that the Sarda Bill was passed into law and a great step forward has been taken in eradicating the social evil of child marriage. The objection taken by a certain section of the people that Government interfered with their social and personal laws by passing social legislation had no force, because society had every right to expect its citizens to remove evils from its environments. Child Marriage in India was mostly responsible for Indians' infantile and maternal mortality, because it sapped the vitality of the people. It was also responsible for many dangerous diseases like hysteria and consumption. It was the law of nature that more girls were born than boys, but in spite of this fact more women died prematurely in India than men. This huge maternal mortality was due to early marriage.

Continuing Mrs. Nehru said that some people put a plea that all social legislations should be postponed till self-government was won by the Indians and no such legislation should be enacted under a foreign Government. She, however, could not agree with this plea for the simple reason that many social legislations like the abolition of the custom of *Sati*, the re-marriage of widows and the law of inheritance had been enacted during the British rule in India.

Mrs. Nehru said, although she was not a specialist in religion, from the evidence that was given

before the Age of Consent Committee she could say that Hindu religion never gave any sanction for child marriage except in one solitary *shloka* where it was mentioned that Hindu girls should be married at the age of eight, but nobody could quote any authority for this *shloka*. Even the well-known Pandits of India strongly differed among themselves about pre-puberty marriage of Hindu girls. She also did not find much force in the plea of the Mahomedans that they got their girls married at a late age, because from statistics she found that in Assam and Burma and among the Moplahs in Malabar early marriage among the Musalmans was very common. She had been hearing for a long time that the Muslim marriage was a civil contract but she was now surprised to find the Muslims also saying with the Hindus that marriage was a sacrament.

Mrs. Nehru appealed to the students to take up this important social reform work in earnest and try to convince the orthodox people of the benefits of the Child Marriage Act. She said that every country depended on its youth for bringing about revolution in Society. She knew many youngmen were eager to sacrifice their lives for the freedom of the country. But she thought that the pressing need of the day was that the youngmen should know how to live for the benefit of the country and not die unnecessarily.

The chairman thanked Mrs. Nehru for her address. He said in pure Islam there was no sanction for early marriage.

A resolution was then passed by the students welcoming the Child Marriage Act and promising to do all in their power to make the legislation effective after 1st April 1930.

#### THE HINDU UNIVERSITY WOMAN'S COLLEGE.

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee writes in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta :—

Seth Mulraj Khatau of Bombay and his two nephews Seths Tricandras and Gordhandas donated Rupees two lakhs and fifty thousand for founding a Woman's College in the Hindu University, Benares. There was some delay in giving effect to their wishes. This delay led to the addition of Rs. 34,000 as interest to this endowment. The terms of the gift were :—

Rs. 84,000 were to be spent on building the class-rooms, hostel, etc., and the balance of Rs. two lakhs was to be kept intact as an endowment from the proceeds of which the expenses of the College were to be met.

The tuition in the college was to be entirely free and the students were not to be charged any rent for the rooms in the hostel occupied by them.

The college was to be run entirely by women, and men were not to have access to it.

The buildings have cost more than a lakh. From the interest of the remainder the expenses of the

college and its hostel are met. The income from this source is less than a thousand rupees per mensem. The institution has no other source of income.

Some twenty acres of land within the University area were enclosed to form the compound of the Woman's College. The institution is located within this enclosed space. The building is two-storied. The students' rooms are situated on the ground-floor, and classes are held in the upper story. The plinth of the building is sufficiently high. The students' rooms are dry, spacious, well-lighted and well-ventilated.

At present there are forty students in this college. Thirty-eight of them have taken up the Arts course, and two the Science course.

Seven of the students are married, six are widows, twenty-seven are maidens. All are, of course, above the age of sixteen. Three of the students are mothers. Two of them live in the hostel with their little daughters.

At present only the first and second year Arts classes have been opened in the Woman's College. Higher class students and science students attend the men's classes. Thus the teaching arrangements are at present largely co-educational.

Within the college compound the students play tennis, badminton and basket ball. Besides this, they can take walks anywhere within the University area, which is two miles long and one mile in width. They may with advantage be taught *lathi* play and *jujitsu*, some *deshi* women's games may also be introduced from Baroda.

Being at some distance from the city, the place is free from smoke, dust, dirt and squalor. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, intends, when financially practicable, to make arrangements for teaching the students swimming, riding, the use of fire-arms, etc. There is ample room in the campus for all such exercises.

Some special advantages and features of this institution have to be noted.

As the college is situated in open and healthy ground, away from the town, the students enjoy freedom of movement. This conduces to health of body and mind.

As the students come from various provinces of India, they have every opportunity to get rid of provincial narrowness and prejudices and cultivate a broad national outlook, without losing what is good in the culture and traditions of the regions to which they belong.

In this institution there are special facilities for the education of girls and women of middle-class poor families. It has been already stated that tuition and lodging are here free for all students. They have to spend only about Rs. 18 per mensem for board, light, etc. This amount, too, all students have not got to spend. Mr. Ghansyam Das Birla has instituted a number of scholarships of the value of Rs. 15 a month to perpetuate the memory of his

departed wife, Srimati Mahadevi Birla. This year twenty two students are in receipt of these scholarships.

There is every probability of this college developing in course of time into a big centre of woman's education. At present growth is hampered owing to several causes. On account of financial stringency, it is not practicable to secure the services of an adequate number of women professors. This want can be removed if some munificent donors make adequate endowments or if a sufficient subsidy is received from the State. There is need also of a variety of arrangements for the culture, physical exercise and recreation of the students. The University possesses a library, no doubt. But the Woman's College should have a separate library and reading-room of its own, stocked with books and periodicals. In the absence of pecuniary help from the aforesaid sources, if some cultured lady of independent means, or one who would require only her living expenses, were to offer her self-sacrificing services to the institution, it could make some progress even under its present circumstances.

#### INDIA AND DOMINION STATUS.

##### A PRIVY COUNCIL DECISION.

Mr. Modak writes to the *Times of India*:—It appears that the Viceregal pronouncement of November 1st has thrown Lord Birkenhead into a fit of temper. I do not know if I will be aggravating the malady by bringing to his Lordship's notice the following extract from a judgment by the late Lord Haldane sitting in collaboration with Lords Dunedin, Atkinson, Sumner and Salvesen. The judgment is in respect of a criminal appeal from the court of the Judicial Commissioner Nagpur, and was delivered on the 20th November 1924. Lord Birkenhead was then the Secretary of State for India. The judgment is as follows: "I should like to make this observation. The power to entertain appeals here arises not from the relation of this Board to the court below, as a court of criminal appeal but as the Privy Council advising the Sovereign with regard to the exercise of the prerogative. The prerogative is that remnant of the power of the Crown which remains to the Crown to interfere with tribunals of justice, which does not exist in this country at all: it has passed away in the historic development of the constitution; it used to exist and it does exist to some extent in the case of the Crown Colonies, because they are managed directly by the Crown through Ministers but when one comes to self-governing dominions I should be very sorry to say that even the principles of Dillet's case could be applied to the constitution of Canada. The constitution of Canada and of Anstralia, taking those as illustrations have so developed that they are virtually self-governing dominions, and it is a question to my mind as to whether the principles of Dillet's case apply in the case of self-governing dominions. *India is not yet in that state, but it has been publicly*

*said that India is recognised by the Imperial Government as being on the way to becoming now a self-governing dominion and therefore even with regard to India it is with the utmost care that we should pronounce any proposition that, that disappearing fragment of the prerogatives, of which I have spoken, remains. The Crown has to be extraordinarily cautious in asserting the survivor even of that very restricted prerogative which existed fifty years ago, but which may not exist now."*

Nothing could be more explicit than these words of the late Lord Haldane that Dominion status has been the officially recognised goal for India, and Lord Irwin in his recent pronouncement merely emphasised the same thing once again so that the possibility of any other interpretation of the Declaration of 1917 might be definitely excluded.

#### THE RECENT LONDON CONFERENCE.

The following statement appears over the signatures of some prominent Indian Women now in England and was published in the *Pioneer* of Allahabad.

We, the representatives of the voluntary Women's Organisations in India would be very much indebted to you if, in the cause of fair play, you will kindly publish this letter.

A Conference on "Women in India" was held at the Caxton Hall on October 7 and 8 under the auspices of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship presided over by Miss Rathbone, M. P. when 25 British Women's Organisations were represented.

At the opening of the Conference, the Chairwoman made it perfectly clear that it was a Conference of British women only and that Indian women were present in the capacity of experts to report on the work of Women's Organisations in India. A question was raised quite early regarding the composition of the Committee responsible for the programme and the Resolutions. The Chair confessed that the Committee was "a very valuable workable Committee, a Committee of two namely, Miss Caton and myself."

Since the Resolutions all urge voluntary societies to carry out certain measures in the interests of reform, it is only natural that the representatives of these societies should enquire into the credentials of those who offer their help. A close scrutiny reveals that the more important of this "useful Committee of two," Miss E. Rathbone, had some months previously, written an article published in the *Hibbert Journal* supporting Katherine Mayo's "Mother India," which the "Office of the Women of India Proposed Survey" has since published in pamphlet form for distribution.

It is common knowledge that no voluntary Men or Women's Organisations in India, religious or non-religious, will identify themselves with supporters and apologists of Katherine Mayo and if the

"Office of the Women of India Proposed Survey" lends its authority to pamphlets of this nature, we the representatives of voluntary efforts in India, dissociate ourselves completely from the work of the said Office and its organisers.

When at the Conference the Indian representatives drew attention to these facts and many irregularities of procedure they were ruled out of order. No mention of or reference to the pamphlet was allowed. Are we to take this as proof that its author is ashamed of her publication?

It is truly regrettable that, at this critical time when representative Indian women in London are desirous of establishing friendly relations with the British Women's Organisations they should be treated in this high-handed and unsympathetic way. The British Societies supporting this Conference should, therefore, not be surprised if, in India, the Women's Organisations have little or no confidence in this proffered hand of friendship. We have had too many enemies in the guise of friends and do not mean to take any more risks.

Some of us may realize the sincerity behind this effort but the tactlessness and the unconstitutional manner in which the whole proceedings were conducted, combined with Miss Rathbone's public and private support of Katherine Mayo, will naturally be taken into consideration by Women's Societies in India.

#### SOME ANDHRA SOCIAL REFORMERS.

##### ANDHRA BRAHMO SAMAJ.

In the course of a long article in the *Swarajya* on Social Reform in Andhra Mr. M. V. Ramana Rao writes:—The Andhra Society has not remained unaffected by this wave of liberalism. After Bengal where the seed of social reform was sown it is Andhra where the principles of the Brahmo Samaj have spread with a rich luxuriance. Although as in Bengal it has not gained a considerable number of recruits to its fold its influence has permeated every home and those who are still bound by orthodoxy have had their hearts receptive to liberal impulses and their minds opened to the illumination of noble ideals. The memory of the late Mr. K. Viresalingam Pantulu, the pioneer Social Reformer in Andhra is still cherished as an imperishable perfume of rich achievement. He was not a Brahmo Samajist until the fag-end of his career during which his existence was crowded by events whose magnitude and magnificence can be gauged only by their results. But he imbibed, I believe, the best that was in the teachings of the Bengalee reformer and sought to introduce into the atmosphere of Andhra, the new air of social justice, freedom and righteousness that until then he found to be absent. He took up the cause of the child-widow and by discussions and disquisitions, through speeches and writings, by quotations from religious texts and appeals to human impulses, he tried to convince and convert the people of Andhra to the necessity of putting an

end to the insufferable horror called 'the child-widow' by permitting her to remarry. Some were convinced, others were converted. But the majority held back. Widow-marriages were performed according to Hindu Sastric rites, but the parties were excommunicated. As we listen to the stories of ostracism placed on parties to such marriages we can only shudder that human beings could be put to such inhuman hardships by fellow human beings. A pariah was more welcome than a widow re-married or a man who married a widow. But nowadays they have become a matter of course, although what is preventing the welding of the community that is advanced and the community that is afraid is not a mental sanction of the principle but a social fear of the practice.

Mr. Viresalingam died in 1919, a Brahmo Samajist, and left behind him an immense legacy of achievement which his less gifted but not less conscientious followers are endeavouring to enrich and enlarge in the measure of their capacity. Honest lieutenants of the late reformer, have assimilated the best that was in the teachings of their chief and have shown an amount of courage that is only equalled by the extent of their honesty. They have married their daughters after puberty, and although in consequence they invited on themselves the opprobrium of their community they have not flinched or faltered a whit from the ideal they set up for themselves. Such unobstructive and unostentatious persons are not a few who whether by immediate association with a remote administration of the late reformer set to run their homes on the higher principles of social morality. It is invidious to mention names known and omit names unknown since a bright achievement may be hidden behind the mist of obscurity and there are not a few who have by silent example liberalised the atmosphere of their surroundings and inculcated the principles for which Mr. Viresalingam lived his life through perpetual struggle with the social odds that confronted him in the fulfilment of his mission.

##### MODERN ANDHRA REFORMERS.

One stalwart figure, among the old and venerable, stands out prominent in the Social annals of modern Andhra that has sown in every young heart the seed of moral uprightness and intellectual rectitude. Sir R. Venkataratnam who is among the old but is of the young, an educationist of the first order, recalling the historical personality of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, a social Reformer of the very ideal type, in his immaculate white robes that are the external symbols of a pure and rare heart, that they not merely don but adorn, has wielded enormous influence in the Andhra Society. As a teacher, he not merely confined himself to the text of the lessons that he was expected to teach, but made it a pretext for the inculcation of a moral idealism that no student could get from any other teacher, living or dead in Andhra. Every young man that came to him as a student to learn lessons became a disciple

to open simple dispensaries in temples at fifty-six out-of-the way villages under their jurisdiction, where medical aid cannot be easily obtained. Physicians will be despatched from the nearest town to these dispensaries for a stay of one week or so to examine patients. Already two such places have been opened to the grateful appreciation of the local people. A subsidy of 50 yen a year will be given from the prefectural treasury to the temple maintaining the dispensary and the priest will have charge of it. It seems to us that many places in Japan and Korea may follow with much advantage this good example of Shimane prefecture.

**Hinduism in America:**—The public are already aware that Swami Vividishananda, a member of the R. K. Mission, after visiting various places of note and interest, has recently reached America to take up the work at the Vedanta Society, Portland, Oregon, U. S. A. He has been actively assisting Swami Phabbavananda who is now in charge of the Society there. Both are regularly holding classes and delivering lectures every week for the spread of the Vedantic ideals and it is gratifying to note that the attendance is daily on the increase. The need of active workers for the propagation of the truths of Hinduism and especially those of the Vedants in the West can hardly be exaggerated. For it is through this kind of missionary activities that the true ideals of our cultural life can be implanted in the western minds and the queer and wrong notions entertained by them about our life and culture can be removed. We sincerely believe that vigorous efforts in this line shall produce their desired result. May Lord bless the activities of the new Swami with success.—*Vedanta Kesari.*

**The Pope approves of the Sari:**—Mr. A. P. O. Albuquerque, Assistant Official Assignee of Madras, has returned with his wife from a six months' tour in Europe. Speaking to a representative of *The Madras Mail*, Mrs. Albuquerque who is an alumnus of St. Agnes' College, Mangalore, said that while in Rome, they were anxious to have an audience with the Pope. They communicated their desire to the Maestro di Camera who agreed to obtain an audience for them provided Mrs. Albuquerque conformed to the dress regulations enjoined on lady visitors while in the presence of the Pope. The official went on to explain that it was entirely out of question for any lady in short skirt or sleeves to have an audience with His Holiness. The dress insisted upon was an all-black dress reaching right down to the heels, with upper garments of the same colour and buttoned up to the neck. As for the sleeves they should be long and cover the arms up to the wrist. Mrs. Albuquerque pointed out that as an Indian lady she was used only to wearing saris and unfortunately she did not happen to have an all-black sari in her wardrobe. For the rest even her ordinary everyday dress would more than satisfy the rules of the Vatican. The official then went away promising to write to Mr. and Mrs. Albuquerque and the following day they received a communication from the Vatican inviting them to a private audience with the Pope. This was more than they had expected and they were both very pleased. His Holiness, who received them very graciously, spoke in French and made kindly inquiries about their tour, asking how they had liked their visit to England and France. His Holiness also expressed his pleasure at being told that the new arrangements with regard to

the administration of the Archdiocese of Madras were working very satisfactorily. The audience lasted a few minutes and before they withdrew His Holiness gave them his blessing.

**Mr. Sarda Honoured:**—The staff and students of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Lahore, presented an address to Mr. Harbilas Sarda, for his able piloting of the Child Marriage Bill, before a crowded gathering. Replying, Mr. Sarda thanked them for the address and for the appreciation of his work in the domain of social reform. He, as an Arya Samajist, thought that his success was due to the inspiration received from the personality of Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj. He thanked all those members of the Assembly, particularly the official members, who gave their support to his Bill. He believed that political progress in the country would be incomplete without social progress. He was glad to see the country awake to the rights of women and hoped that young men would take a leading part in eradicating the social evils of the country. Mr. Sarda was given an ovation by the students on the conclusion of his speech.

**A Widow-Marriage at Rajahmundry:**—The Secretary Hithakarhi Samaj, Rajahmundry writes: Under the auspices of the Hithakarhi Samaj Rajahmundry, the marriage of Srimathi Sitaramamma, an inmate of the Widows' Home, and Sriyuta Tadepalli Venkata Ramamurti Garu, a Telugu Pandit in the Andhra Indian High School, was celebrated on 14-10-29 at 5 p. m. in the Ananda gardens. Many distinguished citizens attended the function and blessed the couple. At the close of the ceremony, Ohilekamarti Lakshminarasimham Garu, Vice-President of the Hithakarhi Samaj, thanked all those that were present on behalf of the Samaj and said that Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu Garu had borne the brunt of the fight with marvelous self-sacrificing spirit to bring about the social reform, and that all the widow-marriages being performed in the different parts of our Telugu country were only the results of his endeavours. He also blessed the couple with long life and happiness. A dinner was arranged in connection with this marriage on 15-10-29 in the Widows' Home. At the end, Mr. C. Rama Kamath spoke a few words expressing his delight. In the course of his speech, he said that a dinner was in itself a happy thing and since it was arranged on the occasion of the marriage, it was rendered all the more happy. He observed that even though the days of persecution were gone, the widow-marriages had not yet become sufficiently popular and that it was high time for us to recognise the equality of woman and man. In conclusion he blessed, on behalf of those that were present, the bride and the bride-groom that God might give them long life and prosperity.

**Against Nautch Parties:**—A *Pioneer* correspondent writes:—Measures for inaugurating important social reform among the Hindu communities of these areas were considered last evening when a successful meeting of Sanatanists and social reformers was held, Dewan Bahadur Ranganakulu Naidu, retired Judge, presiding at Secunderabad. The object of the meeting was to reclaim members of the Devdasi community and to put a stop to nautch parties and the custom of these women going round to collect gifts during the Dewali celebrations. The chairman suggested the starting of

cottage industries for providing reclaimed women with honourable occupation. Thousands of tracts on the antinatch movement have been widely distributed.

**The 5th All India Federation of Teachers' Associations:**—The fifth Conference of the Federation will be held at Madras, on the 27th, 28th and 29th December 1929, under the presidentship of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer. The Conference is open to teachers of all types and of all grades of both sexes—University, Secondary, Primary and Technical. The Federation is affiliated to the World Federation of Education Associations and is recognised by the Government of India for representation at World Education Conferences. I appeal to all the teachers, lecturers, professors of English and Vernacular institutions of British India and States to muster strong at the Conference in order to give an educational lead to the whole country. The Federation has held four successful conferences at Cawnpore, Patna, Calcutta and Bombay. This time it will be held in the South at Madras and a very interesting and instructive programme will be gone through. Those who wish to attend the conference should write to the Secretary, Reception Committee 41, Singaraohari Street, Triplicane, Madras, for information regarding lodging, boarding and the procedure to be adopted for finding a place on the programme.

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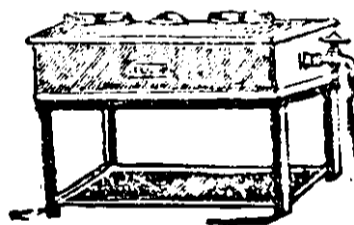
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No. 11

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Antyajas and Temple Entry:—**The pacific and deliberate manner in which the leaders of the Antyajas in Bombay and Poona are laying their plans for gaining admission to the Hindu temples, is creating a very favourable impression on the generality of caste Hindus. Several of the trustees of the temples themselves have publicly expressed their sympathy, but they plead that under the terms of their trusts they are precluded from admitting Antyajas. Mr. Shantaram Narayan Dabholkar, an outstanding figure in the orthodox world, has pointed out, by reference to a judgment of the Bombay High Court delivered nearly fifty years ago, that this is the real difficulty at present. The proper course, in the circumstances, is for the Trustees or leaders of the orthodox community like Mr. Shantaram, to move the High Court to sanction the admission of Antyajas in such temples. During the last half a century Hindu sentiments have undergone radical changes in many directions, and the High Court, if the matter is brought formally before it, cannot fail to take notice of the fact. Failing this, we suggest that the leaders of the Antyajas themselves may bring the matter before the High Court, and many caste Hindus will be glad to associate themselves with them. This is the legal and proper way of removing the legal difficulty which is felt by some of the Trustees at present. We earnestly trust that the leaders of the movement will see their way to act on our suggestion. They have an irrefragable case. Justice is on their side. The conscience of the Hindu community has been roused to the iniquity of the present custom, and, as we said above, the admirable self-restraint of the promoters of this movement of social justice is highly appreciated by the public.

**Muslim Deputation Against Sarda Act:—**

A deputation headed by Maulana Mahomed Ali wanted his Excellency to exclude the Muslim community from the provisions of the Sarda Act which prohibits the marriage of girls under 14 years of age. The Viceroy's reply, together with a summary of the representation submitted to

him, is printed elsewhere. The claim of the deputation in short is that the Indian legislature has no right to legislate on matters affecting the personal law of Mussalmans. The Viceroy in reply referred to the Government of India Act, by which, his Excellency reminded the deputation, he and they were bound which stipulates that no Bill affecting religion should be introduced without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. The marriage question as Lord Irwin observed is one of those questions which lie on the border-land between the religious and social spheres. The general belief that old marriages are confined to Hindus, received a violent blow from the revelations before the Age of Consent Committee. They showed that, though Mahomedans are under no obligation to marry their girls before puberty, as in the case of some Hindu castes, many such marriages take place among them. There is a considerable body of educated opinion among Mussalmans as among Hindus which supports the Act, and the threat of disobeying it has no meaning. We cannot think of any one marrying his daughter at the age of 10 or 12 in order to show his disapproval of the law. Lord Irwin's reply to the Moslem deputation was in effect the same as Lord Goschen's reply to the orthodox Hindu deputation which waited on him sometime back. The opposition of a section of the Mahomedans has been the greatest surprise of the discussions on the Sarda Marriage Act. The Act comes into force on the 1st of April next, and the sensible thing for Indians to do is to see that its provisions are meanwhile fully explained to the masses.

**The Viceroy's Statement And After:—**

The first flush of enthusiasm with which the Viceroy's statement on the future course of Indian Constitutional reform, was received, has not been maintained. This is chiefly due to the debates in the British Parliament initiated by Opposition leaders with the object of forcing the Government to minimise the importance of the announcements in the Viceroy's statement. In India, the extreme Congressmen whose opposition was subdued in the presence of the general satisfaction at Lord Irwin's statement, have not been slow to take advantage of the explanations and limitations offered by Government in Parliament as confirming their estimates of its little value. One or two who had signed the Delhi statement welcoming the Viceroy's statement with some conditions, have publicly asked that their signatures might be cancelled. A meeting of the signatories to the Delhi manifesto is called at Allahabad next Monday to decide on further action in the light

of the Parliamentary debate. The refusal of the Secretary of State for India to consider the question of a general amnesty, as desired by the signatories to the Delhi statement, has further accentuated the dissatisfaction created by the speeches in Parliament. The Liberals, on the whole, have not been stampeded in the same measure from their first-expressed satisfaction, but they, too, cannot but be embarrassed, by the change in public feeling in the country. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who is now the chief spokesman of Liberal opinion has written a letter to the *Leader* of Allahabad, in which he refuses to judge the attitude of the Labour Government by the speeches in the House of Lords and relies on Mr. Wedgwood Benn's speech in the Commons as the authentic expression of the attitude of the Cabinet. "It would be idle to pretend," he writes, "that the Labour Government has promised us immediate Dominion status, but it would be equally idle to hold that they are inviting us to discuss the question of stages. It is for us now to try to build up our case and achieve the greatest amount of agreement on its essentials." This is the most reasonable view to take of the position at present. The Viceroy's statement has made it clear that Dominion status is the objective of Indian Constitutional reform, and the invitation to a Conference before proposals are framed by the British Government on the Simon Commission's report, offers a neat opportunity to Indian leaders to co-operate in determining the character of the reforms.

**Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.**—The East African Indian Congress which meets early next month has invited Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to preside. This session is a momentous one and the importance of wise and strong guidance was never greater. Within the last few months there has been an apparent weakening of the Government of India's strong attitude on the question of a common roll for Indians and Europeans in East Africa. The Labour Government in Britain was expected to take a firm stand against recognising the colour bar in the constitution of the Colony. Messages from London are not encouraging in this respect. Lord Passfield, better known as Mr. Sydey Webb, seems to be inclined to take the European side. This is no news to us as a section of the intellectuals, who have joined the Labour party are followers of Nietzsche rather than of Jesus Christ. Their organ in the Press is the *New Statesman* and their prophet is the eccentric dramatist, Bernard Shaw. Now that Sir Mahomed Habibullah has resumed charge of the Overseas portfolio, we may hope for a restoration of the old vigour in the Government of India's support of the claims of Indians in East Africa. Mrs. Sarojini knows the ground here as well as in East Africa thoroughly and she may be relied upon to strengthen Indians in that Colony in their determination to leave no stone unturned to prevent the brand of an inferior citizenship from being placed on their brow for ever. We wish her every success in her important undertaking.

**The Sastri College.**—The *Natal Indian Opinion* of 18th October contains a report of the opening ceremony of Sastri College on the 14th

of that month by his Excellency the Governor-General, Earl of Athlone. In the course of his speech his Excellency said: "It is the duty of every Indian who wishes to play the part of a citizen of this country, not only to submit cheerfully to the established political, social and educational system, but to prepare himself and his children to take their proper place in the life of the country as a whole. That, I feel sure, was the ideal which Mr. Sastri had in mind when he conceived the plan of founding this college, and incidentally laying down the basis of an organised system of education for Indians in South Africa. He realised that the first step in the so called 'uplift' movement must be education, but he also realised that if that education was to be of genuine benefit to the Indian community it must be carried out in conjunction with, and not independent of, the State educational system. It is proposed, therefore, that when the necessary buildings have been constructed and equipped the Administration should be requested to take them over and run the Institution. The College, which has now, through the efforts of Sir Kurma Reddi and the Committee helping him, been brought to completion, is the result of the idea which I have just described. It has been built from funds amounting to £16,000, which have been contributed by members of the Indian Community and is a concrete example of "self-help" on the part of the Indians themselves. The Provincial Council has acknowledged this effort by the appointment of the Education Commission, and by granting to the Indian schools in Natal the whole of the subsidy that a Province receives for Indian education. I regret that the author of this scheme cannot be with us to-day to see the completion of the first step towards the fulfilment of his ideal. This College is a fine example of personal effort by individuals for the good of a community, which is typical of the Servants of India Society, of which Mr. Sastri is a distinguished member." Speeches were made by Sir K. V. Reddi and others and messages were sent by South African leaders wishing the College every success and paying tributes to Mr. Sastri's work in the cause of education in that country. We are sure the institution which has been started under such favourable conditions will continue to retain the good-will of the various parties in South Africa and will be a matter for pride to Indians in Africa and outside.

**Indian States And The Marriage Act.**—Bhavnagar is to be congratulated on its Marriage Act which comes into force on April 1, 1930 when the British Indian Marriage Act also becomes operative. A press message states:—"The Bhavnagar State Marriage Act will come into operation on April 1, 1930. This Act penalises the marriage of a boy below the age of 18 and that of a girl below the age of 14. The Act provides against undue disparity in the ages of the bride and bridegroom by stipulating that a man above the age of 45 cannot marry a woman who is less than half his age." Mysore has a similar bill under consideration and we hope, it will not be long before the other Indian States follow suit. This will remove an obstacle in the way of making the British Indian Act effective and will ensure uniformity throughout India.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1929.

"AFTER MOTHER INDIA."\*

We had dealt with Miss Katherine Mayo's book "Mother India" in a series of articles in this journal, which were first reprinted in the form of a booklet, and then published in several editions by Mr. G. A. Natesan of Madras. We had since avoided as far as possible referring to Miss Mayo's book. We have also deprecated attempts to reply to it in the spirit of tit for tat by making a collection of the social defects of the people of America. In our own reply, we pointed out in more than one instance from the very publications from which Miss Mayo had derived much of her material, that she has omitted important words, phrases, and passages which are essential to the right interpretation of the facts and statistics on which she relied for her generalisations. Our object was mainly to supply the background for want of which Miss Mayo's picture of Indian life was distorted into a gross caricature. If we were betrayed here and there into an expression of impatience or censure, it was because of the rank obscenity of some of Miss Mayo's allegations and particularly of the wicked and cruel lie that "the mother, high caste or low caste, will practise upon her children—the girl to make 'her sleep well', the boy 'to make him manly' an abuse which the boy, at least, is apt to continue daily for the rest of his life" (P. 33). (The quotations and references in this article are from the English edition of *Mother India*.) This was not a casual statement. She goes on to say: "This last point should be noticed. Highest medical authority in widely scattered sections attests that practically every child brought under observation, for whatever reason, bears on its body the signs of this habit." (P. 33) Miss Mayo and her friends have tried to answer criticisms on her book in several speeches, articles and books but there has been no attempt to confirm or retract this obscene libel. Not even in the latest, evidently intended to be exhaustive, entitled "After Mother India" by Harry H. Field to whom Miss Mayo in the Foreword to her book expressed her deep indebtedness "for a helpfulness, both in India and America, beyond either limit or thanks." Mr. Field himself says in his "Foreword" that his motive in writing "After Mother India" is the outgrowth of having assisted in the editing of "Mother India" and having closely followed its history from its inception. We may mention here that we have consistently maintained against a strong current of opinion that Miss Mayo's book ought not to be proscribed by the authorities.

\*Jonathan Cape, London. Price 7s. 6d.

A DIABOLICAL LIE.

Mr. Field quotes profusely from the articles in the *Indian Social Reformer* in reply to "Mother India," and we eagerly turned his pages for his reply to our criticism of Miss Mayo's atrocious libel on Indian mothers, which was the most strongly-worded in the whole series. We reproduce what we said of it: "India may forgive Miss Mayo many things, but this cowardly assault on the honour of her mothers, never." It is hardly likely that Mr. Field could have missed this direct challenge in view of the meticulous care with which he has evidently searched our writings. Mr. Field has also made a close study of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi's utterances as appears from the frequent references to them in his book. But he omits to notice that Dr. Reddi, with her wide experience as a medical practitioner, had stated that she had never come across any case which supported Miss Mayo's extraordinary statement. Even if he had missed her statement, the footnote about Lord Sinha at page 182 of his own book, should have put him in mind of the most serious charge against Miss Mayo which had to be met. The footnote is as follows: "Unhappy India (pp. 497-498) reports that Lord Sinha was interviewed by a representative of the *Indian Daily Mail* in 1927, and was asked to point out passages from "Mother India" which he held to be false. Lord Sinha replied that he just remembered one statement made by Miss Mayo which was a lie, namely, that Indian mothers taught their children unnatural vice." It is thus clear that Mr. Field was quite aware that this is the lie which he had to justify if he hoped successfully to justify Miss Mayo. And yet, would it be believed, there is not a word in the 300 pages of "After Mother India" either defending or retracting this contemptible lie? The only inference possible is that Mr. Field in his book proposing to meet and answer the criticisms of "Mother India" deliberately omits to refer to the most damaging of them, namely, that she had told a diabolical lie against Indian mothers as a class. The only comment that is necessary is that Miss Mayo has evidently found a co-adjutor worthy of her.

THE ATTACK ON LORD SINHA.

The footnote about Lord Sinha, quoted above, occurs in one of the pages which Mr. Field devotes to reply to the charge that Miss Mayo in "Mother India" made a personal attack on Lord Sinha without mentioning his name. We are unable to make out whether Mr. Field denies the attack or justifies it. In one place he says that Lord Sinha is mentioned only once in "Mother India" and "then to draw attention to one of his good works". In another place, he suggests that Lord Sinha refused to sign a contradiction which had



been drafted by his friends in London of the statements of Miss Mayo. Mr. Field moralises thereon thus: "Apparently it never occurred to Mr. Sircar to ask how Lord Sinha recognised anonymously quoted words as being his own except by recalling them; nor how, having recalled them, a man of his character could do otherwise than refuse a repudiation. For most people Lord Sinha's refusal to sanction the publishing of the prepared denial, will, in itself, constitute conclusive evidence" (p. 181). The suggestion here is that Lord Sinha did not sign the repudiation because he could not. That is to say his refusal must be understood to show that Miss Mayo's account of the conversation with him in "Mother India" was correct. It is a familiar trick of the less reputable class of interviewing journalist, when a victim refuses to make any statement, to put in his mouth some sensational assertion leaving him to deny them if he cared. In most cases, careful people refuse to walk into the trap and rely on the good sense of the public to judge such faked interviews at their true worth.

#### LORD SINHA'S REPUDIATION.

Neither Miss Mayo nor Mr. Field can understand Lord Sinha's sensitive spirit which shrank from being involved in anything of the nature of a personal controversy. In this particular case, we happen to have unmistakable proof of what Lord Sinha thought of Miss Mayo's account of her conversation with him, of which we make a present to Mr. Harry Field. Shortly after Mr. Natesan issued his first edition of our reply to "Mother India" in the form familiar to the Indian public of his many popular publications, Dr. Paranjpye wrote from London suggesting that an edition of it should be brought out in England with an introduction by Lord Sinha. Lord Sinha was accordingly written to, and his reply is before us. He, as was expected, excused himself. "I doubt," he wrote, "if it would be of much use for *me* (underlining the word) to write a foreword for the proposed English edition of your articles in reply to Miss Mayo's "Mother India". Personal rancour may be attributed to me, as she devotes half a chapter to vilifying me—anonynously but sufficiently clearly to indicate whom she meant. I trust you will excuse me if I keep clear of the controversy, which is also getting stale now." The letter is dated Calcutta, 8th January 1928. If Lord Sinha recognised his own words in his own meaning in what Miss Mayo imputed to him, he was the last man to speak of her as vilifying him. It is characteristic of the pacific instincts of the man that he not only declined to take any part in the controversy himself but even deprecated in his own quiet manner the further prolongation of it by others.

#### THE *Reformer* AND *Mother India*.

Mr. Field quotes largely from our writings with the object evidently of showing that we have not been consistent with ourselves in criticising Miss Mayo's book. The *Indian Social Reformer* when it was started thirty-nine years ago had for its main and immediate object to combat such evils as child marriage, enforced widowhood, the dedication of devadasis and others referred to in Miss Mayo's book. For forty years, we have been expostulating with the public against these and other customs and institutions, and our attempts have not been without effect, though in the nature of things it must be slow and sure and not sudden and dramatic. We can have no quarrel, therefore, with Miss Mayo or any one else for stressing these facts. On the contrary, we should regard them as co-operators in the task of social reform. But the offence of Miss Mayo's book consists in the obscene eye which she brings to bear upon acknowledged facts and invents others in order to emphasise her case. "The eye sees", wrote Carlyle "what it brings with it the means of seeing". The Mayo eye could only see filth and obscenity in Hindu life, and we seriously suggested that the filth and obscenity are perhaps as much if not more in Mayo's mind than in Hindu life. The psychology of the author is the outstanding revelation of her book. Mr. Field quotes a sentence from the *Reformer* which he seems to think is somehow inconsistent with our condemnation of "Mother India". It is this: "The resentment provoked by the book is not due to the truth or otherwise of the facts stated in it, but to the broad inferences reflecting on the Indian and particularly the Hindu race and religion." This is what we have all along thought. Perhaps, we should have said "due not so much" to be precise.

#### THE GOOD DONE BY *Mother India*.

Mr. Field quotes from the *Reformer* what he calls "a reluctant testimony" wrung from it to the good already achieved by *Mother India*. This is to the effect that Miss Mayo's Billingsgate has been more effective than the long and patient propaganda of reformers in many Indian circles hitherto but slightly responsive to reasoned arguments. This, as every sensible reader will see, is not a justification of Miss Mayo's Billingsgate but a criticism of the mentality which is aroused by abuse while being impervious to reason. Plague, famine and war shock humanity into ideas of better sanitation, economics and international relations, but to say this is not to bear testimony to them as beneficent forces. Let us tell Mr. Field what the real harm is which Miss Mayo has done. We are not speaking at random. She has made it difficult for the many good and earnest American (and White) men and

women who are sincerely desirous of establishing helpful and understanding contacts with the Indian people from being welcomed in Indian homes. She has thus widened and deepened the gulf between races and nations to bridge which is the aim and object of the finest men and women of our time in every land. If we had an international tribunal adjudging the service or guilt of individuals against peace among men, Miss Mayo will be indicted before it as one of the principal offenders of our generation.

#### THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

MEDITATION FOR THE YEAR.

XLVI. POLICEMEN AND FIREMEN.

(DR. CLIFFORD MANSCHARDT, PH. D.)

The every day records of the police and fire departments are most prosaic, but behind the few recorded words are stories highly dramatic and thrilling. The campaign of the police against the enemies of society calls for as much courage as is displayed upon the field of battle. The fight of the firemen against the demon fire is no less dangerous than an assault upon the enemy trenches. Among both policemen and firemen there is a spirit—an indomitable spirit that admits of no defeat. There are moments in both professions when the work is largely routine, but there are other moments when every faculty is called into play, when human life is dependent upon the exercise of skill and judgment. It is to meet such emergencies that these public servants must ever be fit and faithful. The least that the good citizen can do is to show his appreciation of devoted service, to express his approval of duty well done, to give commendation where commendation is due—that the faithful may “abound with blessings.”

The policeman is the good citizen's friend, and he should be so regarded. The parent who brings up his child to be afraid of the policeman does an injustice both to the child and to the sepoy. Society is in a bad way when the guardians of law and order are looked upon with fear and hatred. How much better it is to train the child to respect the police, to turn to them for aid in crossing busy streets and to render little courtesies in return. In season and out of season policemen and firemen are working for us, our unknown and often unseen friends and protectors.

Although the policeman is the natural enemy of those who oppose law and order, these same opponents of law and order make a strenuous effort to ally themselves with the policeman. Many a high police officer's best attempts at law enforcement are rendered ineffectual because of the non-cooperation of the men within the ranks. A sepoy with a limited salary is sorely tempted, when by a none-too apparent disregard of duty he can obtain a sum of money that will go far in relieving his every-day financial burdens. Our policemen are

picked men physically, but unfortunately they are not always of the highest moral calibre. Moral strength is largely a matter of environment, and hence the good citizen should make every effort to counteract the possible influence of the lower strata of society. It is of no avail for us to say, “Be strong” unless we are prepared to give the fellowship which contributes to strength. Speech without work is nothing.

May we pause for a moment to remember the policemen and firemen who have gone to their death in line of duty. In the time of crisis they have not questioned: the call of duty has been stronger than the call of life. They have demonstrated the greatest of all loves, the love that leads a man to lay down his life for his friends. May we prove ourselves to be worthy of such devotion.

#### MUSLIMS AND THE SARDA ACT.

A Muslim deputation consisting of 25 members led by Moulana Mahomad Ali waited on the Viceroy on the 9th instant and pleaded for the exclusion of the Muslim community from the operation of the Sarda Act. They presented a statement of 30 pages in which they said that the Dharma Shastras of the Hindus, which had prescribed the age of eight as the proper time for the marriage of girls, had also urged consummation immediately after puberty and had prohibited re-marriage even of virgin widows. Modern society has, in some measure, revolted against such rules, and interpreting Hindu Law in the manner cited above is seeking to modify or replace what is repugnant to popular feeling among a growing class of unorthodox Hindus. The Deputationists made the following representation:

##### NO INTERFERENCE.

According to Islam religion is the interpretation of life, and no lacerating and devitalising distinctions, such as temporal and spiritual, are recognised by Islam. Like life, the Islamic religion is one complete and indivisible synthesis. Muslim Law therefore, prescribes everything that man shall do to God, to his neighbour and to himself. It makes all duty for its portion and defines all action in terms of duty. Islam claims that its laws are intended to be applied to all mankind if it willingly embraces Islam. That they were framed by a divine legislator, himself the creator of the universe, that he alone could best understand human nature, that he had created and legislated for all mankind, in conformity with it.

The proviso in the Lucknow Pact which like one of the articles in the Constitution of the Indian National Congress gave the right of veto to two-thirds of Musalman and Hindu members of any legislature with regard to any measure which they declared to be injurious to interests of their community, did not apply to the religion or personal law of either community. For the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, States of Parliament and Acts passed by the Indian Legislature guaranteed non-interference

in their religion and the application only of their own personal law to these communities. That veto related to other matters which affected merely the interests of two communities, and the Leader of House speaking in the Council of State on the Sarda Bill on September 28 last had failed to understand this difference when he said that "The modification of the personal law of each community is within the jurisdiction of this Council" and that "If more than two-thirds of the members of the community do not oppose it then the personal law of their community can be added to or modified by these Councils."

That jurisdiction cannot be extended to a mixed legislature composed of members of various communities where Islamic religion or the personal law of Musalmans are concerned when in fact it cannot be extended even to a purely Muslim legislature.

#### FUNDAMENTAL GUARANTEE ASKED.

Non-interference in the personal law must be guaranteed as part of the fundamental law guaranteeing religious freedom; and one of the numerous reasons why the Muslim Community does not accept the so-called Hindu-Muslim Settlement contained in the Nehru Report is that the Muslims' personal law has not been guaranteed therein, though the British Government has repeatedly guaranteed it.

While the reformers are ostensibly so anxious about the physical hygiene of minors and adolescents, and tempestuous agitation is going on in Legislative circles, not a ripple disturbs the placid surface where the moral hygiene is concerned, even though immorality is a far more insidious and powerful enemy of physical health itself than early marriage.

Prostitution still prevails, and immorality is on the increase, and is fast polluting the private life as well. But luckily the rural society is, to a great extent, still unpolluted.

The penalisation of pre-puberty marriage and consummation is bound to bring to our simple unsophisticated villages the impurity and filth that tends to make towns cesspools of immorality.

#### MARRIAGE PENALISED.

The Sarda Act only penalises early marriages. It does not prohibit early consummation, whether in wedlock or outside it. In other words it says: "Thou shalt not marry, but thou mayst commit adultery," and in effect in many cases, it says: "Thou shalt not marry, thou shalt commit adultery instead."

Islam on the contrary, says: "Thou mayst marry at any age, but thou shalt not commit adultery." This antithesis is so clear and convincing, that Musalmans can well leave it to any thoughtful person, whose mind is not totally warped by prejudice, to decide which of the two courses is the right one to follow. We repeat that Islam does not encourage very early marriages and prohibits prepuberty consummation, and even post-puberty

consummation when it is injurious to the health of the wife. And it is not the question of the too early consummation of marriage with which we are all concerned when we desire the exclusion of Musalmans from the operation of the Sarda Act. But we are entirely opposed to the penalisation of marriages, because it deprives the parents and guardians of minors of the right of giving away such minors in marriages when it is in the interest of the minors themselves that such marriages should be contracted. Such marriages are contracted, not only in Muslim society and in the East, but were at one time quite common in non-Muslim society and in the West as well.

In exceptional cases early marriages are dictated by expediency in the interest of the minors themselves and the Age of Consent Committee itself records that early marriages are fostered among Musalmans in the United Provinces, among other things by "Some exigency or convenience or the idea of securing some advantage which may be otherwise lost."

When the Bill finally came up for consideration last September, it was rushed through in spite of 16 Muslim members of the Assembly once more giving a written statement to the Home member against the passage of the Bill. No less than 12 elected Musalman members voted for the exclusion of Musalmans from its operation, and only 5 voted against that amendment, while only 7 out of 29 Muslim elected members expressed agreement with the unamended Bill.

In the Council of State, Muslim opposition was still greater, and all Musalmans, without an exception, voted against it.

Even after this Muslim members of the Indian Legislature took a deputation to his Excellency Lord Goschen to request him to withhold his assent, and His Excellency based his postponement of a final decision on the complicated character of the question which necessitated the most careful consideration, and yet, only a couple of days after, His Excellency accorded his assent to this highly objectionable Bill, the enactment of which can never be tolerated by any believing Musalmans.

#### THREAT TO DISOBEY THE LAW.

This is the long-drawn history of the Sarda Act, and since we cannot ring down the curtain on a result so intolerable to the entire community, barring a few individuals, we have with great difficulty persuaded so many leading public men and Ulemas to agree to launching of yet another effort and we rely upon Your Excellency to take steps to enact an amending bill excluding Musalmans from the operation of the Sarda Act and to protect the personal law of Musalmans from such interference. We trust no question of prestige will let Government hesitate to rectify an error of judgment entailing such grave and intolerable consequences for the Muslim community in India.

With the Sarda Act, placed on the Statute Book as a precedent before the Indian Legislature there is no knowing what other Islamic Law will not be assailed next, and since it is not only the British element in the Indian Legislature that seems to be determined to throw Islamic as well as Hindu law into the melting pot of man-made legislation, but also the Indian element that claims to be Nationalist and would replace the British element, the question has assumed all the more gravity.

We submit once more that Mussalmans will never submit to such an intolerant interference with their sacred law. They will not hesitate to disobey any law robbing them of their religious freedom and they would not be deterred by the sanctions of Sarda Act. It is only too evident that Your Excellency has been sufficiently moved by what you have seen on the spot to seek to inaugurate an era of conciliation and concord. Would it not be an irony of fate, if just on the threshold of this era, Mussalmans are left to battle with their feeling of resentment on the enactment of a Law to which no one can ever reconcile himself, so long as he believes in the truth of Islam.

#### HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY.

His Excellency the Viceroy in reply said:—  
“I am very pleased to have the opportunity of meeting representatives of the Muslim Community here to-day, and to hear frankly from them of their anxieties in regard to the matter which has been the subject of our discussion. I fully appreciate the strength of your feeling on the subject, and wish to state as plainly as I can what seems to me to be the relevant considerations which we all have to bear in mind.

“First of all let me remind you of the legal position by which I and you are both alike bound. Under the Indian Constitution the Indian Legislature has the power to make laws for all persons, for all courts and for all places and things within British India 65 (1). This is a very wide power, but it is governed by the provision among others of 67 (2) (B).

“It shall not be lawful, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, to introduce at any meeting of either Chamber of the Indian Legislature any measure affecting the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of British subjects in India.”

“In the exercise of this power my predecessor and, I think, I myself, have on several occasions refused sanction to Bills which by reason of their religious or quasi-religious import would have wounded the religious feelings of a community, and the mere discussion of which therefore would inevitably have aroused sharp communal feelings; and I can without hesitation say that in all such cases, any one who holds my Office would scrutinise very seriously any such proposals for legislation before granting sanction.

“There may be cases of a purely religious and spiritual character where a civil legislature would

naturally be very unwilling to intervene, unless it were with the assent of the preponderance of opinion in the community concerned. I am thinking of what Maulana Mahomed Ali in his very complete and interesting statement which he was good enough to give me has referred to as ‘The boundaries of Allah which must never be transgressed.’

#### SOCIOLOGY AND RELIGION.

“But, as I see it, there are other questions, of which this marriage question was one, which are border line cases between Sociology or Civics and Religion. In the statement I have just referred to Maulana Mahomed Ali has spoken of the fallacy of trying to differentiate Sociology from Religion. But here clear thinking is important in a matter of this kind. It is impossible for a Modern State to disinterest itself, because it clearly bears upon a social question which must be of the most vital interest to it. But, in dealing with the question a Civil legislature is dealing with it primarily in its Civil aspect, which must always remain its responsibility.

“The difficulty is bound to arise for us all in such border line cases, and we have to judge them both as men sincerely devoted to our Religion, whatever that may be, and also as fair-minded and progressive citizens of a progressive age.

“It is not only, therefore, the legislature which has to reconcile these conflicting duties, but it is a duty which none of us can evade in forming our own private judgments.

“Where the limits of Civil Society and Religious Organisation are coterminous, these difficulties do not arise, for each is the counterpart of the other in the civil and religious sphere respectively. But neither you nor I can ignore our obligations as citizens in a Civil Society which is not composed only of members of the same religious profession as ourselves.

#### CHILD MARRIAGE EVILS.

“It is not necessary for me to stress the civic side of the evils of child marriage with which the Bill introduced by Rai Sahib Harbidas Sarda was designed to deal. The action taken by my Government, though it was taken in my absence, was one with which I wholeheartedly concurred and on which for the reasons I have given earlier, Government is bound to adhere to the position which, after the most full consideration, they felt it right to adopt.

“The Bill, as you know, has duly received Lord Goschen's assent. But in this particular case I understand you do not claim that the Civil authority has sought to debar you from a duty enjoined upon you by religious sanction for no Moslem maintains that child marriage is obligatory on religious grounds. I am speaking to men not only of deep religious feeling, but learned in their scriptures and I would not presume to speak to you at any length on the provisions of Islamic Law in regard to

marriage whether laid down in the Quran Shareef, the Kadis or in other authoritative sources, but I believe that child marriage in so far as Muslims are concerned, is an exceptional practice, and one which, as a community, they are not prepared to defend.

"I believe, it is also true, that in Egypt, and possibly in other Muslim countries, marriage laws have been enacted by civil legislature.

"But I take it that your chief concern is in regard to the wider principle of asserting the religious character of the act of marriage and of ensuring, so far as it is possible for you to do so, having regard to those general obligations as citizens of which I spoke just now, that the religious liberties, and those that are included in the personal law, should not be impaired by civil legislation against your wishes.

"Thus Maulana Mahomed Ali, in his written statement, talks of Islamic Law as being absolutely self-contained, a complete prescription of everything that a man shall do to God, to his neighbour, and to himself. What Muslims fear, as he puts it, is the repeal of Qoranic Law by a human and non-Islamic legislature.

"I have said enough to show you that I recognise, and largely share, your feeling on these points, and you may rest well assured that I shall continue to have full regard to the sentiments you have expressed in considering whether or not sanction should be accorded to projects of legislation. And, inasmuch as the further Constitution of India is now under discussion, I shall make it my duty to acquaint those who now or later may be concerned with the drawing of its lines with the views you have laid before me.

"I would only add in conclusion that I am very pleased that you have seen fit to represent to me so frankly your anxieties, and I trust that what I have said will allay those that you yourselves have felt, and enable you to remove anxieties from the minds of others, who were unable to be here to-day."

#### INDIA AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Mr. S. K. Batcliffe read the following paper before the East India Association at Westminster on Monday, October 21, Mr. Caxton Hall presiding:—

Not a great number of years ago the announcement of a title such as that adopted for this paper would have seemed far-fetched, even perhaps rather absurd. One would have been prepared for the question, "What relation can there be between India and the United States?" And one might well have been told that the title would not suggest to the members of the East India Association any subject matter at all. But there is to-day no need to apologize for the headline, although it might still be news to many people in England that for a large and varied section of the American public India is an important subject, and that in the difficult period

upon which the Government of India is now entering the state of public opinion throughout North America cannot be a matter of indifference to us in England, to the British in India and to the Indian parties.

#### CAUSES OF GROWING INTEREST

India is, indeed, a subject of constantly growing interest to the American people, and increasingly important to them because of the expansion of American trade; the interaction between British India and the Philippines, America's leading Crown colony, as we should call it; the remarkable extension of American tourist traffic through the Middle East, the great development in Asia of modern American missions; and those most notable products of American wealth and public service, the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations for research. To these we may add the widespread, and comparatively recent, awakening of a large portion of the American public to the political and social problems of India; the discussion, sometimes emotional discussion, of the social system of Hinduism, with its peculiar institutions of caste, of untouchability, of child marriage; and—most particularly—the impression made upon the common mind of America, during the past seven years, by the career, the personality, and the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi.

#### AMERICA IN INDIA.

I will ask you first to note that ever since the United States became responsible for the Philippines thirty years ago, the system of British India has had, for that relatively small but important minority of Americans connected with administration and semi-public enterprises overseas, a special appeal. It would be impossible to overstate the remoteness of all Americans from such matters before the Roosevelt epoch of expansion, with the exception of the small number of people concerned with the Oriental trade and the scattered men and women having some personal connection with the problems of missions and missionary education. The acquisition of the Philippines counts for almost nothing in American politics; they make hardly any appearance in the newspapers, are no nearer than the moon for the American multitude (save that they furnish effective pictures for the motives), but they are a reality for the Federal Government; they have created for the politicians and officials of Washington a problem analogous to that with which Whitehall and Simla have for so long been struggling—namely, the demand for Swaraj made by the political leaders of a people deeply divided by race, religion and social habit.

When I began work in Calcutta a short time after the pacification of the Philippines, there was much discussion of the inevitable influence in British India of the American enterprise—that is, of energetic entry into the field of colonial administration of a great modern Power, built upon the basis of theoretic democracy. The expectation was not fulfilled. American and British administrators went their separate ways. It seemed to be taken for granted that what the United States did in the Philippines

would not reflect to any discernible extent the experience of British India; while if I am not mistaken, the advanced parties in India came early to the conclusion that their movement could not hope to gain much, either in stimulus or in education, from the experience of the Filipino efforts in the direction of home rule and independence.

#### AMERICAN RULE IN PHILIPPINES

As a consequence, during the past twenty years there has been a good deal less interaction between India and the Philippines than we expected, and I am inclined to think that the two problems will remain apart. The American administration has been modern and drastic; far less respectful towards ancient custom than the British in India has been; and latterly it has frankly and thoroughly been adjusted to the far-reaching schemes of American big business and to the prevalent conviction that the Archipelago affords a magnificent reservoir of raw material. During the eight years of the Woodrow Wilson administration the Philippines were allowed to go far towards general Swaraj.

With the passing of Wilson they came under the hand of a Rooseveltian dictator, the late General Leonard Wood. His methods and results did not commend themselves to Coolidge and Mr. Hoover, who made a decided move away from the Leonard Wood system by sending out Mr. Stimson, now Secretary of State in Washington. The policy now being followed is intelligent, and it must have consequences of no little importance. The Hoover imperialism is compatible with large political concessions and generous expenditure upon agriculture, education, and public health, for Mr. Hoover knows that a contended population, with a field of opportunity for the intelligentsia and the new commercial and technical classes, makes favourable conditions for industrial schemes and the development of natural resources.

Here, then, in the Hooverized Philippines, is America's contribution towards the problem of colonial government, and, as you will observe, it offers little in the way of parallel for India. Nor do the Philippines make any difficulty, as we might have expected, in that wide area of inter-racial conflict which in the American view is appallingly fecund in problems that are incapable of tolerable solutions—Immigration. It is here that we touch the one great question that connects North America with India, and with Asia generally.

#### ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS.

In the period immediately before the War America became deeply concerned over the perils of immigration from the Old World. It was an epoch marked by a return of the mass movement of communities; a repetition of phenomena familiar to the ancient world, with the added power of rapid transport from continent to continent. The cities and villages of Central and Eastern Europe were sending their folk in millions over to the land of promise. The yellow peoples, barred from Australasia, were persistently

breaking into the States of the Pacific coast. The Chinese and Japanese had obtained a footing in California, as in British Columbia, and the citrus groves and fruit farms of that opulent land offered a marvellous field to the Japanese cultivator. He can make any desert blossom as the rose. Let him acquire a holding on California soil in the glow of the marvellous climate, and in no time he is a land-owner, a capitalist, with American labourers, and even farmers in his employ.

Twenty years ago the American States of the Pacific put up the barriers against all Asiatic peoples. They had been frightened by the increase of the Chinese and Japanese communities in California; they were resentful over the peaceful conquest by the Japanese of their own new colony, Hawaii. They checked the immigration of Chinese to begin with, by the imposition of a crushing impost upon such Chinese as could establish their right to enter the United States, while the menace of Japanese immigration was got rid of by means of a gentlemen's agreement with Tokio, under which Japanese labour was kept out altogether, while permits were granted to a small number of Japanese students and business and professional men. It remained for the United States Congress, in the time of President Coolidge and wholly against his will, to pass an Exclusion Bill, which ended the gentlemen's agreement and put an absolute ban upon Japanese immigration.

#### INDIANS IN CALIFORNIA.

In the case of Indians (called East Indians in America, for an obvious reason), there has been no such definite movement of exclusion on the part of the Pacific States; but this, as we shall see in a moment, does not mean that Indians are without their own specific and important grievance against American authority.

British Columbia had its own problem of Indian immigration. That far north western province of the Commonwealth of Greater Britain enjoys a fine temperate climate, and many years ago its farm labour was recruited by some hundreds of Indian cultivators—namely, from the Punjab. The Indians of Western Canada, as we know, are part of the India-Dominion problem, though a very small part of it only; and we have no need of a reminder as to the calamitous incident of the shipload of Sikhs turned back from Vancouver in the first year of the War. The north-western regions of the United States might easily have had an identical small problem on their hands, since the fruit ranches of Oregon and the State of Washington are habitable by the hardier Indian races; but the policy of exclusion prevented this. There has (needless to say) been no indentured Indian labour in the United States.

The question of admission in California, the one State where it has assumed proportions of consequence, has been mainly confined to a small number of property owners and educated Indians, and their grievance, it must be admitted, is of a very special

character. They cannot acquire the status of American citizens. This privilege is refused to them under the laws of California, and the disability has been made absolute by the Supreme Court of the United States, the most powerful judicial tribunal in the world. Not a few of them are married to American wives, who retain their citizenship. The children being born on American soil, are birthright citizens; but the Indians themselves being Asiatics, are completely and finally barred from citizenship of the United States. Apart from the American negroes, enfranchised at the cost of civil war, all persons claiming the rights and privileges of American citizenship must belong to the branch of the human family formerly and very loosely labelled Caucasian—a pre-scientific classification made obsolete, as we had supposed, but the great modern generalization of the Aryan race.

(To be continued).

#### THE EXCISE COMMISSIONER'S REPORT.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari writes:—"Here is a summary of the Excise Report of 1928-29, keeping the language of the official report wherever possible:—

##### COUNTRY SPIRITS.

The consumption of country spirits increased by 11 per cent. Total quantity sold to the public was 1596998 proof gallons. The revenue was Rs. 223 lakhs.

##### TODDY.

The number of coconut trees licensed for tapping decreased by 82000. Total number of trees licensed for tapping liquor was 26 lakhs. The revenue from toddy increased by 5.7 per cent, total being Rs. 256 lakhs.

##### FOREIGN LIQUOR.

There was 26 per cent increase in the sale of Whisky, Brandy, Rum and Beer.

##### OPIUM.

Government sold 1.5 per cent more opium to the public this year. Total money paid by consumers was Rs. 53 lakhs.

##### GANJA.

Government sold 6½ per cent more Ganja and Bhangh this year, money paid by the consumers being Rs. lakhs.

##### OFFENCES.

Total number of cases showed a further increase of 5.5 per cent, number of cases being 19696.

##### GENERAL.

"The continued increase of crime against Abkari laws and its appearance in all parts of the Presidency must give pause to any immediate drastic action in the way of cutting off the supply of licit liquor—lest the result should prove more serious to the general morality than are the present conditions."

Is it not time the policy and the system of administration that produce these progressive results should be scrapped and the whole thing put on the only rational basis of total prohibition?"

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Indian Historical Records Commission:—**The Gwalior Darbar have been pleased to invite the Indian Historical Records Commission which is to hold its sessions at Gwalior in December next. A Local Committee has been, therefore, formed to make the visit of the Commission a splendid success with the following as its members, namely:—(1) Sardar Madhav Rao Baba Sahib Phalke, (2) S. R. Bhagwat, Esq. Inspector-General of Records, (3) B. R. Tambo, Esq. Registrar of Education, (4) M. B. Cards, Esq., Superintendent, Archaeological Dept. (5) M. Saquib Sahib, Persian Professor, Victoria College. G. B. Makoday, Esq., Secretary of the Committee, to whom all communications should be addressed in this connection. All articles of Historical, Archaeological or Antiquarian interest relating to India are eligible as exhibits for sale or exhibition from Public institutions, Government bodies or individuals, such as Research Societies, Universities, Museums, Libraries or persons interested in antiquities. The last date for receiving exhibits will be the 30th, November 1929. Exhibits should be sent at the cost and risk of the exhibitors. While every care will be taken to ensure the safety of the exhibit, the Committee or the Superintendent of Archaeology cannot be held responsible for any loss or damage, whatever, sustained by the exhibits, either during transit to and from the Exhibition, or while they are in the possession of the superintendent of Archaeology. In all matters relating to the selection or rejection of the exhibits the decision of the Committee will be final. All exhibits will be returned at the cost of the Committee. For further particulars apply to the Inspector General of Records, Gwalior.

**The XXXI All-India Theistic Conference, 1929:—**Arrangements are being made to hold the next session of the All-India Theistic Conference at Lahore during the Christmas holidays. A Reception Committee has been formed with a Provincial Working Committee to prepare the preliminary steps. The Theistic Conference has been the meeting place of the representatives of Brahma and Prarthana Samajes in India and has afforded opportunity of exchanging views on many vital problems connected with the Theistic movement and of drawing the attention of the public to the necessity of a liberal religion which lays emphasis upon the worship of One Infinite God and the practice of the brotherhood of man. The success of such a Conference depends upon the hearty co-operation of all the Theistic organisations in the country. The Brahma Samaj has rendered very useful service in the course of the last one hundred years and it has been keenly felt, of late, that a better organisation is necessary to make it an effective force in the moral and spiritual uplift of the people. The Reception Committee therefore earnestly request all the Brahma and Prarthana Samajes to send their representatives to the forthcoming Conference and to communicate their suggestions regarding the subjects for discussion. Efforts are being made to draw up a useful and interesting programme. Besides divine service, lectures and discussions, the organisers will arrange trips to the various historical places round about the city of Lahore, and visits to the philanthropic and religious institutions. The Reception Committee send their cordial invitation to all the friends and well-wishers of the Theistic movement to come and take part in the Conference and thereby to promote the cause of Theism and the service of humanity, which they hold so

dear. It will greatly facilitate the work of the Conference if the Committee are informed beforehand the names of the delegates. The Samjes and friends are also requested to suggest a name for election as President of the Conference. It has been suggested by some friends that Mr. Ramananda Chatterji M. A., editor of the *Modern Review* may be requested to preside this year. The Reception Committee invite the Samajes to express their opinion on the suggestion or to suggest new names. The question will be decided at a meeting of the Reception Committee on the 27th instant. A reply before that date will help the Committee to come to a decision agreeable to all. It has been felt that a better organisation is necessary for carrying on the work of the Conference and for promoting the cause of Theism. The Committee invite the opinion of all those interested in the movement regarding the means by which the Conference may be made more useful. The Theistic Conference has been all along financially supported by the Brahma and Prarthana Samajes and their members and well-wishers. It has been estimated that expenses this year will be not less than Rs. 3,000. The Reception Committee therefore appeal to the Samajes and the fellow-theists for some contribution towards the expenses of the Conference. All correspondence and remittances may be addressed to Prof. U. N. Ball, Provisional Secretary, Reception Committee, "Noor Cottage" McLeod Road, Lahore.

**East African Congress:**—In response to an urgent request from the East African Indian Congress, Mrs. Naidu has been persuaded to preside at the forthcoming session of the congress at Nairobi. She will return in time for the Lahore Congress. Though under medical advice she had to abandon the proposed tour to Andhra and Berar. She has agreed to proceed to East Africa in deference to the wishes of the Congress which has urged that the situation there is critical and her presence essential.

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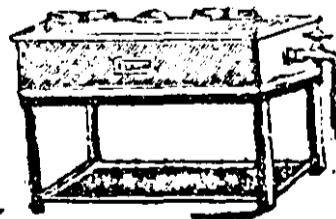
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No. 12

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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<p>A Political Tragedy. The Better Way. English Influence In India. America and India. Prohibition And Indian States. The Chand Marwari Number. The War And After. That Men May All Be Brothers. Mass Education. Jays And Jayants.</p>	<p>India And United States Of America. The Influence Of English Literature on Neo-Hinduism. Friendship Chests For Filipino Children. Fifty Years Of Navavidhan—Its Meeting And Its Message. News Of The Week.</p>
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## NOTES.

**A Political Tragedy:—**Sir A. Muhsin, Prime Minister of Iraq, shot himself dead on the 13th instant. He left behind a letter for his eldest son in which he explained why he was resorting to this desperate expedient. "The nation," he said "is pressing for service, but the British do not agree. I am without help. The Iraqis are weak. They believe me to be a traitor to my country and a servant of the British. What calamity! I have endured all kinds of insults and taunts as a reward of my efforts to secure happiness for my country in which my forefathers have lived with honour and dignity." A day later, *Reuter* stated that in a sentence which was omitted in the earlier message, the late Prime Minister had said that the Iraqis were not fit for self-government. This, by the way, does not seem to fit into the rest of the letter. Sir A. Muhsin's plight is that of many native leaders in British dependencies, not excluding India. There are few tasks more difficult for them than to befriend British rule without incurring the charge of being a traitor to the country. This is largely inherent in the position of that rule as a foreign rule. But it is also due to no inconsiderable degree to the change in the character of that rule, which has been proceeding since the last quarter of the last century, from a humanitarian and moral into a military and economic imperialism. It was possible for Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the first quarter and Dadabhai Naoroji in the third quarter of the last century to visualise British rule in India as a beneficent dispensation of Providence for the moral, intellectual and political emancipation of the people. But the same Dadabhai in 1906 confessed himself completely disillusioned and told his countrymen that in swaraj lay their only hope. Sir A. Muhsin has died, as many Indian reformers live, torn between goodwill towards Britain and loyalty to their country. Those who firmly shut their eyes to the good which British rule has wrought and work themselves up to

think of it as a "satanic rule," obtain ease of mind of a certain kind; and so also those who shut their eyes to the increasing hardships of that rule, in memory of the solid good it has done in the past. It is those who cannot forget the substantial good nor overlook the growing infirmities of the British connection, that find themselves in the dreadful dilemma from which the Iraqi statesman could not think of any way of escape other than putting an end to his life.

**The Better Way:—**Sir A. Muhsin would seem to have killed himself with the cool deliberateness of a Japanese samurai or an ancient Roman, and not under a momentary impulse. There were two other alternatives before him. He could have retired from the Premiership and from politics, leaving it to other men to grapple with the problem of reconciling Iraqi autonomy with the requirements of the Mandatory Power. The draft of a new Treaty with Iraq which the Labour Government in Britain have made public, has made the situation far more favourable than it has been before, showing that the British attitude has undergone a marked change for the better towards Iraq. Unless there has happened something behind the scenes, the present would seem to be not a crisis which should have driven the veteran statesman who has tided over more serious crises to take away his life. Sir A. Muhsin, therefore, might have continued in office and carried through the new Treaty which would have placed Iraq in much the same position as Egypt in relation to Great Britain. It is the fate of all reformers who decline to be guided by extreme counsels to be branded as "traitors" by demagogues whose sole preoccupation is to maintain their hold on the fickle populace. The patriot of to-day has many times in history been the traitor of tomorrow. When the fruits of a wise policy of moderation are realised, the people will acclaim the man, whom they denounced as a traitor, as a hero. No more striking illustration of this can be given than the experience of the present British Prime Minister who, during the War, stood in danger of his life, because he opposed it from the first. The British people have now chosen for their Prime Minister the man whom they then hounded out of public life as a traitor. That the position is not so desperate as Sir A. Muhsin's suicide would make it appear, is shown by the fact that one of his colleagues in his own Cabinet has assumed the Premiership. It is an act of high courage and patriotism on his part and he will have the good wishes of every right-thinking man in the task which has been rendered specially difficult by

the act of his predecessor. At the same time, we trust that the British Government will not fail to realise that they owe a duty to make the path of the constitutional reformer in every country where they have a controlling influence as smooth as possible, seeing that the difficulties inherent in the relation are themselves so great as to seem insuperable even to a seasoned statesman like the late Sir A. Muhsin. They have not been mindful of this duty in the past. It may be hoped that the Iraqi tragedy will make them more regardful of it in the future.

**English Influence In India:**—We reprint to-day a striking article by the Rev. J. D'Souza in a Catholic contemporary on the influence of English literature on neo-Hinduism. The Rev. Father, as becomes a Catholic missionary, sees a danger to Christianity in the adherence of English-educated Hindus to their ancestral faith. Christianity, in the sense of a sect, does not appeal to educated Hindus. But the life and teachings of Christ, which are so much distorted beyond recognition by the Churches which bear His name, profoundly appeals to them. No Christian who is less anxious to see the number of professing Christians increase than to see the Master's message permeate thought in this country, need regret this. But Catholic priests, as a rule, are so wedded to their particular dogmas that it is almost physically impossible for most of them to think freely or fairly where other religions are concerned. Yet, Father D'Souza might have recollected that an ancient Christian community has existed in India in full enjoyment of religious freedom for many centuries before the Society of Jesus to which he belongs was founded. Apart from this professional fallacy of the Rev. Father D'Souza, there is much in his article the truth of which is overlooked in current discussions. Particularly so is his observation that the attraction of English literature to Hindus arises out of a fundamental similarity between English and Hindu mentality and that the study of it in the Universities merely facilitates access for the Indian student. "The English conqueror," he concludes, "may or may not have come to India to stay; but surely English literature will abide." Sir Sivaswami Aiyar in his great book on the Indian constitutional question asks English statesmen not to be afraid of granting self-government to India as the cultural link is strong enough to maintain and promote intimate relations between the two countries. Father D'Souza's article, though written from the Catholic point of view, is an elaboration of Sir Sivaswami's opinion, which is very opportune at the present juncture.

**America And India:**—Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, who edited the *Statesman* of Calcutta during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty and incurred the wrath of that autocrat for importing a spirit of independence in one of the principal organs of the Anglo-Indian hierarchy in this county, has been writing and lecturing in the United States for some years. He read recently a paper in London on the widespread interest in India which he found prevailing in the United States. It is worthy of note that in Mr. Ratcliffe's opinion, Miss Katherine Mayo's "Mother India" has not been taken seriously outside the circle—a larger one in America than

elsewhere—of persons who try to keep up a high opinion of their own morals and manners by working up a righteous indignation against the foibles of the heathen, in his blindness. The most important reason, however, which Mr. Ratcliffe gives is the interest felt among millions of Americans in the personality and views of Mahatma Gandhi, which are, as he says, a challenge to the American view at every point. As a matter of fact, however, American interest in Hindu thought is of far longer standing and did not, as Mr. Ratcliffe thinks, originate from the participation of Indian troops in the European War. Longfellow, Emerson, and Whittier were sympathetically familiar with Hindu philosophy. The best book on the religions of India is by an American, Professor J. B. Pratt. There are many more evidences which can be produced of America's interest in India which is not recent. We are almost sure that there are many more educated men in the United States than in Great Britain who have tried to and succeeded in acquiring an insight into and understanding of Indian things, undistorted by the wrong perspective which the political relations between Britain and India imposes upon the average Englishman.

**Prohibition And Indian States:**—We have time and again deplored the fact that Indian States, with a few honourable exceptions, have not taken a sympathetic attitude towards prohibition but Miss Campbell's statement in Madras comes on us as a surprise. A special correspondent of the *Hindu* writes in the course of a report of one of Miss Campbell's speeches in the South: "It was in Kolhapur that she had a peculiar experience of law when she visited that place, where though she was received kindly by the State, an order was served on her prohibiting her lectures on Prohibition as they would cause an agitation among the people which would affect the Excise revenue of that State. She sought permission to hold meetings without lecturing on Prohibition and at the meetings she found armed policemen occupying the front row of the audience. There she delivered nine lectures, and though she did not speak directly on Prohibition, she enlisted many in the cause of Prohibition, including even the policemen that guarded her in the meetings." Miss Campbell is a well-known worker in the cause of Prohibition and she is not likely to exaggerate. It is rather hard to believe, however, that an enlightened Hindu State like Kolhapur should have taken such an attitude towards a prohibition advocate and we are sure the Kolhapur State will be able to furnish an explanation of the incident. We hope only that a statement will be issued by the State without undue delay.

**The Chand Marwari Number:**—The Marwari Number of the *Chand*, the social reform Hindu monthly of Allahabad is a volume of four hundred pages containing many interesting cartoons and illustrations in colour. The leading article deals with the Marwari community at some length and will be read with considerable interest. We understand that the publishers intend issuing an Urdu edition of their monthly. We congratulate the publishers on having brought out an almost encyclopaedic review of the social and domestic life of the Marwari community.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1929.

THE WAR AND AFTER.

The conceit that modern western civilization is a unique product of human genius, that there has been nothing before comparable to it, is being rapidly dispelled by the results of antiquarian research. Unquestionable evidence is forthcoming of extensive commercial and cultural intercourse between distant nations, of high skill in industry and the arts, and of great achievements in the science and art of administration. The excellence of ancient classical literature has, of course, been long recognised but it is now clear that it did not appear as a freak and that it was, indeed, the expression of a very high degree of individual and social development. It appears probable that every civilization has periods of growth, culmination and decay and that the transition from the second stage to the last is often marked by a destructive war. The long war which was decided by the battle of Kurukshetra marked such a turning point in Hindu evolution. The Hindu religious, social and political life after the Mahabharata war was markedly different from what it was before it. The great European war which ended with the Armistice the eleventh anniversary of which was celebrated on the 11th instant with the annual ceremonial of two minutes' silence, poppy flower button-holes, and parades of troops, marks just such a point in the history of western civilization. Incidentally here we have actually before our eyes an explanation of the origin of ceremonies and celebrations which, started with a definite motive, lose in course of time their significance but continue to be kept up as national festivals. While admiration for the heroic self-sacrifice of the millions of men who gave up their lives, or worse, accepted cheerfully the prospect of a mutilated life, remains undiminished, the belief that the War has resulted in any sort of good to any race or nation is completely discredited by the results as they are still unfolding themselves. On the other hand, the opinion that the late War like all wars, was an unmitigated calamity for all concerned and many who were not concerned in it, widely prevails at the present day.

During the last few months there has been a talk among European statesmen, of the United States of Europe. They have become alive to the fact that the prosperity of the United States of America is largely due to the latter being a single economic unit without any tariff barriers between the several states of which it is composed. They ask themselves, why should not Europe become such a unit for industrial and commercial purposes? Before the War, the larger part of Europe except Russia was shared by

two great Empires; the German and Austrian, each of which was a single economic unit. At the conclusion of the War, the Allied and Associated Powers broke up these two units into a number of small states, and in doing so created an economic chaos which is now reacting upon the victors themselves. The United States like a prudent gambler withdrew with its spoils at the nick of time, but the European Powers could not do so, and they are even greater sufferers to-day than the defeated nations. The attempt to exact a huge sum for Reparations from Germany had a curious result. Germany could raise the money only by selling her manufactured goods in foreign countries, but when she tried to do so, the Allies found their own markets slipping away from them owing to keen German competition. The Allies are unwilling to forego Reparations, and at the same time, they do not want their industries to be endangered. They have been holding Conferences with the object of finding out a way of achieving this dual object of squaring the economic circle. Germany, obliged by the Treaty of Versailles to maintain no standing army, is saved from the burden of military and naval expenditure which is weighing heavily upon the industry of the victorious nations. Disarmament Conferences are held every now and then but with very little actual result. The nations which have, want to keep their possessions intact, and are anxious to see those who are likely to challenge them, put away their arms. The nations which have not, or not as much as they would, of wealth and power, are afraid of those who have, lest they take away what little they have from them.

Of the defeated Powers, Austria has been the worst sufferer. Under the ironical title of "Self-Determination for Austria," Friedrich E. Kleinwaechter, has written an excruciatingly interesting little book, an excellent English translation of which (priced at 3 s. 6 d.) is published by Messrs. George Allen, London. The author, though he feels profoundly the wrong done to his nationality, writes with great moderation. He writes with perfect detachment like counsel pleading a case before a court of Law should, but sometimes does not, show. He shows how under the high-sounding slogan of "self-determination" the Austrians have been denied the right to join Germany to whose people they are united by bonds of race and culture and with whom alone they can become economically self-supporting. The Austro-Hungarian Empire prior to the war was made up of several races. Of all of them, the Austrian Germans alone have been held by the Allies to be accountable for the war. The others have been rewarded with separate states of their own, while the Austrian Germans numbering some six and a half millions are left with their old great capital, Vienna, and a small territory,



shorn of the parts of the old Empire which supplied it with its economic foundations whose "independence" has been declared to be inviolate. "It is typical of the victor's insincerity" writes Dr. Kleinwaechter, "that they did not forbid the Union of German Austria with Germany in so many words, but rather veiled the prohibition with the pretence of maintaining Austria's independence. Thus words were chosen that seemed in harmony with the ideals proclaimed by President Wilson but were in reality a direct violation of those ideals." German Austria, he easily shows, can have no future as an independent state except in association with the German Reich. But France is afraid of the effect of the Union of the six and half a million Austrians with their sixty million German cousins. M. Clemenceau declared that there are twenty million Germans too many in the world. This is the root of France's fear. All the same, the Union of Germany and Austria is bound to happen. The two countries, as Dr. Kleinwaechter conclusively shows, are so closely allied by race, tradition and culture that no power on earth can keep them from coalescing for an indefinite period of time.

#### THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

##### MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

##### XLVII. ARTISTS AND SCULPTORS.

(DR. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, PH. D.)

The offering that the artists and the sculptors have presented to the world is a highly acceptable one. From the earliest scratchings of the caveman to the finished production of the master is a far cry, and yet each represents the quest of a soul for expression. The artist works under compulsion. There is within him an urge that must find its outlet in stone or on canvass. For one it is the desire to create. For another it is the desire to interpret. In each instance the artist willingly gives his choicest offering. And he who gives willingly with all his heart, the same gives even unto God.

The layman who watches the artist or sculptor at work comes away with a feeling of amazement. To his non-critical eye the picture appears to be finished, but the artist gives a critical glance, disapproves, wipes it out, and sets to work again in the effort to reach perfection. The layman sees the working model of the sculptor. He would gladly give it place among his treasured possessions, but the sculptor is not satisfied. He moulds and remoulds, until at last he feels that he can do no more. He has set before himself an ideal and has made every effort to translate the ideal into reality. The patience of the artist and sculptor is a standing challenge to the layman to do worthy work, to give himself wholeheartedly for the achievement of the best.

But just as the artist is enriching the life of the world, he is also degrading it. Among artists we find the same old story; the prostituting of one's talents for the sake of gain. A casual survey of the

magazines displayed at any railway station or large news-stands reveals no dearth of artistic talent, but it does show talent gone astray. A parent cannot but view with alarm the low illustrations in many of our popular magazines. A substantial group of artists are spending their labour for "that which satisfieth not," and bowing their heads before the God of gold. Should the voice of the public become articulate the pornographic evil would find itself to be short-lived.

Though the task of securing food and clothing occupies the greater part of a man's time and attention, the man who is only interested in food and in raiment is a man to be pitied. Man cannot live by bread alone, and he who tries it soon discovers himself to be undernourished and in dire danger of soul starvation. Material things have their place, but they can never feed the spirit within the man. Soul hunger can only be satisfied by the development of the resources, by bringing all the powers of the man to expression. It is only as one grows in appreciation and in understanding of the finer things of life that one begins to live.

#### MASS EDUCATION.

##### RAMKRISHNA MISSION'S APPEAL.

The Secretary of the Ramkrishna Mission writes:—The value of education as a powerful factor in the building up of a nation is well-known to all thinking people. The civilised countries of the West owe their enviable position to the extensive spread of education. And the United States of America tops the list because she has made education universal in the country. Our country presents a sad contrast to this. Witness as a result, the depths of degradation to which our masses have sunk. They are always poor because they do not know how to improve their material condition. They are constantly ill and die because they lack proper food and clothing and are entirely ignorant of the laws of health. They are easy prey to superstitions and are at the mercy of every quack and impostor that chooses to lay his hand on them. They cannot distinguish between what is good for them and what is bringing about their ruin. The condition of their women, in particular, is most deplorable. They are the picture of helplessness in its most pitiable aspect. No man can realise their sufferings; to do this he has to be a woman. And as everybody knows, child mortality in India is appalling. To cut a long story short, the Indian masses are living in a condition that is inhuman, heart rending and utterly unworthy of any civilised society.

This state of things must be immediately stopped. The Indian masses are also human beings, and as such it is the duty of everyone of us to set them on their feet. Our religion teaches the immanence of God in all beings. It will be the highest kind of worship if we try to help these millions of mute suffering men, women and children, our own countrymen, our brethren. It is the worship of the Living God. Swami Vivekananda spoke often of the need of mass education as a solvent for the country's problems. It will interest the public to know that in addition to our other activities we

have been able to start some 65 schools, mostly primary, some of which also impart technical instruction. What we now want is, among other things, to add at least a hundred primary schools, as soon as the necessary funds will be forthcoming. It is upon the secure foundations of education that the structure of national well-being rests. In the name of our suffering millions we appeal to our generous countrymen for funds to carry out this educational work. We are confident that our appeal will meet with prompt response. Contributions, however small, will be thankfully received and acknowledged at the following address:—

(1) The President, Ramkrishna Mission, Belur Math Howrah.

The Manager, Advaita Ashrama, 182 A, Atmaram Babu Street, Calcutta.

(3) The Manager, Udbodhan Office, 1 Mukherji Lane, Baghbazsar, Calcutta.

#### JAYA AND JAYANTA.\*

(By S. M. M.)

This is a translation into English of the famous Gujarati play "Jaya and Jayanta" by Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi. Nanalal has long enjoyed the undisputed position of being one of Gujarat's leading poet. This play is one of the master pieces of Gujarati literature and a favourite among the Gujaratis and it is a matter of satisfaction that at last a translation of it has been placed before the English reading public. The translation ought to help to popularise Nanalal and secure his works the greater attention and publicity which they deserve. As the translator observes in the preface "the book may also serve to show that India is not to be understood merely by a study of Blue-books and official Reports". Mr. Oza's translation maintains admirably the noble spirit and atmosphere of the play. The translation could not have been better. The play deals with the age-long conflict between the pleasures of the flesh and those of the spirit. Jaya, the beautiful daughter of the Chief of the Himalayan regions, vows to lead a chaste life devoted to religion. Her father wishes her to marry Jayanta, the son of his minister who had just returned after a successful campaign against the Demons. Jaya's mother, however, wishes her to marry the King of Benares. Jayanta proposes to Jaya but she declines. Later, she disappears from the palace after refusing to marry the Lord of Kasi. Jayanta leaves the palace and sets forth in search of Jaya. He roams after her for a long time but receiving a Divine message to start a college of physical research on the spot where he was doing penance, obeys it. Jaya in the meantime undergoes many physical and spiritual hardships as when she reaches the Temple of Sense Worshipers and falls into the hands of the Hunter. The wine-laden sensuous atmosphere of the Temple of Sense Worshipers is in direct contrast to the pure atmosphere after which Jaya's soul

hungers. Jaya at last reaches Benares but falling into the hands of the priest of the Temple of Sin throws herself into the waters of the sacred Ganges to save her honour. She is, however, rescued by the pupils of Jayanta who has in the meantime established his college and gained great renown as the Sage of the Supreme Light. The third act depicts the scenes of Jaya and Jayanta's "great decision of love and celibacy" and the foundation of Jaya's college "to train women to a life of true wedded love and chastity".

The motive of the play may best be described in the words of the author as cited in the preface—"The path of platonic love and spiritual celibacy is not smooth, there are infinite temptations in the way, there is risk at every stage, but the heroism of a rarely heroic soul lies in his very fearlessness and supreme faith in the midst of all risks".

#### INDIA AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

(Continued from the last issue.)

In the United States the science of anthropology has been vigorously pursued and liberally endowed; and there, even more adventurously than in Germany, the theories of Aryan origin have been worked over and extended to the uttermost.

#### CONFISCATION.

And yet—so little co-ordinated are the legislative and judicial authorities which the heavily endowed departments of anthropology—the non-scientific label and definition are retained in law. The Indian is our Aryan brother, but apparently he is not of Caucasian household. The Supreme Court in Washington has condemned him to exclusion as a member of a racial family which is outside the pale and by hypothesis belonging to a group which cannot be assimilated, a metal destined to resist all the fires of the American crucible.

This judgment of the Courts was followed by punitive action on the part of the State authorities in California. Many Indians had secured naturalization, or were in possession of their first papers. Of these they were deprived, and in some cases the authorities took the next step of declaring their holding of land to be invalid and confiscating their property. In such cases the law as confirmed by the supreme Court has brought hardship and manifest injustice; but the process, I understand, has now ceased. I know of no measures of compensation for those Indians in California who were deprived of their property, but those who had not been proceeded against are left in peaceful possession, and, although they cannot establish their status, they look forward to staying in the country and bringing up families of (almost) 100 per cent. Americans.

There remains, for California especially, the problem of the Indian intelligentsia, which, at all events for some years, was complicated by the fact that the Pacific coast became a very active centre of Indian revolutionary groups dating from the day of Har Dayal, in 1914, and the Ghadr conspiracy.

\* Published by Messrs. Heath Cranton, Ltd., 6 Fleet Lane, London, E. C. 4. Price 4s. 6d.

The troubles caused by the organization of young Indian extremists in India, of course, do not come within the range of my present subject. I pass them with only one remark. California has been a natural refuge and breeding point for sects both religious and social, and it is not surprising that the American shore of the Pacific should, during the Eastern excitements of the past two decades, have provided a good deal of strange history. Some of the extremist groups have carried on activities directly related to the subversive movements in India; others behaved in such a way as to bring their members into conflict with State authorities in the Far West, and some rather sensational happenings were recorded in consequence. These have tended to find some kind of interpretation in current American fiction, as well as in periodical literature. I mention in this connection "Daughters of Earth," an autobiographic novel by Agnes Smedly, an American woman, who in war-time threw herself into the cause of the young Indian revolutionaries in California. The book gives an exceedingly painful picture, unmistakably authentic, of the suffering of a radical American who became absorbed in the life of a company of 'deracines.'

In this connection I may note the fact, not unimportant in the influencing of American opinion upon Indian affairs, that for many years past a number of Indians, living permanently in America, have been engaged in continuous writing and speaking. A few have had the entree to important newspapers with more or less regularity, and perhaps half a dozen in all have made positions for themselves on the lecture platform. Save for two or three professors, and one very accomplished Bengali writer whose books have a wide and deserved success, these have been, so far as I know, identified with the political opinion of the left; for instance, giving support to the Non-Co-operation Movement. As, almost without exception, they are endowed with remarkable oratorical gifts, the opportunities they enjoy of addressing large audiences in colleges and clubs and in the open forums which have become regular institutions of the American Sunday, are considerable.

#### "MOTHER INDIA."

This perhaps, is the appropriate point for a few words upon the effect in the United States and Canada of Katherine Mayo's provocative book. "Mother India" met with a truly astonishing reception. It was not a best-seller as the term is understood in America (a country which will soon have the largest book-buying public in the world), but it was sold very widely and read enormously. The publisher told me that at the end of the first season its American sales were not less than 120,000. I can give personal testimony to the extent and force of interest it aroused. In the winter after its publication I was lecturing for some two months in the territory lying between Montreal and Washington, New York and Great Lakes, and that year I spoke at a larger number of colleges

than usual. In perhaps the majority of cases I was invited to deal with Miss Mayo's theses, and as a rule I spoke under the heading of "Mother India and Modern India." The announcement of the title was sufficient to draw an overflowing audience. If it happened that in any place I gave two lectures, the one on "Mother India" brought the crowd.

The impression that had been made by the book made an interesting subject for analysis. Roughly, I should say that the audiences accustomed to free debate upon political and social questions such as the Sunday forums, were hostile to, or suspicious of, Miss Mayo. This was due in part to her earlier books on American subjects which were in support of influences deemed by progressive Americans to be anti-democratic. She was condemned as a strongly prejudiced observer. Secondly, in the colleges, unmistakably, the general attitude was one of curiosity. American students, lads and girls, have been excited by a long series of books treating of sex questions without reserve; and the rawness of Miss Mayo's writing in certain chapters was put by American youth in the same class with Judge Ben Lindsey's sensational disclosures of American juvenile immorality. Thirdly, there were the women's clubs and church-goers, who were in the main strongly for Miss Mayo, and convinced that her picture of Indian domestic and social conditions was substantially accurate, not, I think, interested with any political moral that might be drawn from the book, but certainly regarding it as valuable and most satisfactory, since it appeared to show the superiority of American civilization to those strange systems of the East which have a strong picturesque attraction for the Western reader and tourist, and which have been praised by Tagore and many lesser Orientals, and presented to Americans as embodying certain principles and forms of social life far better and infinitely more enduring than those of the dominant and abounding West.

I come now to the general question of America's interest in Indian affairs, a matter which must strike the English traveller in America as something actual and curiously widespread. I note, for instance, that when I spoke for the first time on the Pacific coast—at San Diego in Southern California—the subject asked for was "The Changing British Empire", and the first question of a lively half-hour after the address was, "When General Dyer was removed from the Army, was he given a pension?" From the time of my first visit to the United States, sixteen years ago, I was invited to speak and write about India; but I think it would be accurate to say that it was the coming of the Indian contingent to the Western Front that first aroused the attention of the large public.

#### MR. GANDHI AND AMERICA.

After the War the growth of interest was remarkable. The Punjab disturbances of 1919 and the rise of non-co-operation were featured in the American Press, and from 1922 onwards Mr. Gandhi

became for the American people one of the outstanding personalities of the world. It would be difficult to make actual to an English audience the universality and directness of this interest. Several of the great American dailies sent out special correspondents to cover the Mahatma's movement, and almost every American weekly and monthly printed articles about the man himself and his gospel, emphasizing naturally his anti-Western philosophy at least as much as his political creed. The American imagination had been struck by the spectacle of this little naked elderly man, who had reduced the business of living to its barest terms, renouncing the whole of modernity and defying the mightiest imperial authority in the world.

More even than most people the Americans are attracted or impressed by a startling contrast; and for the denizens of New York and Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles, there could be no imaginable contrast more startling than that provided by the apostle of non-violent non-co-operation. He embodies a complete negation of the American idea, of American history, habit, and ambition. A simple description of Gandhi at Ahmedabad could sound like nothing but the extremist condemnation of America and Americanism; and I suppose that this was the main reason why, to adopt his own idiom, the American got so tremendous a kick out of it.

At the time of Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment, when the Government of India came in for criticism in America from many sides, it was an irresistible temptation for an Englishman to ask his audience or his friends what attitude the Government of the United States would adopt towards a disruptive thinker, with an enormous popular following, who at the crisis of his movement had urged the imperial authority to take him at his word. Would President Wilson, or any one of his successors, have allowed the Gandhist challenge to go unanswered? And was there not a very striking moral to be drawn from such a contrast as this that a Judge in India sentenced the Ali Brothers to imprisonment for two years only, while in the United States men and women had been condemned to twenty years' imprisonment for distributing a circular or for making speeches about war and peace no worse than might be heard in comfort any day on an Indian 'maidan'?

#### THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON NEO-HINDUISM.

The *Examiner*, Bombay, reproduces an article by the Rev. J. D'Souza, the first part of which we print below:—

The backbone of the Neo-Hindu movement which has been gaining force in recent years, is formed by the mass of educated men who have received in a greater or lesser degree an English formation in the Universities. The initiators of the revival may have been, like Dayananda Saraswati or Ramkrishna Paramahansa, men with an exclusively Brahminic

upbringing; and its apologists are certainly fond of representing it as of purely Indian growth, as a return to the Vedic religion in its pristine purity. To a certain extent this is true. But the sentiment that upholds it, its organization and methods of propaganda, its great financial resources, come from the educated class, from lawyers, teachers, government officials, politicians, merchants, and students. This it is that constitutes its peculiar danger. For these men will sooner or later become masters in India. They are just those from whom, because of their education, a more sympathetic attitude towards Christianity might have been expected. But in spite of the general scepticism characteristic of their class, they are not ashamed of Hinduism; and they are so far faithful to its fundamental beliefs as to show themselves openly convinced and at times militant Hindus.

There are many causes that account for this state of things; and students of Missiology have been busy studying them. But hitherto far too little has been made of the part of English literature in developing the Neo-Hindu mentality; not of the professedly anti-Christian books disseminated by agencies like the Rationalist Press Association, which after all reach comparatively few readers; but of the great storehouse of classical English literature which does not treat of religion directly; which is not intended as a weapon of religious propaganda by a neutral government, nor looked upon as such by the Indian public; which apparently is no more than a means of intellectual culture. The study of this literature is obligatory on all those wishing to gain the coveted University degree. It has the most important place in each of the three public examinations that mark the stages of the University course. And as the text-books for each of these three tests are changed every two years, all shades and varieties of this vast literature are being slowly diffused among the educated classes, unconsciously moulding their thoughts and forms of expression.

Now, the Indian student easily falls under the charm of this immensely rich and fascinating literature. One of the most distinguished of modern Indians, Romesh Chunder Dutt has described somewhere in glowing language, the spell cast upon him and his companions during their college days, by English poetry. Its beauty seemed to them irresistible; its rhythm haunted their ears; often they used to keep awake till late in the night reading aloud Shelley and Byron and Keats. The generation that followed R. C. Dutt adored Tennyson and Swinburne. My own college companions were passionately devoted to Meredith and Hardy. And so doubtless it will go on for a long time still, whatever be the changes in the political field. For the curious thing about this love of English books is that it goes hand in hand with an intense nationalism. In the world of books the Indian intellectual forgets his political antipathies and opens his heart to accents that seem to him all but divine. Nay, is it not precisely English literature and history which have

kindled and still keep feeding within him the flame of nationalism? Indian political oratory is modelled on that of the great English Parliamentarians. And when the Indian Patriot is in need of particularly cogent argument, or a telling quotation, it is to English literature that he still goes—to Milton and Burke, to Mill and John Morley.

Nor is this love of English ideas and forms of expression a passing circumstance, a purely superficial sentiment to be cast off when its usefulness will have ceased. No, the Indian enthusiasm for English literature is based on something far deeper, I mean on a real, though perhaps an unconscious, sympathy for and understanding of, the English character. This may seem an astonishing thing to say in view of the magnitude and bitterness of the political struggle; astonishing to those who are impressed by the cheap antithesis between the cold and practical Englishman and the emotional and contemplative Oriental. But to anyone who looks beneath the surface it is clear that in spite of the thousand differences that separate Englishman and Indian there is a fundamental similarity in their characters. The artistic leanings of the two people are predominately literary or rather poetic. The depth of sentiment and emotion which the Englishman hides within him, often by means of an affected cynicism, his love of animals, of country life and of nature, his incurable homesickness, his melancholy are familiar to students of English lyric poetry. The English language is essentially a poetic medium, full of concrete and figurative terms steeped in suggestiveness, and except in the hands of the greatest masters, a difficult vehicle of abstract thought. This feature of English character and speech goes straight to the heart of the Indian. He, too, has an affectionate, even sentimental, nature. He is almost morbidly sensitive, has an unconquerable love of home and family, and an intense repugnance to tear himself away from all that is old and familiar and consecrated by usage. His finest efforts at abstract thought are marred by the intrusion of the poetic and mystic element. A beautiful metaphor has for him more force than a logical argument. Often in books of modern Indian philosophy, one is not sure where the metaphor ends and the doctrine begins.

Closely connected with the emotionalism, is the English love of moralizing which too, pleases the Indian. We must all recognize in the paradoxical English character, a store of genuine idealism which, notwithstanding his gift of humour, breaks out in rolling phrases about "doing good," "acting nobly," "leaving the world better and purer," "casting sunshine around us," about the "nobility of service," of being "helpful and brotherly." Protestant tract-literature, we may note in passing, revels in this phraseology, divorced from dogmatic teaching and often a mere cloak for sentiment. The Hindu, equally undogmatic in his beliefs, is delighted by it. He learns to repeat these pompous platitudes. And what is

worse, just as with a certain type of Englishmen all this fine talk does not hinder actions dictated by self-interest, so, too, many a modern Indian throws a veil over his sordid and material pursuits by "lofty" talk about the spirituality of the East," which equals in sanctimoniousness, the choicest flowers of Peck-sniff and Chadband.

This community of sentiment both in its good and its less noble aspects, growing stronger by mutual action, explains many a curious feature of the Indian situation to-day. It explains why the Indian student masters the subtleties of English expression with comparative ease, and prides himself on that mastery. It explains why, for example, Vijayaraghavachariar presiding over a National Congress violently hostile to the Government could speak of England as "the greater Athens of the Modern world" without raising a protest. It explains why any eloquent English speaker, whatever his personal character and opinions, can hold the attention of a turbulent audience. No wonder therefore that the Indian patriot tries his best to perfect himself in so congenial a medium as the English language; no wonder he dreams of adding to the glory of his country by writing books that may become English classics. This in fact has been already done by those who are in the thickest of the religious and political struggle. The splendid eloquence of S. Banerjee and Sriivasa Sastri, the noble and austere prose of M. K. Gandhi, the exquisitely melodious lyrics of Toru Dutt and Sarojini Naidu, the superb diction of Rabindranath Tagore are now, to the Indian, part of the great tradition of English letters. The English conqueror may or may not have come to India to stay; but surely English literature will abide.

#### FRIENDSHIP CHESTS FOR FILIPINO CHILDREN.

The *Federal Council Bulletin* for October contains the following:—"We who desire peace must write it in the hearts of Children." Believing this to be true, the Committee on World Friendship Among Children is planning a project for cultivating understanding and goodwill between the children of the United States and those of the Philippine Islands. This is the third of these goodwill projects, the first being the Dolls of Friendship with the children of Japan and the second, the Friendship School Bags with the children of Mexico.

The country chosen for the third project is the Philippine Islands and the symbol chosen to bear the goodwill greetings from the children of the United States to the Filipino children is a Friendship Treasure Chest. The project will be consummated in the Philippines on December 30, 1930, a national holiday commemorating the death of Dr. José Rizal, the great Filipino patriot. The Department of Education will receive the Friendship Treasure Chests and distribute them and their contents to the children of the Philippines.

It was found necessary to make the Friendship Treasure Chests of a material impervious to white ants and, because of its decorative possibilities, metal was finally chosen. The Chests are  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$  inches in size, with the handles of brass and a lock and key. They are delightfully lithographed in eleven colors and the Committee believes that children will happily study the charming old maps; the pictures of Washington and Rizal, of Columbus and Magellan; the watchful sea-serpent and whale; and Old Boreas and Father Neptune controlling the winds and the waves.

It is hoped that the filling of the Friendship Treasure Chests will be the culmination of a program of study of the country and the people. As a help to such a program, a bibliography of books on the Philippines has been compiled and arranged in two lists, one for adults and one for children.

As in others, the children of the United States will be asked to send to the children of the Philippines a personal letter of friendly greeting with a goodwill message, together with such articles as crayons, drawing sets, games, scrapbooks, harmonicas, sewing kits, paper dolls, puzzles, handkerchiefs and beads. In addition, it is hoped that every Friendship Treasure Chest will contain at least one book, preferably two. Even though the Filipino children learn English in their schools there are very few public libraries. There is, therefore, a great need for good books. A bibliography of 400 books suitable for children from six to fifteen years of age has been prepared under the supervision of Miss Clara Whitehill Hunt of Brooklyn, a librarian widely known as an authority on children's books. It is planned that wherever possible this project will be made a community affair, offering as it does an unusual opportunity for peace education.

The War Department has offered to send the Friendship Treasure Chests to the Philippines free of charge by Army Transports sailing from New York and San Francisco. The Chests to be filled are distributed by the Committee on World Friendship Among Children, N. Y., at \$2.00 each.

#### FIFTY YEARS OF NAVAVIDHAN—ITS MEANING AND ITS MESSAGE.

##### A CALL TO THE JUBILEE CELEBRATION.

All communications relating to the Jubilee are to be addressed to the Secretaries, Jubilee-Centenary Committee, Peace Cottage, 84, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

The Secretaries, Jubilee-Centenary Committee Calcutta, write to us as follows:—The declaration of Navavidhan in 1880 was a significant event in the spiritual history of Modern India. It was preceded by a period of preparation covering exactly half a century. Rammohan Roy, the great forerunner prepared the way for its advent when he called his friends to unite in Unitarian worship in 1825.

Later on he inaugurated the Brahma Sabha in 1828. To crown all after full five years of preparation, the need for a permanent place of worship was felt and the Brahma Samaj was established in 1830.

From the very start Upasana (worship) was the rallying point around which the members met. In the early days, during the first twenty years up till 1850, readings from Vedantic scriptures formed an important part of Upasana (worship), which meant tuning our spirit to the olden *rishis* and seers of India. The days of Vakhyan (interpretation) came. Whatever spiritual experience found entrance into Maharshi Debeniranath's soul came to be accepted in the Brahma Samaj, and dwelt upon at length in his Vakhyan and Sermons.

With the advent of the ministry of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen began the emphasis on direct prayers and Aradhana (Adoration). Instead of God being referred to in the third person, He came to be addressed to in the second person. This was an important step forward in the evolution of the Upasana of Navavidhan. Realization of such direct relationship led inevitably to the idea of *dispensation* (God seeking man) and to the facts of communion with God and reception of Adesh (Divine Command) from Him. These fundamental spiritual experiences have led to all the manifold thoughts, sentiments and activities that have gained recognition as Navavidhan.

Accepting as we do the continuity of the Dispensation, we cannot but say with Keshub that the Dispensation began with the foundation of the Calcutta Brahma Samaj at Jorasanko and prepared the worshippers and workers for fifty years. After an unconscious preparation for fifty years, it came to be consciously recognized in 1880 as the Navavidhan. Such realization came only after the acid test of Adesh (Divine command) which the faithful had to pass through.

In celebrating the Jubilee, therefore, we must rejoice also over the Centenary of this Brahma Samaj at Jorasanko, Calcutta, which is to be celebrated in 1930, for we are bound to it by spiritual affiliation, spiritual continuity and spiritual development and in many matters affecting our social and national life.

The Dispensation that we call the Navavidhan (New Dispensation) is not an isolated fact in history or society. It has not come for the emancipation of a handful privileged people. It forsakes none but it has come for all and through all. It has come through all humanity for it is given to us to see that the law of synthesis and harmony is operating in all the churches, sects and communions. Like the law of universal gravitation, it is the spiritual law that makes for spiritual communion and spiritual solidarity. Other communions, therefore, have a claim upon our love and goodwill. The removal of conflict between sect and sect, church and church, class and class, nation and nation, can only come from the spiritual law of synthesis and active parti-

icipation in all spiritual experiences in the individual as well as in the collective life in the race.

The outlook of the Navavidhan, therefore, comprehends the social, the national and religious aspects of the life of the people. Our flag is at once national and international. Our ideal is at once individual and collective. Our gospel is at once ancient and modern.

We, therefore, request all our countrymen and those who are outside its borders to send their greetings and goodwishes and to participate with us, whenever and wherever possible, in the joys which will accompany the celebration of the unique event, The Navavidhan Jubilee.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Mrs. Bryan's visit to India:**—Mr. Roy, the Oriental Press, New York, sends us the following information:—The Women's Peace Union which has at its head Miss Jeannette Rankin, the first woman to be elected to the United States Congress, who as an avowed pacifist voted against America's entry into the world war in 1917, recently issued an invitation to a dinner in honor of Mrs. Jane S. Bryan at the Butler Hall of the Columbia University. Soon after this dinner, the Indo-American Association gave a Hindu dinner at the Ceylon-India Inn in appreciation of her varied services for the welfare of the Orient in general, and India in particular. These dinners were arranged at this time specially because Mrs. Bryan starts on a tour around the world in the interest of peace. Mrs. Bryan is not related to William Jennings Bryan. But there is a spiritual kinship between the two in their militant enthusiasm for world peace. She belongs to the Unitarian Church. Mrs. Bryan realizes that the relationship between the East and the West is far from satisfactory. During this educational trip to the Orient and Europe she is going to study the fundamental causes of this discord and to try to discover a method of producing harmony between the Orient and the Occident. Mrs. Bryan is indeed well fitted for such a task. She has, for the last thirty years, taught in the public schools of New York. India owes Mrs. Bryan a debt of gratitude. Indians who have lived in New York for the last fifteen years know her services to India. Lala Lajpat Rai and Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar knew her well and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu became acquainted with her during her recent visit to America.

**Hindustani Seva Dal:**—The General Secretary of the Hindustani Seva Dal has issued the following circular in connection with the ensuing monthly Flag salutation:—“Apropos the recent debate in the House of Commons and the replies of the Secretary of State for India on the announcement of the Viceroy regarding the question of constitutional reforms for India, it is very evident, that the hands of the leaders of India's masses should be strengthened in their endeavour to solve the problem of Indian Swaraj either through the means of a Round Table Conference as suggested in the Viceregal announcement or otherwise. The well-known, trite saying that “Union is Strength” was never so necessary of being put into action as at the present moment. And how best can we show our unity except by coming under one Flag—the Indian Nationa

Tricolour with the Charkha on it—and saluting it at every place in India with vast mass demonstrations? We therefore, trust that the ensuing eleventh monthly Flag Salutation of the Dal at 8 A.M. on Sunday, November 24, 1929, will prove doubly successful and reports of the same will be promptly sent to the Dal Headquarters.” Hindustani Seva Dal, Hubli, Karnatak.

**Mr. Kunru in England:**—Pandit H. N. Kunru President of the East African Indian National Congress, interviewed Lord Passfield with the object of impressing the Minister with the unanimity of all parties in India, the princes and the Government of India included, on questions concerning Indians overseas and also presenting a memorandum on behalf of the Congress which, it is understood, criticizes some statements in the Wilson report, as ‘creating a misunderstanding regarding the position of the Indian community and Mr. Sastri.’ It is stated that Mr. Kunru has gathered the impression that complete agreement exists between the Government of India and Mr. Wedgwood Benn on the question of an effective protection of Indian interests. The Cabinet proposals are expected about the end of this month.

**Aga Khan's Prize Offer:**—The Aga Khan has offered through the Royal Aero Club a prize of £500 for the first England India or India England flight by a person of Indian nationality. The flight must be solo and must be completed within six weeks. The prize will be open for a year from the 1st January next.

**Mrs. Sarojini Naidu:**—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu left Bombay for East Africa by the s.s. Khandala on Wednesday afternoon to preside over the East African Congress commencing at Nairobi on December 7. She intends to return to India on December 21 in time for the Lahore Congress. Interviewed, Mrs. Naidu stated that the ensuing session of the East African Indian Congress had to consider the critical situation created by the Hilton-Young Commission's Report and Sir Samuel Wilson's Report. Generally speaking, Indians in East Africa were fighting for the introduction of a common electoral roll, and that question would occupy the serious attention of the delegates to the Congress.

**“Varasulka”:**—Mr. R. S. Mani of Kottarakari has addressed the following to Mr. Sarda:—“The purpose of this letter is to bring to your notice another system which has vitally affected the Hindu Society more especially the Brahmins of South India. I mean the Varasulka. I do not know the practice prevailing in Northern India. Varasulka is the price paid by the parents of the bride to the parents of the bride-groom for marriage. In the Southern Presidency this system has got such a firm grip on the Society that it is impossible for a poor man to have his girls married to eligible husbands. The bride-groom need not be rich, accomplished, educated or money-making. But the only thing is that the bride-groom should not be a female but a male. Immediately he demands a price from Rs. 500 to Rs. 10,000 according to the whims and caprices of the bride-groom's people. This system has come into being for the past 25 or 40 years. Before that it was the other way. The parents of the bride demanded a price from the bride-groom party. This pernicious system if allowed to go on for another decade is sure to impoverish and ruin the Hindu Society beyond redemption. I am prepared to give statistics in support of my statement from certain selected

typical Brahmin villages. Now I would put a straight question to the Sanathanists and Maddathipathies. This system of Varasulka is prohibited by the Sruthis and Smrithis. According to Hindu Law eight forms of marriage are recognised. Of these five are approved and three disapproved. One of the disapproved form is in which a price is demanded and taken by the father. Such being the case how is it that this system is allowed to go on by the Sanathanists and Madhathipathies? Have any of these pseud-protectors and upholders of Hindu religion raised their little finger to stop this evil practice?"

"Indian Centre" of New York:—A *Pioneer* special cable says:—A campaign sponsored by Mr. Hari Govil, the founder of the India Society of America, has begun to raise 22,000 dollars for buying a six-storey building on Riverside Drive as the "Indian centre," where it is proposed to set aside one room for a Hindu temple to be transported from India.

Jubbulpore Temple Thrown Open.—Through the efforts of Mr. G. D. Birla, M.L.A. and Seth Jamnala Bajaj the temple of Ramkrishna near Hanumantal which is the property of Seth Beohar Raghupir Singh and his son Rajendra Singh was thrown open to "Untouchables" this morning. A large number of "Untouchables" visited the temple. The action of Seth Beohar Raghupir Singh and his son who are Kayestha by caste has caused considerable resentment amongst the orthodox Hindu circles of the City.

Tolerated Vice Areas.—At a meeting of the "Calcutta Parliament" the following resolution was passed. "This House affirms its adherence to the principle of a high equal standard of morality as between the sexes and places on record its opposition to the system of tolerated vice areas prevailing in Calcutta and other cities."

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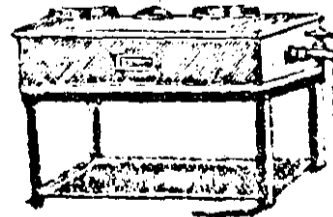
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No. 13

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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<p>Mahatma Gandhi And The Social Conference. Pandit Jawaharlal's Letters To His Daughter. Opposition To The Marriage Act. The Sarda Act And Early Marriages. Jubbulpore Leads. Film Stars In India. India And The Western World. Marriage and Divorce. That Men May All Be Brothers The Indo-British Mutual Welfare League.</p>	<p>National Union Of Societies For Equal Citizenship. The Temperance Work In Ranikhet. Need For Divorce Law In Hind Society. An Indian Lady On Divorce. Divorce Laws Disapproved. The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore. Women's Demands. Christianity And Social Work. Women And Civic Life. News of The Week.</p>
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## NOTES.

**Mahatma Gandhi And The Social Conference** :—Mahatma Gandhi—we shall continue to use the designation, which Mr. Gandhi repudiates, as pre-war titles are continued in the post-war republics of Europe as a personal name—is expected or thinks he is expected to give a reason for every act or omission of his, and he seems also to think that he should give one which is unique of its kind or, at any rate, will not be commonplace. He declined to accept the Presidentship of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress on the ground that he has lost touch with the younger generation of politicians although the selection of the alternative President clearly showed that the younger generation is only too ready to carry out his behests. He has now declined the Presidentship of the National Social Conference on the ground of his preoccupations, adding that "his way is often different from those of orthodox reformers." The promoters of the Conference presumably knew something of Mahatmaji's ways and probably wished to know more of it when they invited him to preside over its next session. They themselves, perhaps, preferred his ways to those of "orthodox reformers" whoever they may be, and wanted his instruction in those ways so that they may attain proficiency in them. However that may be, there is a subtle psychological and even spiritual danger in the desire to establish a character for uniqueness in one's generation. Social reform, like other reforms, can be achieved only in one way, though it may be spoiled in several ways. That way is education and personal example—putting within men the knowledge which should motivate reform and removing their apprehensions regarding the effect of innovations by the reformer showing the way by his own personal conduct. All other ways, dramatic and sensational, are liable to create reactions of the kind which Emerson had in mind when he wrote that "a great immorality treads on the heels of every reformation." So far as

we have been able to judge, Mahatma Gandhi's method is of the right type. He has never asked people to do anything which he has not himself tested and found good in his own life, and his educational propaganda far exceeds in efficacy those of the older generation of reformers. There can be no patent in ways of social reform, and there is no orthodoxy in it either. We, therefore, regret Mahatmaji's wholly uncalled for remark which suggests a difference which does not exist. Social reformers of all shades have welcomed Mahatmaji's advent into the field as an extensive farmer might welcome the advent of the steam-plough in place of his old wooden contrivance.

**Pandit Jawaharlal's Letters To His Daughter** :—It may come as a surprise to many, as it did to us, that the President designate of the next session of the National Congress, has a daughter in whose education he takes a personal interest. Pandit Jawaharlal has been popularly regarded as a perennial youth without any of the affinities which beset other men and as a root-and-branch radical in religious, social and economic as in political matters. But this collection of letters to his little daughter ten years old, which he has been persuaded to publish, shows him to be a man with a deep-rooted sense of parental duty which is the most effective guarantee against root-and-branch radicalism turning into tooth-and-claw revolutionism. Many who felt rather sceptical about Pandit Jawaharlal's nomination to the Presidentship of the Congress, will feel reassured to know that the senior political organisation in the country is to be guided by a man who has a high sense of responsibility as a family man. In this respect the Pandit shows to advantage by the side of some who are far his seniors in political life. Of the letters themselves, our first impression on looking over them is that they must have been rather boring to a child of ten. The father is himself now and then alive to this possibility and he tries to write in a vein which, he thinks, is more likely to fit in with the fancy of his tiny correspondent, but he does not succeed very well. The fact is, his ideas about the education of his child seem to be about the same as James Mill's about the education of his son, John Stuart. The latter in his Autobiography, which Pandit Jawaharlal has no doubt read, points out with surprising detachment the defects of his father's system as manifested in himself. We hope little Miss Nehru's child nature is proof against her father's pedagogic efforts, and that she would not, as she grows up, have much of the thin rationalism of J. S. Mill.

**Opposition To The Marriage Act:**—While the orthodox Hindu opposition to the Sarda Marriage Act has spent its force, Mahomedans who see in the Act an infringement of their religious law, are still carrying on an agitation to get their community exempted from it. An All-India Conference of Mahomedans who are of this view is to be held at Cawnpore and in an appeal issued in connection with it, it is said that the object of the Conference is to preserve the Islamic law. It is admitted that there is no religious obligation on Mahomedans as on some castes of Hindus to marry their girls before puberty. Their objection seems to be that as the Islamic law does not prohibit child marriages the Indian Legislature could not do so, so far as Musalmans are concerned. The Islamic law does not forbid slavery. Should the Indian Legislature allow Mahomedans to have slaves? Islam punishes with severe penalties a person who leaves it for another faith. The Indian law, on the other hand, protects the property rights of such converts. The argument is absolutely untenable and no wonder few Mahomedans outside the theological class have joined in this objection. The Viceroy's reply to the deputation led by Maulana Mahomed Ali has made it perfectly, but politely, clear that the opposition to the Act is misconceived and that Government cannot support the exclusion of any community from the provisions of a law intended to protect female children. Unless it can be shown that child marriage has on Muslim girls an effect markedly different from that on other girls, the opposition movement is bound to be futile. Hindus have been denounced up and down as the protagonists of child marriage. This doubtful honour should now belong to the Indian Musalmans who are carrying on this misguided agitation.

**The Sarda Act And Early Marriages:**—In allowing the appeal against the decision of the District Magistrate of East Godavari permitting the marriage of a rich boy aged 12 to a girl of 11, which was commented on in these columns recently, Mr. Justice Venkata Subba Rao said that the statement of the Magistrate was "a pamphlet on early marriage and betrays a lack of judicial decorum and balance." Mr. Subba Rao pointed out the disastrous results if judges showed open hostility to the Sarda Act from the Bench.

**Jubbulpore Leads:**—The justice of the claims of the untouchables to temple entry is increasingly coming to be recognised. In this respect Jubbulpore has set a fine example to the whole of India by throwing open eight temples to the so-called untouchables. One of these important temples to admit untouchables for worship is that of Radhakrishna which is a hundred years old. It is gratifying that progressive ideas are fast gaining ground in the cosmopolitan city of Bombay and the decision of the Trustees of the Ramchandraj temple to admit all members of the Hindu community for worship within its precincts is a welcome precedent. The Trustees themselves declared in reply to a congratulatory message that they have, in taking the step, done only their duty and nothing more. The removal of untouchability is engaging the best minds in the country. The Indian National Congress has entrusted Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj whose devotion for the cause of the untouchables

has borne fruit in the Central Provinces, to carry on an intensive propaganda during this year.

**Film Stars In India:**—Mr. A. M. Green, Acting Trade Commissioner for India who had served as a member of the Indian Cinematograph Committee, read a paper before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts on the Film Industry in India. We give below an extract on the position of actors and actresses generally in that profession, which will interest our readers:—  
"There are many excellent dramatic performers in India, but the profession, as indeed was the case in England not so very many years ago, is, to say the least, not very highly accounted. In reputable Indian dramatic companies the women's parts are still, as in Elizabethan days in England, played by men or boys. This expedient has even been tried for film work, but met with well-merited failure. Thus actresses have been found essential, and in the past have mainly been drawn from the dancing-girl class. This reacts on the supply of actors, who in the circumstances can seldom be obtained from the more select or cultured classes. It also reacts more or less on all connected with the industry, to which a certain stigma undoubtedly attaches. Consequently, it is seldom that men of culture or education are attracted to the industry, either as actors, producers, or even financiers. Happily, however, there are honourable exceptions and signs are not wanting of a general improvement".

**India And The Western World:**—Mr. Richard B. Gregg author of "Economics of Khaddar" writes in *World Tomorrow* in reviewing Miss Mayo's "Slaves of the Gods" and another book by an American:—" Criticisms about other people, books of travel, and foreign travel itself are now becoming a part of the lives of so many Americans that we ought to think out clearly and surely our standards and methods of valuation with which we are to estimate ourselves and other peoples of the world. We can no longer afford to be parochial in our judgments. After all, the inhabitants of the United States are only about one-tenth of the population of the world. And if the doctrine that the majority rules should apply to manners, customs and beliefs as well as to politics, and if it be in some degree true that children should be seen but not heard, might it not be wise for us to refrain from being too dogmatic and condemnatory, at least until we have tried long and earnestly to understand ways, that are different from our own? We should try not only to see the differences between other peoples and ourselves but, more important still, to see the resemblances underlying the apparent differences. Such an attitude seems to be more interesting, more scientific, and more illuminating. One cannot wholly explain the huge sales of Miss Mayo's books on the ground that Anglo-Saxons have morbid and maliciously gossipy minds. It seems more probable that there is among us a prevailing uneasy conscience and sense of insecurity in relation to the colored races which such books as these greatly soothe and comfort. If you read them, bear in mind Bernard Shaw's dictum that all criticism is a form of autobiography, and meditate upon the attitude and position of the white race. Then smile, for we are all children and have much to learn."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1929.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

Fifty years ago, the leader of English Positivists and the eminent man of letters, the late Mr. Frederic Harrison, wrote a review of the life of George Eliot (Miss Marion Evans) by J. W. Cross whom she married after the death of George Lewes, a married man with a family, with whom she had lived for several years in relations of an informal kind. George Eliot was one of the pioneers of the women's emancipation movement in England. She was one of the foremost thinkers of her time and she was a great writer. She had very high notions of purity, and was held in deep respect by her friends of whom Frederic Harrison was one. Her action in contracting an irregular alliance with a married man of family, could not be passed over in silence by a conscientious reviewer and Harrison touched on it in a couple of earnest and eloquent paragraphs. In them he took occasion to set forth his own view of marriage. He began by paying a noble tribute to George Eliot, who had died a few years previously, but felt constrained to disapprove of her relations with George Lewes. We quote his words as they represent the ideal of marriage cherished by some of the finest Englishmen of the last century:—

The cause to which some of us have pledged our lives in labouring in every way to fortify the marriage bond; would teach the future to make it indissoluble by law, and indissoluble even by death. In the chaos which has followed the loosening of old moral and religious canons, strange and unwholesome doctrines are put forth in the name of society and moral duty; and whilst opinion and religion sanction divorce, the unsettlement of ideas will still be profound. But we trust the future will recognise that responsibility in marriage and happiness in marriage alike depend on its irrevocable nature. The future will know nothing of degrees of marriage or of any honourable union but that of the inflexible law of the land. It is the essence of marriage to be above the field of individual exceptions, to stand supreme, high beyond all personal opinions, miseries or joys. The happiness of individuals would be dearly bought if it dimmed, by one passing shadow of suspicion, the inviolable institution whereon the happiness of all depends. It is meet sometimes that some suffer for the people. The moral law is infinitely more precious than the personal happiness of any; and the sufferings of exceptional cases must be borne with resignation, lest harm befall the sanctity of every home, and the moral currency be debased."

The Positivists of whom Harrison was the leading figure in England at the time had revolted against dogmatic religion because

they thought that they had found a higher one in the religion of humanity. His idea of the sanctity of marriage was not derived, therefore, from ecclesiastical sources which Positivists repudiated. It was conceived as one of the essential elements in the perfection of humanity which was the goal of Comte and his followers. The Positivist ideal exceeded the Catholic one by regarding marriage irrevocable even by death and it exceeded the Brahmanical one by being the same for both men and women.

This transcendental ideal has not found acceptance in the West. The hope of Harrison has not been fulfilled. The Catholic countries instead of going forward and making marriage irrevocable even by death, have adopted civil marriage laws which allow divorce. The course of reform among Hindus, instead of levelling up the law to the practice of Hindu women, prohibiting remarriage for widowers as for widows, has taken the direction of allowing the remarriage of widows as of widowers. And now there is a growing demand for the introduction of divorce among Brahmins and other Hindus who are subject to the Brahmanical law. Something like a split seems to have developed over the resolution advocating divorce at the Women's Social Conference held in Madras last week, as will be seen from the excerpts which are printed in another part of this issue. Broadly speaking, the division of opinion at the Conference was between married and unmarried women, and amongst them, between the younger and the older generations. The point of view of the elder married women is well expressed in the letter of Mrs. Sivan to Mrs. Cousins reproduced elsewhere. Her first argument is that the mention of the word "divorce" will scare away thousands of men and women otherwise sympathetically inclined to social reform. The same argument used to be urged against the movement to remove the prohibition of the remarriage of Hindu widows, and is no more convincing in the one case than in the other. Mrs. Sivan's most effective argument is that Indian women should set a high example of sacrifice in the maintenance of the inviolability of the marriage relation. "In my opinion," she writes, "the breaking of solemn marriage pledges by one party does not call for the breaking of pledges by the other." This is a high ideal approximating to that defined by Frederic Harrison, but we are afraid that there is no more possibility of its being observed in India than it has been in Western countries. And there are practical considerations which Mrs. Sivan and those of her way of thinking do not seem sufficiently to appreciate. That she is herself not altogether unmindful of the difficulty arising from the one-sided obligations of the Hindu system as it is to-day, is clear from her advice to



her sisters to "educate man to a higher level of perfection". This however is a counsel of perfection. Men have not learnt from women, all these many centuries that the latter have submitted to the existing laws, to be more like them in their devotion and sacrifice for the marriage ideal. It is hard to expect women to go on bearing the burden of the sanctity of marriage on their shoulders alone, in a society where most of them are married before they are capable of understanding what marriage is. Some sort of arrangement to permit the severance of the marriage bond in cases of definite hardship is evidently inevitable, and it is as well to admit that fact. The sanctity of marriage cannot be injured by admitting that mistakes are possible in marriage as in other matters and providing an easy and expeditious way of correcting them whenever they happen.

As for how this can be done, we would refer to an important letter from the Hon. Mr. B. V. Jadhav which we published in the *Reformer* of the 8th June. Mr. Jadhav observed: "It is generally supposed by the educated people that the Hindu law does not recognise divorce. But Smriti writes such as Narad, Vasishta and even Manu countenance it and the present practice will be known if one will scan the pages of vernacular mofussil newspapers in the Bombay Presidency. One will be surprised to see the immense number of notices given by deserted wives to their husbands, calling upon them to redeem the debts they had incurred and to give security for considerate treatment in future. The notice warns the husband that his default will be taken as divorce granted by him and his wife would marry again. This shows the state of things in which the divorce is said to be obtained without any judicial proceedings." It is along these customary lines, that a simple and satisfactory solution should be found for the increasing number of hard cases of wives deserted or maltreated by their husbands.

#### THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

XLVIII. THE UNEMPLOYED.

(DR. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, PH. D.)

The unemployment problem in India is a most critical one. The vast majority of the population is dependent for its living upon agriculture. Agriculture as at present practiced cannot provide enough regular openings for those who desire to work, and for certain periods of the year there is practically no employment in the villages. Many of the villagers endeavour to supplement their scanty income by migrating to the cities, where they either succeed in securing some sort of unskilled labour, or join the great company of the unemployed. The unemployed group in the city falls into five general classes. There are the skilled labourers,

who through temporary depression in industry find themselves let out. There is the experienced clerical class, with numbers far in excess of the demand. There is the untrained clerical class, mostly the new crop of matriculates and graduates. There is the unskilled labour class, with the necessary physical qualifications for employment. And there is the large unskilled class which for various reasons is wholly unemployable.

With the people who are out of work through no fault of their own we have the utmost sympathy. To tramp the streets daily in search of an opening; to see one's family suffering for lack of food; to fight a continuous battle with one's self in order to maintain one's own self-respect is a difficult experience. The skilled worker knows full well that he is capable of taking full part in the life of the world, but he finds himself denied. The worker who takes a job one day and leaves it the next is not so deserving of sympathy. He is both a social and an economic loss. Always talking about his "rights," he never stops to consider his duties. The greatest temptation that presents itself to the unemployed man is to look out rather than in. The workman who is out of a job falls a ready prey to the agitator who calls his attention to the graspingness of factory owners; to the ruthlessness of employers as a class; to the weakness of a capitalistic and imperialistic government—in fact to everything but the fitness of the worker himself. And it is this latter point that is one of the most important elements in the whole labour situation.

The problem of unemployment has many angles, but it can never be solved without a generous application of the principle of brotherhood. As long as employers think only in terms of self and of profits, the problem will remain. When men begin to think in terms of service and humanity the problem will begin to disappear. If one-half of the energy that is expended in building up great fortunes were expended in an attempt to bring about a better social and economic adjustment, a new day would soon be at hand. Social maladjustment will cease when men with all their hearts actually will that it shall cease. The social body can only be healthy as its members are healthy. "We, being many, are...one."

#### THE INDO-BRITISH MUTUAL WELFARE LEAGUE.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

May we use the columns of your esteemed paper to draw attention to the work of the *Indo-British Mutual Welfare League*, a non-political and non-sectarian organisation of Indian and British men and women in London, linked together for greater friendship and mutual service. The Aims and Objects of the League, as set out in its official leaflet, are as follows:—

1. To promote a closer friendship between India and Britain through mutual understanding and service.

2. To help existing organisations in their work of social development.

3. To provide a bureau where accurate information on India may be obtained.

4. To assist Indian visitors to become acquainted with welfare work in Britain.

5. To hold lectures and conferences on social subjects of interest to Britishers and Indians.

6. To raise a Scholarship Fund for students.

Recent events have awakened considerable British interest in Indian Problems, resulting in the growth of several societies and committees desirous of helping India on her path of social progress. The League as a strong central unit is endeavouring to affiliate all such existing organisations and has on its Committee representatives from the Women's Indian Association (Mrs. D. Jinarajadasa), British Commonwealth League (Mrs. Rama Rau), Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association for the spread of Women's Institutes (Mrs. Matthai), the Ladies Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Y. M. C. A. (Mrs. M. Palit), etc.

The spirit animating the League is one of mutual responsibility with a willingness to learn rather than a wish to dictate.

In placing these facts and avenues for co-operation before your public, we invite response from your readers and would welcome any suggestions and criticisms.

Lyceum Club, } Yours, etc.,  
138, Piccadilly, } EMILY LUTYENS, Chairman,  
London. } MRS. HANNAH SEN, Jt. Secretary.

#### NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship is a union of 109 local societies in Great Britain and has nine specialized national bodies also affiliated to it. The Union is well known for its admirable work in connection with legislation affecting the status and welfare of women.

From time to time it has published valuable surveys of particular problems in the "Signpost" series such as a volume on women in local government and another on insurance.

The National Union worked hard in educating public opinion in regard to woman's suffrage in India, Burmah and Ceylon through meetings, deputations and memoranda to the various governments and commissions concerned. They have taken the same action in regard to suffrage in South Africa, and on such questions as reciprocal maintenance and nationality with Australia and the other dominions.

The Women's Movement has always been international in scope and the work the National Union of societies for Equal Citizenship has undertaken has been so successful especially as regards women

in local governments that realising that information about women's work in India is difficult to obtain in Great Britain it conceived the idea of bringing out a survey. The object of the survey is to prepare a short, readable and inexpensive handbook containing facts about women's questions in India, and the organisations working for their well-being. The question of adding a chapter on constructive proposals, if any, for strengthening and helping the work of the women's organisations in India will be considered after the material has been collected and collated.

The book can only deal with so vast a subject in broad outline but this must be as full, clear and accurate as possible. The main object is to supply information to British women but it is hoped that it may also be of use to Indian social workers. Different sections will deal with such questions as health, education, women in industry, the status of women, problems of population and vital statistics.

Corresponding facts concerning the legal status of women have been already published for Canada, England and Scotland.

An account will be given of the many important movements of every kind towards social reform in India, and our grateful thanks are due to the organisers of these movements who have spared time to give us the information.

A questionnaire dealing with the above subjects has been widely circulated in India, and has had an excellent response from many leading experts both Indian and British.

When the material and information are a little more complete an advisory committee to the editors will be set up consisting of Indian and British ladies connected with the All-Indian women's organisations. Promises of such co-operation from Indian ladies have already been secured.

Misunderstandings arose in connection with the women's conference recently convened in London by the Officers of the Survey Committee, Miss Rathbone and Miss Caton. The object of the Conference was to present to an audience mainly British some practical examples of different types of work actually being done in India by Indian women themselves as well as through official and non-official agencies. It was hoped that by the publicity such a Conference would give that a greater measure of support might be forthcoming for the various schemes, three of which were comparatively new schemes whose promoters had asked for the co-operation of the Survey Committee. It is all the more regrettable therefore that such misunderstandings should have arisen, since the N. U. S. E. C. is anxious to help Indian and English women to understand each other better and to know more of each other's work, and the fact that this purpose has not succeeded is a source of regret to the N. U. S. E. C. It is the most vital part of the Survey Committee's work to put on record the size and growth of the woman's movement in India and

the courageous and splendid work of Indian reformers both men and women.

The N. U. S. E. C. is only concerned with such political questions as directly affect the status and welfare of women, and takes no part in any other political question. The interest of the N. U. S. E. C. in women's education and suffrage in India dates back many years and is not concerned with any recent publications or political propaganda.

Our idea is to work in friendly co-operation with the women's organisations in India and so to strengthen the bonds of fellowship between women throughout the world.

Yours etc.,

15 Dean's Yard,  
Westminster,  
London.  
1st November, 1929.

MARGERY I. CORBETT ASHBY,  
President.

#### THE TEMPERANCE WORK IN RANIKHET.

The Hon. General Secretary, the Ranikhet Temperance Society, has sent us the following for publication:—The Ranikhet Temperance Society has been working with much enthusiasm this year. Following are some of the achievements of the Society during this year.

(1) Two contests, one in essay writing and the other for declamation, have been organised for school students in Kumann. A gold medal to the first best essay and a silver medal to the second best essay and three silver medals in declamations will be awarded. This is in order to increase the interest of the school students in the question of temperance so that they may study the question of temperance most systematically.

(2) Also a temperance section has been opened in the public library here by our society. Temperance books and magazines etc. have been placed there for the public to read and increase their interest in the question.

(3) Then public meetings are held, processions are organised, public addresses are delivered, tracts are distributed and prohibition pledges are signed. A public meeting was very recently organised. Before the meeting a very grand procession consisting of three to four hundred people started from the place of the meeting and went round the city and in the bazars. There were flags and banners in the hands of some of the people with such words as, "Join the Prohibition," "Long live Prohibition," "Drink spoils manhood," written on them both in English and Hindi. There was music with the procession and public addresses on important centres were given. While the procession was in march people raised cries such as, "Give up drinking," "Don't attend the booths", etc.

The procession after roaming about three or four hours in the city returned to the place of the meeting, where a very interesting programme was given.

Following resolutions were also unanimously passed and sent to the proper places—(1) Urging the removal of the liquor shop in Ranikhet from the present locality to some other locality outside the city on the ground that at present it is situated very close to the Civil Hospital, the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre, The Hindu Temple and Muslim Mosque.

(2) Urging the U. P. Government to adopt the same plan of temperance propaganda work as adopted for Madras Presidency.

(3) Urging the closing up of the liquor shop at Bageswar at once on the ground that Bageswar is a holy place of pilgrimage of the Hindus.

A collection was also taken and quite a good sum was received. The membership of the Society has greatly increased and several hundreds have signed the Prohibition pledge. We hope to achieve still better results in the years to come.

#### NEED FOR DIVORCE LAW IN HINDU SOCIETY.

At the fourth Constituent Conference of Women on Education and Social Reform held in Madras last week the resolution which gave room for much controversy was the one urging the necessity of a divorce Law. The Conference was presided over by Mrs. Srinivasa Iyenger who while recognising, the need for Social Reform was opposed to having any divorce laws in the country. We extract the proceedings of the Conference relating to this issue from the *Hindu*:

Considerable discussion ensued on the following resolution moved by Mrs. Malathi Patwardhan:—

"This Conference of women demands that there should be the same standard of sex morality for men and women; women claim equal rights of legal separation and demand the introduction of an equal divorce law for both men and women"

She said that this idea of sex separation was engaging the attention of the whole of India and the whole world. Men had come to occupy a superior position and a reaction had set in. Women all over the world had begun to realise that they had equal rights and equal status with men in all walks of life. At the present time women demanded individual freedom in all matters. Divorce was an outcome of this desire for freedom and she saw nothing wrong in demanding freedom in all matters, including sex matters.

Mrs. Lakshmi Ammal seconded the resolution.

#### AN AMENDMENT.

Mrs. Ambuja Ammal moved an amendment that in the resolution the words "and demand the introduction of an equal divorce law for both men and women" be deleted and the words "with or without maintenance" be inserted.

She said that the problem of divorce was a very vexed one even in those countries in which the law

existed. Having one husband for life was an ideal conceived in their sastras and puranas and even in the West this idea was becoming prominent. This law of divorce could not be tolerated in this country. This would go to the very root of their religion. Those women who had been discarded by their husbands might afterwards lead a useful and chaste life and she believed that a divorce law was unnecessary and undesirable.

Mrs. Gnanammal seconded the amendment and said that the effect of having this law would be that many men would divorce their wives on primary grounds.

Mrs. Bukmini Lakshmiipathi in opposing the amendment said that Mann specifically laid down that women could divorce their husbands in cases where the latter were impotent or suffering from incurable and contagious diseases. This resolution was not opposed to their ancient ideals. She believed that with the advance of learning the law would not be misused.

Mrs. Krishnaveni Ammal was of opinion that they should not make any drastic changes in their social customs. Women who had been discarded by their husbands would do well to lead a life of service to their fellow creatures. Mrs. Alamelumangathayar Ammal opined that they should take steps to have a law for doing away with polygamy before having a divorce law. Mrs. Malathi Patwardhan briefly replying to the discussion said that the resolution aimed not at giving any licence to men and women but only at having an ideal. The law of morality could not be different for the two sexes. The amendment when put to vote was lost, 24 voting for and 37 against. The original resolution was then carried by a large majority, 44 voting for and 21 against. The Conference then rose for lunch.

Reassembling after luncheon interval the Conference proceeded to discuss resolutions regarding suppression of immoral traffic in women and children, women and child labour and women's institutes and social service.

#### AN INDIAN LADY ON DIVORCE.

The following letter dated Srinivasapuram, Coimbatore, 15th November, was sent to Mrs. Cousins who presided over the Women's Education Conference held at Madras last week, by Mrs. M. R. Ramaswami Sivan :

Dear Mrs. Cousins,—Until yesterday, I had decided to attend the conference to-morrow and take part in the deliberations thereat, but am now prevented from doing so, owing to private circumstances. While regretting my inability to attend, I wish to convey my hearty good wishes for a successful session of the Conference which I am sure, it would be under your able guidance as President.

Swaraj—Dominion status or Independence—will materially benefit India only when her women are

able, and are allowed to do their bit for the country. Women are treated as pets rather than as equals; and Indian women are no more slaves of men, as is often alleged than the women of other countries; but we want our rights granted to us, and we know that we are not likely to shirk our responsibilities, when we have got our rights.

I approve of most of the resolutions as published in "The Hindu" especially those relating to the education of girls. Only I wish a change of heart on the part of our educated men. For instance, there are two schools well-manned with qualified women teachers in the Brahman Agraharam of Coimbatore town, but there are only a few Hindu and a very few Brahman girls studying in the higher forms. It is a matter of great surprise and real pain that the Brahman men, educated themselves to the highest university standards, while they were satisfied that their women attained to no higher stage of education than ability to read trash Tamil novels and write bad dhoby accounts.

I served as a member of the District Educational Council for 2 terms, and must say that there was no lack of sympathy on the part of men members, with regard to the education of girls. First there was a paucity of women teachers, next the majority of women teachers were untrained and had not studied even up to the higher elementary grade, and last many were paid lower wages than peons. I often felt the need of some more women members on the Council if at least for consulting each other and pooling ideas—and it is necessary that there should be at least six women members in each District Educational Council apart from the Government Inspectress or Sub-Assistant Inspectress.

As regards the second para under "Women's Rights" I venture to make a remark. Let alone my personal opinion in the matter, I do not think it judicious to put the resolution before the Conference as it stands. Demanding the same standard of sex-morality for men and women may be all right but, suppose a husband has erred, what is the remedy? Think well before an answer is given lest the remedy be worse.

As regards equal rights of divorce for men and women, I can only say that the mere word "Divorce" will scare away thousands of men and women, otherwise sympathetically inclined to social reform. I know that I belong to the old school, but remember that there are people who do not wish to break from the past completely and who are in no way less patriotic or less anxious for progress. Educate man to a higher level of perfection. I would earnestly request the audience either to drop the resolution altogether or to redraft it in such a way that you will not create unnecessary opposition. Rather let the world know that the women of India cherish their chastity as their priceless jewel and their most valuable asset that they would prefer to undergo painful sufferings and sacrifices to demanding a divorce from an erring husband, violating all

the sanctity of marriage and the promises made before God, before Fire, and before man. In my opinion the breaking of solemn marriage pledges by one party does not call for the breaking of pledge by the other.

I shall be glad if you will kindly read this at the Conference. I am sending my subscription as a member of the General Committee.

I intend attending the Conference at Bombay and shall be glad to be elected as a delegate.

#### DIVORCE LAWS DISAPPROVED.

In the course of a statement to the Press Mrs. Subbaroyan, the Zamindarini of Kumaramangalam criticising the action of the supporters of the resolution passed by the Madras Constituent Conference of Women on Social Reform, demanding "equal rights of legal separation and an equal divorce law for both men and women" says that most of the ladies present felt very strongly that the resolution had been placed before the Conference by very unfair means. She adds that they feel that these demands are highly detrimental to the true interests of the women of India and that they are entirely subversive of their religion and morality and disruptive of their family life. They are calculated to sap the foundations of their society. They apprehend that the agitation for these rights is bound to create a most undesirable split in the ranks of the Conference and to impair its usefulness by discrediting them in their agitation for urgent reforms in other directions. They are decidedly of opinion that persistence in these demands will inevitably set back the clock of progress in regard to social reform and particularly in regard to education.

Among those who opposed the resolution were Mrs. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mrs. Subbaroyan, (Zamindarini of Kumaramangalam), Alamelumangathayar Ammal, and Mrs. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar. Among the supporters were Mrs. Malati Patwardhan, Mrs. Swaminathan, Miss Nallamthi Ammal, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi and Mrs. Cousins.  
—Associated Press.

#### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION, MANGALORE.

Mr. E. Shankaran Unni writes in the *Servants of India*:—The West Coast has not known a more loveable personality than the late Rao Sahib K. Ranga Rao. His memory is associated with the noble endeavour of elevating the Depressed Classes in South Kanara. Years ago when orthodoxy was at its height Mr. Ranga Rao started the Mission in Mangalore. The more conservative among his own community were altogether opposed to the idea and Mr. Ranga Rao had to face no end of ridicule and contempt. But his faith in his Mission enabled him to carry on the work which has to-day attained considerable success. It is interesting to notice

that the Depressed Classes Mission in Mangalore is supported by all classes of people irrespective of caste or religion. This is undoubtedly due to the quiet and selfless way in which Mr. Ranga Rao went about his business. To go out and live among the poor, to participate in their joys and sorrows, he knew, was the way to help them most. To him reform was not a fashionable cult but a living necessity of his nature. There was no spirit of condescension in the work he was doing. It was to him a privilege to help the lowliest and least amongst his countrymen. Work inspired by such high ideals was bound to prosper and the Depressed Classes Mission in Mangalore serves as a monument to Mr. Ranga Rao's love for his less fortunate brethren.

The work of the Mission is now managed by the Servants of India Society with the help and sympathy of the local leaders. Messrs. R. Suryanarayana Rao, S.I.S., and A. B. Shetty, M.L.C., who are Secretaries, are probably the two best men available for this sort of service. The Mission has been doing excellent work under them. It runs a higher elementary school for Adi-Dravida and a boarding house for them. There are 90 pupils on the rolls and the attendance shows a steady improvement. The accommodation and equipment are satisfactory. The poorest among the pupils are helped with scholarships granted by the Government. Of the 9 scholarships 7 are awarded by the Commissioner of Labour, Mr. Gray, I.C.S., who takes a great interest in the work of the Mission and two by the Education Department. The best part of the curriculum is the vocational training given to the pupils. The Carpentry Department trains a number of boys in cabinet making. This Department has done very good work, but as the report for 1928-29 points out, there is room for improvement in this direction. The great difficulty seems to be to get employment for the boys so trained. For the girls there is provided training in needle work and other minor accomplishments. Gardening which is valuable not only from the point of view of manual labour but from an aesthetic point of view receives special attention at the hands of the Mission.

The most important aspect of the work carried on by the Mission is the midday meal provided to the pupils at a considerable cost. We find there is a growing demand for accommodation in the boarding house and there is not sufficient room to receive all the pupils who seek admission. This is due, unfortunately to the dearth of funds. Mangalore has been doing its best all these years, but there seems to be a fall in the funds collected from the locality. As pointed out in the report of the Mission the starting of similar enterprises in other parts of the country is tapping the sources from which the Mangalore Mission has been accustomed to receive support. Government have been rendering valuable help to the Mission but a great deal more may yet be done. Seeing that the management is in the hands of men who are truly devoted

to their work it should be easy for Government to advance the necessary funds and make the work of the Mission more fruitful. The poor and depressed are always with us and there is room for a wider expansion of the activities of the Mission if only the requisite funds would be forthcoming. The Mission has also organised colonies where the Adi-Dravids and Koragas are made to settle down and make the best use of the land placed at their disposal. Building materials are supplied free of cost for house building. Nearly 100 families are under the care of the Mission.

We would remind the workers, however, of the spirit in which Mr. Ranga Rao worked. With very little sympathy and less appreciation he carried on his appointed work without being depressed or down-hearted even for a moment. In endeavours of this kind it is faith that matters most. When public attention is drawn to other and more exciting interests it often happens that quiet and sober work of this kind suffers a little neglect for the time being. But if those who have set their hands to the plough will be steady and persevering and work in a spirit of love and service, it will not be long before the public come to realise the worth and the value of their work. We have very little doubt that next year when the report comes to be drawn up the Secretaries will have even a brighter record of work well done.

#### WOMEN'S DEMANDS.

Interest continues to grow in the Mardas Women's Constituent Conference held annually in connection with the All-India Women's Conference for Educational and Social Reform. The fourth of such Conferences was held in the Senate House, Madras, on the 16th instant and attracted a large number of women, and the Hall was overcrowded. Amongst those present, writes the *New India*, Madras, were a large number of Muhammadan ladies, and this was a notable feature. The popularity of the Conference was also proved by about 100 ladies being on the Reception Committee, whose Chairwoman was Mrs. Venkatasubba Rao. Mrs. Venkatasubba Rao, in her address, laid stress on the changed conditions which enabled women to assemble in large numbers and discuss problems affecting their welfare, alluding to the striking manner in which the Indian Women's Conference revealed the capacity that women possess for organization and intelligent discussion. Lady Beatrix Stanley was kind enough to make the opening of the Conference her second public appearance since her arrival in Madras. In sympathizing with the demand of women for education, she said that she would watch the progress made in that direction during the next five years, and hoped that she would be able to encourage the movement.

After being warmly welcomed back to India after her eighteen months' absence, Mrs. Cousins gave a thoughtful Presidential Address, of which the chief points were her call to women to turn the energy

and enthusiasm which had been developed by their agitation for the Child Marriage Bill into a campaign during the coming year for establishing compulsory primary education. A deep impression was made by the figures she quoted from *India in 1927-28* (J. Coatman), showing that proportionately military, police and general administration expenditure absorbed 42 per cent of the total revenues (Provincial and Central together) of the country, as contrasted with 5 per cent on education and 1 per cent for health.

She had found in her travels that the memoranda on general resolutions on the whole field of education during the last three years were remarkably in consonance with the world-thought on education. It differed in that India and the Asian countries generally base all their development on the education of the spiritual nature of the student. This characteristic and the fundamental importance of the family are gifts which can be and which were nurtured. But they need to be organized and made more self-conscious in order to be available for presentation. She dreamed dreams that an All-Asian Women's Conference for this purpose might become a future expansion of the Indian Women's Movement.

A departure was made from the ordinary programme in that resolutions on primary education only were the subject of discussion for the educational section of this year. On the second day of the Conference held in the "Willingdon", with Mrs. Srinivasa Iyengar as Chairwoman, resolutions relating to women's life generally under the title of Social Reform were brought forward. The former included resolutions to open training centres for rural teachers and to secure the provision of adequate residential quarters in all teaching centres, and also to prepare reformed text books and to carry on a campaign for primary education by means of deputations to educational authorities, public meetings, press propaganda, etc. Women were also called on to start Homes and Educational Classes for adults in every town to supply teachers for the expansion of primary education. The social resolutions included a demand for equal laws of inheritance, the passing of the Brothels Bill, the encouragement of Girl Guides, the reform of untouchability, the demand for registration of births and marriages and the forming of Vigilance Committees to secure the satisfactory enforcement of the Sarda Act.

A resolution on *pardah* evoked a protest from some Muhammadan ladies, as they advocated its reform by education and the use of reasoned discrimination, rather than its enforced removal. All the Muhammadan ladies present did not agree with the speakers' views, however, and the resolution was passed. There was a healthy discussion over the resolution on equal morality standard for men and women, including the right of separation and the introduction of equal laws of divorce. An amendment was brought forward to delete the

clause asking for divorce laws. An hour of the meeting was spent in discussing this resolution and its amendment, the conclusion being the defeat of the amendment and the passing of the original resolution by 44 to 21.

The Conference was remarkable for good speaking, practical suggestions, intelligent listening, good organization of both physical and mental food for body and mind. Everything was carried on in a happy atmosphere of enthusiasm, freedom, expansion and activity, with room for differences of opinion.

#### CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL WORK.

Miss B. Venkatratnam, co-opted Member, U. P. Christian Council sends us the following :—

Resolution moved and accepted of the U. P. Christian Council "It is the opinion of the Conference that missionaries and other Christians should be more active in newspaper propaganda in regard to social evils found in Islam and Hinduism."

A wonderful bright star brought with its radiance a new vision to those men of old in Bethlehem, and here today India is facing that bright star that will open the gates to a new national status.

Here is our opportunity to keep star figure and prove worthy citizens to the pride and glory of our motherland. There is a tremendous challenge for us Christian men and women workers to help uplift the lives of our countrymen and women; to teach them not only how to face death but how to face life—life that will keep the blood and spirit of nation strong.

There is no gainsaying that our country is moved by its religion. The social life of our people is based on its religion, and have we not enough evidence to help us trace back the many social evils in our country to their basic foundation—religion? Shall we who see these evils stand by watching them and cease to struggle against them? Let us rise to the situation and show that India needs some solid constructive work to uplift it from blind custom that is destructive.

Who knows better the problems that enslave and ensnare the people than we Christians who work in the villages among the ignorant, poor and neglected men and women. Let us who are educated and know the power of the press devote our energies to arousing public sentiment by giving suggestions for social betterment through newspaper articles. We can cry aloud against the evils of which we personally know. This will help all who are confronted with like problems to have some suggestions to work on. The result is quite obvious.

We are proud of our countrymen who have proved their ability to reason in even the smallest detail in politics. But platform oratory achieves very little. What we want is deeds, not words. If only we can bring this selfsame reason to not only see, but check the social evils in Islam and Hinduism as they are practised, Indians can hold up their heads and look square into the face of those who deny them liberty and their rightful claims.

Shall we stop to enumerate a few evils that we know of and look to those who are interested to help in solving the same, communicate their ideas and thoughts through the newspaper columns that those who are ignorant of the facts may come to see them and take an interest in them also.

What more evil can one think of than the evil effects of disease resulting from the bathing, washing and cleaning of one's teeth and drinking in and from the so-called sacred rivers? The keeping of cattle inside of one's dwelling place and the so-called sacred dung that breeds mosquitos and flies that spread malaria and a host of other diseases?

The idea that a man is unclean if he is of a lower caste is a social condition based on a religious belief. Let us try and show what cleanliness really means. That it does not come by right of birth but by habit and upbringing. Some Indian Christians, sad to say, need as much to be educated on this.

These are some of the practical problems one is faced with and which when removed will help uplift the social life on which a sound and lasting political edifice can be constructed. Readers are requested to make their suggestions through the columns of any newspapers they may know of or to send them on to me at the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, for publication.

#### WOMEN AND CIVIC LIFE.

Mrs. Avanticabai Gokhale writes in the Fifth Anniversary Number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* :—"A woman is just adapted to take active part in the civic affairs of the town, as it is only a larger home she aspires to manage, having had experience in the management of her smaller home.

"My experience of over half-a-dozen years as a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation has more than convinced me, that women are as able as, if not more than, men in handling the problems of Primary Education of boys and girls, Sanitation, Medical Relief, etc.

"It is, however, regrettable that wherever the right has been extended to women, they have not come in sufficient numbers to shoulder the responsibilities of civic administration. Some are reluctant to stand in elections: for obvious reasons they are not able to canvass votes as men do.

"It is a wrong notion that they must have the gift of making speeches, as the more useful work is done in various committees of a municipality, where, in the discussion, they can make their usefulness felt.

"Only the Will to Serve and not to seek a place of honour must be the object of every woman entering a municipal corporation.

"Many think that if women took part in the civic and political life of the country, they would neglect the domestic duties, but this is quite wrong, as

there will always be a few who will have the ability and grit to shoulder the additional responsibility.

"India expects women to play their part in the struggle for taking honourable place among the nations of the world."

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Gandhiji Elected President:**—A general meeting of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Social Conference was held on the 22nd instant, in the Y. M. C. A. Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni, Chairman of the Reception Committee, presided. Among those who attended the meeting about twelve were ladies. The meeting resolved that the fixing of dates for the session of the Conference be left to the Working Committee which should decide the matter within five days after consultations with the Congress authorities. The election of the President of the Conference, next took place. The Secretary read a list of names which the various Social Reform Associations in India had suggested as the result of the request of the Reception Committee. Definite proposals of names were then made. The names of Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Rai Sahab Harbilas Sarada and President Patel were proposed and duly seconded. The meeting unanimously elected Mahatma Gandhi to be the President of the Conference. But as several members pointed out that Mahatma Gandhi might, in all probability, refuse the Presidentship, the meeting elected another person from the other three names. As a result of the voting Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi was elected the second President by a clear majority of votes. In case Mahatma Gandhi refuses Mrs. Muthulakshmi will become the President of the Conference.

**Sir K. V. Reddi:**—A *Reuter's* message states that Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi, Agent General to the Government of India, in South Africa, owing to the indifferent state of his health, has been granted leave to return to India. He sails for Bombay by the Karagola on December 2. The period of his leave will be determined by the progress he makes but he is likely to be away until the middle of March. The strain, as a result of his recent travelling, has told on him, and he has been confined to bed with a recurrent attack of fever:—

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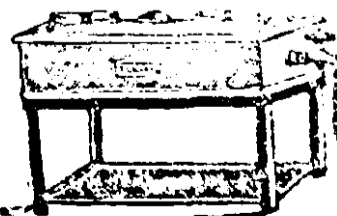
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No. 14

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Women's Forum:**—The Women's Movement is in many respects the most important development of our time, and its effects are sure to be far-reaching. The problems with which the Women's movement has to deal are not merely women's but also the nation's problems. There are in fact, no women's problems or men's problems which concern exclusively women and men. Questions which affect men and affect women, and those which affect women, affect men equally. Up to recently, women have had few opportunities of making their contribution to national progress and, consequently, our progress has been halting and lop-sided. Women are now coming forward to supply this omission, and thoughtful men everywhere feel that with their co-operation social and national life can be shaped on more fruitful and harmonious lines than hitherto. It has occurred to us that we can best assist the movement, which is largely the outcome of the reforms for which this journal stands and has stood for the last forty years, by inviting women who are associated with the movement as leaders and workers to express their thoughts freely on all national questions. We publish today under the heading "The Women's Forum" eight articles by women who are in the forefront of the movement. It is our intention to publish similar articles from time to time, and while conveying our thanks to our lady contributors we trust that more of them will come forward to help us in this undertaking.

**Our Lady Contributors:**—The success of the third All-India Women's Conference was due in a large measure to the resourcefulness and organising power of Mrs. P. K. Sen who is the life and soul of the women's movement in India and whose efforts towards the abolition of the Purdah are too well-known to need mention here. Mrs. Sen in her article deprecates the custom of universal marriage

obtaining in Hindu society and pleads for more freedom for women. The problem of providing suitable buildings and accommodation for the increasing number of girls seeking education is tackled in an article by Mrs. A. L. Huidekoper who is the Chairman of the All India Women's Conference. Her work in Karachi, Indore and other parts of the country bears testimony to her unflagging zeal for the women's cause. The honour of being the first lady member of the Nagpur Legislative Council belongs to Mrs. A. Kale who has made her presence felt in the Council by her constant advocacy in it of women's education and social reform. Many of the suggestions made in her contribution are practical solutions to real difficulties which confront our women. A member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and one of the leading women in the presidency Mrs. Hansa Mehta brings a mind full of experience of foreign travels to bear upon the women's problem. Mrs. Mehta's most noteworthy suggestion is that labour questions also should be included in the programme of the Conference. Mrs. V. A. Sukhtankar who is well informed about women's education in Indore desires a truce to be called on the controversy on the type of education for women, declares against standardisation of women's education and emphasises the importance of home influence. Herself a fine product of the Bombay University and a social worker Mrs. Yamunabai Hirlekar expresses discontent at the present position of women in society and is a keen advocate of radical reform. The Organising Secretary of the All-India Women's Conference, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya to whose indefatigable efforts for women's education much of the progress made is due, has contributed a thought provoking article on social work in Germany. Mrs. Chattopadhyaya took part in the International Women's Conference and Education Conference at Geneva and Elsinore as the Indian Women's representative. The opportunity she thus had of studying foreign institutions for women will prove highly beneficial to the women's movement here. We print also Mrs. M. E. Cousins' presidential address at Madras which breathes of hope and promise for the future of Indian womanhood.

**The Future Of Social Reform:**—The People of Lahore has some suggestive observations regarding the trend of social reform and of the National Social Conference. Our contemporary asks: "Is it not strange that the Social Conference has never considered the question

of Labour conditions or of the relations of Capital and Labour?." The leaders of the Conference have not been unmindful of this and other questions. Ten years ago at Amritsar, the National Social Conference adopted, in pursuance of a message from Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, a resolution to enlarge the scope of the conference in these directions. "The time has come for us, social reformers and workers to enlarge the meaning and scope of social reform and extend our activity and outlook to such questions as the education of the masses, the sanitation of the country, the housing of the poor, the care of the weak and the feeble, the employment of labour on rational lines, the provision of healthy recreation and amusements for the masses, village sanitation and rural education, instead of confining social reform as we have hitherto confined it to female education, widow remarriage, removal of caste restrictions and such other items." If during the time that has elapsed since the Amritsar meeting, little has been done to give effect to this resolution, it is because, to be quite frank, the social movement has been more or less completely overshadowed by communal and political movements. The Lahore Conference, which is being organised with greater plan and forethought than some recent sessions, may well make a beginning in giving effect to the Amritsar resolution. "A problem of practical interest like that of birth-control," writes the *People*, "cannot even be hinted at (at the Conference) without offending against its notions of respectability." We do not see why the *People* thinks so. It is certainly open to any one to suggest birth-control as one of the subjects which the Conference should take up for serious consideration. It is a question which is very much to the fore at present, and it is the duty of the Conference to give a lead to the country.

**Remaking Society:**—The *People* writes: "Real re-forming of society is not mere tinkering here and there. It must involve a *comprehensive* programme of social reconstruction which would usher in a new society. The real work of re-formation is not merely removing a few hideous features of the social structure but bringing into existence a new social edifice constructed on a plan and resting on foundations of deliberately chosen principles. The Social Conference merely wants a few changes in the existing structure here and there but it is not trying to give the social structure a foundation of any particular principle or set of principles and has no *all-comprehending* social programme to offer. The time has come when this more ambitious task should be attempted, when a comprehensive programme aiming at the elimination of social injustice in all forms be drawn up. This is the real task of those who would work for the re-formation of Society." We are afraid that this is beyond the power of any Social Conference. Society is a living organism. you cannot lift it out of its historic and inherited environment so entirely as to fashion it as an architect fashions a building. The reformer, even when he is a Mahomed or a Napoleon, does not write upon a clean slate. Even Lenin, who was not troubled over-much by considerations of the past, had it not. Karl Marx himself found it necessary in his life-time to modify his original plan of creating a new social order and to fight with

Bakunin who stood against any change. "The more definitely Marx became inclined" writes his biographer, "to elaborate the tactics of a law-abiding policy, in conformity with the methods and trends of the bourgeois State,—the more must Bakunin and the Bakuninists consider that he was betraying the revolution. Consequently, he made up his mind to clear the Bakuninist opposition out of the way." Lenin who drew his inspiration from Marx, similarly threw overboard Marxian principles when he found that the situation demanded more adaptive methods. When reminded of his previous principles, he curtly replied that consistency with the past might mean betrayal of the present. The example of these men shows that the most powerful and autocratic of reformers has to make terms with the historic conditions of their problem. No man, wrote Amiel, is his own ancestor. No Society can be its own progenitor. For men, it has ever been a sufficient aspiration to seek to leave the world a little better than they found it. Fortunate indeed, are those who can say that they have succeeded in doing this.

**The Social Conference Programme:**—The General Secretary has issued the following, on the next session of the Indian National Social Conference to be held at Lahore on the 26th, 27th and 28th December, under the Presidentship of R. S. Harbilas Sarda, M. L. A. commencing at 11 A.M. each day in a special Pandal in the Congress Nagar, separate from the Congress Pandal. The passing of the Child Marriage Restraint Act marks the dawn of a new era in the history of Social Reform Movement in India. Owing to this the forthcoming session will be of special importance. The agenda includes the framing of a permanent constitution for the Conference (for carrying out programmes of Social Reform Work throughout the year) a draft for which is being circulated to Social Reform Organisations and workers in the cause of Social Reform throughout India. It has been arranged to publish a number of leaflets on special subjects connected with various aspects of Social Reform. For the entertainment of the delegates there will be staged a social drama "Subhadra" on the 27th December at 8 P.M. There will be a National Dinner on the 28th December, at 7-30 P.M. Arrangements are made for high class music in connection with the various functions of the Conference. All associations carrying on Social Reform Work in the country are invited to send names and addresses of their delegates. Any person who has sympathy with the aims and objects of the Social Conference, and who pays a minimum fee of Rs. 2 (Rupee one in case of ladies and University students above the age of 18) is entitled to become a delegate provided that he is elected either by the Working Committee of the Reception Committee or by any Organisation doing Social Reform work in India. Persons who wish to participate in the deliberations of the Conference as delegates are requested to write to the General Secretary. All members of the Reception Committee shall be considered delegates. In addition to the programme mentioned above the All India Temperance Conference and the All India Widow Re-marriage Conference, will hold their sessions as sections of the Indian National Social Conference.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 7, 1929.

BAHINA BAI \*

To most people the rise of the Maratha power in Western India is sufficiently explained as a revolt against the anti-Hindu character of Aurangzeb's regime. Moghul rule had come to be accepted as a national rule and Shivaji himself had no ambition to found a kingdom outside it until he was forced to the conviction that there was no other alternative if the Marathas were not to be reduced to a position of religious and cultural servitude. The force which enabled Maharashtra to meet and repulse the Moghul power, however, was in process of creation for a century or more previous to the actual struggle. Ranade was the first to call attention to the important part played by the saints of Maharashtra in creating a national sentiment among the masses. It is only when an entire population of a territory feels that it is the guardian of a spiritual and cultural heritage which to it is more than life, that nationalism is born. It was largely the work of the saints of Maharashtra which produced this feeling, as Ranade has shown in his history of the Maratha power. The direct effect of the teaching of the saints was to break down the social barriers which prevented the growth of a national sentiment, and to strengthen character.

We are indebted to the Rev. Justin E. Abbott for his studies of the Maharashtra saints, which have made them accessible to the English-reading public. His latest book on Bahina Bai, one of this galaxy, from the social point of view is the most interesting of these studies. In his introduction Mr. Abbott notices the important part played by women saints in the religious life of Maharashtra. Bahina Bai though not as famous as some others, was actuated by the same strong religious devotion as they. Mr. Abbott has translated her verses which, fortunately, are in part autobiographical. It is this part which constitutes to our mind the greatest attraction of this book. Bahina was born of Brahman parents. She was married in her fifth year to an astrologer who was 30 years old as his second wife, his first wife having died. Owing to a family quarrel, the son-in-law took his wife as well as her parents and her younger brother with him on a tour of different places where he could gain a livelihood as a mendicant Brahman. They finally settled at Kolhapur, "the Gaya of the South." While here Bahina's growing devotion to Saint Tukaram and his teachings, exasperated her husband, both because, he himself had no ambition beyond being his family vocation of a religious mendicant and also and chiefly because Tukaram was of the grocer caste. He beat her and abused her and, in her despair, she thought of committing suicide. By a miracle, however, her husband repented and

became a devotee of Tukaram, and both husband and wife retired into a forest to live a life of faith and worship. The gift of verse came to Bahina in the temple at Pandharpur.

We have here a first-hand account of the ferment in the religious life which coincided with the political ferment in Maharashtra. Shivaji and Bahina were born in the same year. While Shivaji revolted against the Moghul tyranny, Bahina's revolt was against the restrictions of sex and caste. She bitterly complains of the spiritual disabilities of women in orthodox Hinduism. But at the same time, she accepts implicitly the duties of a wife as laid down by the Shastras. She was no rebel against the social code. Quite the contrary. While lamenting her husband's hardness of heart, she insists on perfect devotion to husband as the great glory of a wife. She herself scrupulously observed her wifely duties. The study of the Vedas was forbidden to women. But the Bhagavad Gita taught a faith open to all classes, including women and shudras. "I was constantly committing to memory," says Bahina, "the Bhagavad Gita, not trespassing into the field of the Veda". She asserts the right of women to equal spiritual opportunities but she does so by the way of a great obedience. In the same way, she asserts that a Brahman is not one who is born of Brahman parents, but one who knows Brahma, the great Supreme. Mere learning, she says, does not make a Brahmin. "Even Muhammadans exhibit learning". This, by the way, is the only reference to Mahomedans in her verses written at a time when Mahomedan power was supreme in the country. Incidentally, Bahina's autobiography shows that child marriages were common among Brahmans in the early seventeenth century. Hindu, especially Brahmin, society had crystallised into a cake of custom. Saints like Tukaram lifted the community out of the rut in which it had got stuck.

How shall we account for Bahina Bai? Her own explanation of herself is simple. She implicitly believed in the doctrine of rebirth and she tells her son, just before dying, of her thirteen births, the thirteenth being the last. She calls herself a *yoga brashita*, one interrupted in one's religious endeavour which according to the Gita, is never lost. The devotee at his next birth takes up his thread where it broke off and continues on and on until the goal is reached. This is a faith which is a part of Bahina's mental make-up. The modern Freudian explanation of Bahina will attribute her religious and poetic fervour to the perversion of her sex instincts by the inhibitions of custom and an ill-assorted marriage. Between the two, the reader will have to decide for himself which is the more rational, regarding man and woman not only as physical bodies but as endowed with immortal souls.

\* Scottish Mission Industries Co., Ltd. Poona.



## THE WOMEN'S FORUM.

### THE CALL OF THE HOUR.

(By Mrs. P. K. SEN, PATNA.)

In the strife and struggle for world-freedom, every atom, every soul, longs for liberty—its birth-right. Amid this mighty struggle the cry of the woman is heard all over the world. The Indian woman is not an exception. She, too, has awakened from her slumbers! She knows not what to do, where to drift, how to act. Yet act she must, if she is to gain her birth-right—freedom.

She bethinks herself of the privileges she enjoyed in the days of the glorious past—when she was free and happy, and tasted the joys of this beautiful world.

When she was given education and training as befitted her, side by side with her brother; when her character was moulded and formed by religious instructions which made her god-fearing and honest; when she could marry of her own free choice while of age; when she could breathe God's free air unconfined within the four walls of the zenana; when she took her share, in public and religious ceremonies along with her partner in life; when she was set in the highest place of honour and addressed as Devi and Shakti Mata and was even accorded the dignity of ruling over kingdoms; and when her advice and counsel was sought in all important matters. The women of to-day dream visions of these privileges she enjoyed in olden days.

Alas, what a contrast with the painful Present! She is now the victim of "man-made" conventions. She finds herself surrounded at every step with unmeaning social customs, which retard her progress, and render her unfit for taking her legitimate place in the march of world-progress. The Indian woman of the present generation clearly realises that her present status is far from satisfactory and that she has an inherent right to have her personal freedom and independence of thought and action. Hence the general and insistent cry of *Equal Rights for Women*.

At this juncture it is worth while stopping to ponder on the question as to the path which the Indian woman should take. What is the right sphere of work for the Indian woman? How to adjust her position in order to become what the Indian woman is meant to be? Should she seek to follow the customary notion of the West, and compete with man in all spheres of life, setting aside the Oriental ideals of womanhood? It is a well-known tradition of India that the woman's sphere is the home. In fact even the West now realises that perhaps women's movements are moving too fast and are tending to unsex the woman. Hence the Home is neglected. We see opinions such as this from the latest European thinkers on the subject of family. They declare "The family is to-day in a perilous position". Let not the struggle for freedom take woman away from her own sphere of work, i.e., the Home. The

first duty of every woman is undoubtedly to train herself how to make her home healthy, happy, chaste and beautiful. By saying that the right sphere of woman is the Home, it is not meant that woman is not to qualify herself for work outside the family.

There are a thousand ways in which the active sympathy and service of woman may be of peculiar value to the community and to the country at large. Many of these carry woman outside her home. The woman has a great part to play in teaching, directing moral and social institutions, child-rearing and nursing, among the poor, and in building up a higher and more wholesome standard of public opinion. There is plenty of work for woman; the crying need of the present hour is better-trained mothers, housewives, teachers, nurses, doctors and organisers.

There have been many women in the world unmarried, widowed or by force of circumstances detached from family ties, who have done the noblest work of uplift of the poor and the helpless. These women have made the outside world their home, but retained their womanliness.

It is time that compulsion of marriage was done away with in India as in all civilised countries and that girls had the liberty of choosing for themselves whether they would like to have a home of their own, or choose the work to which they may feel called in order to support themselves and their people or to serve their country. In choosing the line to take, woman is faced with the question whether there is difference between man and woman. That there is the difference of nature, in body, mind, feeling and character, and man and woman each has his or her own part to play, no one can dispute. This does not mean a scale of superiority or inferiority for the one or the other. Woman is by nature designed to play a different part from man. The sphere in which the woman excels is the family, and the faculty with which she does it, is love. This great gift makes her build an ideal and refined home for herself and her family, and again love enables her to extend her sympathetic arms outside her home. Where the young is to be trained and guided with tender care; where the aged and weak is to be cared for; where the erring and untoward need guidance; where the helpless and uncared for want succour; where there is sorrow, sickness and pain, there indeed is pre-eminently the sphere of woman to serve through love, unselfishness and sacrifice, both in and outside her home. This work awaits the woman of India, the cry for such work is heard on all sides. She cannot be content by confining herself only to her home, her nature does not allow her to be selfish. It will also not do for her to spend her time and money in useless luxuries, frivolities and idle pleasures, when there is plenty of work awaiting for her gentle hand to undertake. What is required of woman is to take her share of

responsibility and never to cease to feel like woman, and to work like woman. She has to raise the moral tone of the home, society and country. The woman has to fit herself to train each generation to be worthier than the last, and to make each home a heaven on earth.

It is only through mutual co-operation that man and woman can adjust the position if real progress is to be attained and if the country is to gain freedom.

When society is free from the unmeaning shackles such as child marriage, purdah, polygamy, unequal and forced marriages, restraints against widow marriage, forced dowry, unequal inheritance, caste and untouchability, when man and woman in India realise their own individual responsibilities, the one helping the other as true mutual helpmates, then and then alone can the coveted freedom come to our country.

#### A COMING PROBLEM IN THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN GIRLS.

(By Mrs. A. L. Hudekoper, B.Sc., (Hons.) London, late I. E. S., Chairwoman, All India Women's Conference, Karachi.)

The rapid pace at which education among the girls of India is proceeding is rarely realised; but to some extent it can be judged by the rapidity with which the problems connected with it change.

It is not so long ago that the main problem of girls' education in this country was that of inducing the girls to come to school.

When Mr. Bethune had provided, in Calcutta, his school for Indian girls, he had to "bribe" them to attend by rewarding regular attendance with gifts of rich sarees, gold bangles, etc.

Now the schools already in existence are full to overflowing and in some cities girls are daily being refused admission through lack of school accommodation.

Another problem which is fast disappearing is that of conveying the girls to school. The humble bullock cart with its curtains and fine white bullocks has given place in some places to motor busses; but this problem is fast passing away and in many places, some of them towns of importance, it is possible for the girls to walk to and from school, without anyone taking more notice of them than of school boys.

Yet another problem, and until lately it seemed insuperable, was the provision of qualified women teachers for the staff of the girls' schools. With every girl disappearing into married life at a very early age, it was difficult to retain them long enough at school to pass out from it in an upper class; and how much greater then the problem of their remaining in the educational world as teachers.

But this problem too is, in many parts of India, a problem of yesterday. I know schools where the three upper classes (the top one being the matriculation class) contain over 30-40 girls each and where it is possible to pick and choose for the staff women who are "old girls" or others, who have a college life.

All these changes have taken place within fifteen years or so. But these problems of yesterday are being replaced by a problem of to-day and of, I fear, many a to-morrow, which requires the united and concerted action of the public to solve.

This is the problem of the provision of schools in adequate number and size to give an education to the girls who in their hundreds are knocking at the gates of the high schools, keenly desirous of being admitted, but having to be refused through lack of room.

It may be that this problem has only been felt as yet in some places, but any thoughtful person must realise that within a few—a very few years—it will be the *main* problem and one which can only be solved by the deliberate co-operation of the public and of all public authorities.

Within the last few months this problem has been driven home to me, not only by hearing from others that in a certain large university town of India, girls were being refused admission to high school life because the new and large school lately provided had become congested within a few months, but because I myself have had, in a similar case, to try and rouse (and so far without success) the necessary powers that be, including the public, to realise the problem and its gravity.

In one of the most important towns of one of our Presidencies—a town with about 250,000 people, there are five high schools for girls. The one built by the generosity of one of its chief citizens, *for the girls of his own community*, stands fair to see, the pride of a town having many fine buildings. It stands in 9,000 square yards of ground, and has about 300 girls. There are besides a Convent school, and a mixed Grammar school, both classed departmentally as "European" schools where the teaching is done entirely in English.

But besides these there are, in the strictly Hindu quarter, two *cosmopolitan* aided high schools, in rented houses of a totally inadequate nature from every point of view, including the total absence of playground. These two schools are full to overflowing. The larger one of them, which has over 500 girls on its rolls, has had to refuse 70-80 girls since last March. It is so overcrowded that it can only admit a new girl if one leaves, and if the applicant requires a place in the same class.

The problem which is exercising my ingenuity, my thoughts day in and day out, is how to obtain for these schools new habitations fit for the present girls, and capable of absorbing another equal number of girls within a few years.

The requisites are; (i) sites; (ii) buildings; (iii) adequate playgrounds; (iv) increased income.

*Sites.* The city in question—one in which town planning has had plenty of scope—has large empty spaces right in the very quarter where the school accommodation is required. But the local authorities owning these spaces (there are two) do not see their way to granting as a gift the necessary sites. One

of them, in fact, declares it can only consider the problem as a strictly commercial proposition. This, moreover, when the market price of the land in question is said to be twenty rupees per square yard or more. This would mean that the two schools I have in mind would have to begin by spending 200,000 rupees *each* on the mere site. How many high schools would there be in the world if each had to spend two lacs on its site and to collect this money by public subscription?

It is this problem of the provision of school sites and school buildings which, to my mind, unless tackled in a wise manner by all concerned, is going to act as a great set back to the education of our girls; and going thereby to set back the whole progress of India.

Let us consider quite academically and without prejudice who are the people who should feel responsible for the provisions of these two items, high school sites and buildings.

This being a problem of supreme national importance, every citizen in his private and public capacity should be doing his utmost in this direction.

The public bodies concerned are (i) the Central Government; (ii) the Local government; (iii) the Municipal authorities; the other bodies concerned are the parents of girls of high school age, and the general public.

I do not propose in such a short article to allocate to each of these bodies their part in the provision of school sites and buildings, but I do most strongly maintain that *all* should unite and co-operate most earnestly on solving the problem. And I do, as strongly, maintain that as regards *sites*, a due sense of proportion would allocate large share of responsibility to the Government and Municipal authorities.

With regard to the provision of *buildings*, I wish to suggest as widely as possible that the general public can, and should, do its share.

In so many educational matters, India is fortunate in being able to benefit by experience of other nations, that I feel no excuse is necessary in giving an outline of how this very problem has been solved in England.

Sixty years ago this same difficulty was very acute in England. Many parents wanted to obtain for their daughters as good an education as their sons were getting. But whereas boys' education was centuries old, and beautiful buildings for boys' schools existed, there were none for girls' schools.

A small group of ladies and gentlemen met to discuss this problem. They were headed by Princess Louise, a daughter of Queen Victoria. Their efforts resulted in the formation of the Girls' Public Day School Company, in 1872.

Many people keen on education were approached; and a company was formed with shares of £5. With the capital thus obtained many buildings for girls' high schools were erected, in London and in other towns of England.

The shareholders received their 5 per cent: the schools paid rent to the company; the girls of England without much delay had a sufficiency of high schools.

What took place in England can take place here. It ought not to be beyond the wit of man (or woman) to adapt the English system to Indian conditions. Many a man and woman could take one or more hundred rupee shares in such a company; get his interest and feel that his money was serving a good purpose.

Some of us are trying to get the All India Women's Conference and the public generally to take up these proposals, and to try to get such companies formed in different parts of India.

I shall be glad to give any further information and also to receive any suggestion, or information, from those already occupied with this problem. Letters may be addressed to me at Mehta Lodge, Victoria Road, Karachi.

#### THE WORK AHEAD.

(By MRS. A. KALE, M. L. C., NAGPUR.)

There has been reawakening amongst us both men and women after a lapse of a century and over. Men are beginning to have better sense of political responsibility, while women, at least those belonging to the upper strata of society, are feeling the need of some radical changes in the present condition. The influences working behind this wide awakening may be traced to, amongst others, a firmer link with the outside world. Thanks to the British connection, India is no longer an isolated land. She has learnt much in the recent decades about the customs, ideals and practices of other lands and peoples. She had an opportunity to compare herself with these others. Comparison gives rise to reflection in the direction of self examination which in its train leads to a desire for a change. Consequently what we see in India of to day is the crumbling down of old antiquated racial customs and prejudices. Side by side with it, there ought to arise from that very dust, new edifices of changed social institutions. Not only India, but the whole world is in a melting pot, as it were. Everywhere old ideals are giving place to new.

In India, a sort of social revolution is going on. Politically too, great changes will be effected before long. Women therefore must cultivate a keen sense of responsibility and now of all times. At this transitional stage, when the future of our nation is being rocked in its cradle, women as mothers ought to devote every possible attention to its proper development. The life of the nation and future generation depends on what the present generation of women in India do. It is no doubt a great burden upon us, but every one would be glad to note that the women have come to realise this responsibility and organised a common platform on which all the matters can be freely discussed. In the words of Omar Khayyam "Not only that women cannot afford to lag behind in this era of

reconstruction, but they must be in the van guard." Even better than men, we are more qualified to lead our nation at this stage. Woman both by constitution and practice is a better judge in understanding the situation and consequently a better guide to the policy to be chalked out. She is conservative by temperament and her preserving instincts are too well known to need restatement. She is the mistress of the Home which is the smallest social unit. She is a trustee for the future in as much as she has to bring up children, who in time to come will constitute the future society. She thus holds a unique position wherein all her resources and capacities are tested. It is a well-known fact that she has successfully withstood the severest test in the past and now she must justify her reputation and rise to the occasion. She must therefore come forward unhesitatingly and dictate the proper course of action to be followed.

This task is made much lighter by the creation of the All India Women's Conference. It is an important body for it sounds the views of the united womanhood of India. To make it really representative, every individual woman must try to exchange views on its common platform; and when after such discussions, a definite proposal is put forth, it will certainly carry more weight. It is with this in view that I offer some suggestions.

Our Conference is still in its infancy and therefore it is the more necessary for us to lay a definite policy when we tackle any problem. Vagueness must be discouraged from the first, and clearness of course to be followed and insisted upon in reaching the desired goal. For the determination of the same, it may be divided into the usual divisions: Educational, Social, and Political. Let us briefly discuss each in turn.

In the domain of education the knotty problem to be solved is that of illiteracy which is the root cause of all evils. It is no use depending too much on Government help. That illiteracy has increased during the British regime needs no proof. There was a time, when the smallest village had its own school. Even in the era of the advent of British, educationally we were quite well off. Now the proportion of literate women to men is like the inverted pyramid; but in the pre-British days not only were women literate, but they used to conduct and control schools. Not very long ago one could meet such schools up in the North.

Mr. Mayhew who was the Director of Public Instruction of Central Provinces, in his book on the Education of India accuses Government of "timidity and stumbling" and further says, "It is such policy of Government which is largely responsible for Indians' inability to tackle the problem."

In view of these circumstances, let us beware of waiting like beggars at the doors of Government; for in that case, we shall probably have to wait till eternity—every moment impoverishing ourselves more and more. What then can the Conference do in

this respect? It is too early to expect the Conference to start institutions of its own. But it can certainly agitate and bring pressure on Government and public bodies to be more active. The whole of the present policy will have to be recast. The present practice of just throwing crumbs for girls' education must be stopped. We must make them realise "That female education is the condition on which ultimately the success of male education depends." And the ideal of this education should be such as to secure the best mental development and secondly, to provide an adequate means of independent livelihood to every woman; because the achievement of the first will be ineffective without the attainment of the second as Prince Kropotkin had observed, "A reorganised society will have to provide for integrated education which education alone by teaching both science and handicraft from earliest childhood can give to society the men and women it really needs." In the present circumstances, the need of economic independence for women cannot be overlooked because the want of it has been the cause of proverbial slavery of Indian women. Free woman means free nation. The second aspect of the educational problem which I should like to emphasise is the individual effort which every woman must do. Delegates to the Conference are educated women, who understand their responsibilities and therefore, more than all others, they must make it a point to educate at least a dozen women per year. They can do so by staying at home in their own town or village. They must not rest content with attending the Conference once in a year and talking and passing pious resolutions. Remember that famous dictum "Behaviour is righteousness". Every woman delegate should strive to be, not merely a mirror of fashion in the society in which she lives, but a mirror of virtue, gentility and duty. To educate her illiterate sisters is the best beginning in the way of discharging her duties.

Coming to the social problem, it may be said to be the best field for action. In a thousand and one ways woman can introduce reforms, being the mistress of the home from which all liberal ideas ultimately emanate. She must leave aside petty caste distinction, must bury down religious and racial differences. A singular service which she can render to the present Hindu society will be by taking a vow to remove untouchability. She must also try for the uplift of her fallen sisters. We have examples of eminent social workers in the west who have made social reform their very profession.

On the Continent, various institutions have been founded and conducted by women which give special training of social workers, so that social service may be within the reach of every woman. I am glad to find that efforts are being made in Bombay in the same direction; but this is not enough. An organised body like our Conference must take up this question in earnest and should depute women to foreign countries

in order to get the necessary training. Such activity alone can render real service to the countless millions of India, who are at present in miserable ignorance. A net work of such social centres is the necessity of the day and if the Conference takes up this work, it will have justified its existence.

Now coming to politics, I may point out that, if we tackle these two problems of education and social reform, politics may be conveniently left to take care of itself. After all politics has become rather deceptive; under the name of politics personal aggrandisement has increased. Let us at least be wiser and not fall a prey to this allurements. Let us do some constructive good. The social side which I have emphasised above is the foundation of political progress. It is better to be guided by this fundamental fact, than being drifted away by mere catch words of the present day political phraseology.

Secondly, in the immediate past, it is the men who have devoted their attention to this thorny problem. By sufficient experience, they must have attained specialisation. In these days of division of labour, let us women render useful help to them by mastering our own province which I have referred above. This in a nut-shell should be the main outline of our future policy. In order to make matters easy, I may draw the attention of my readers to certain practical points. Sir Vishweshwarayya in his book on reconstructing India has observed that, "if the country is to move forward at a rapid pace, Indians must increasingly disregard caste restrictions. Break bread with one another, and cultivate habits of international intercourse." A practical means suggested by him towards this end is what he terms:—"Indianisation which signifies common dress, common language, and even common food for all Indians. These are petty matters in themselves, but they are vital matters in the unification of this wide nation where diversity is the order of the day." The need of such Indianisation might have occurred to many even at the time of our own conference. It is a common experience that women having the same dress feel more affinity towards one another. This means, encouraging provincial differences which we must strive to set aside. We should assemble in the Conference as Indian women and not as Provincial groups. Another apparently insignificant thing in the life of Indian womanhood is the unduly great amount of time wasted in our kitchen; with all this, it is not that we prepare the most nourishing food, but only encourage fastidiousness. The truth of this need not be brought home by adding details. It is a matter of daily experience. The kitchen has reduced the sphere of women's activity almost to nothingness. It is therefore the most practicable and the most necessary consideration. If we remember the simple rule that trifles make perfection, I am sure my sisters will not overlook the above suggestions. I hope they will be taken for what they are worth.

### TASK BEFORE US.

( MRS. HANSA MEHTA, B. A., J. P., MEMBER,  
BOMBAY CORPORATION. )

I remember when the All India Women's Conference on Educational Reform first met, some of the papers criticised the movement as an outcome of feminist tendencies—feminist in the sense the word is understood in the West. They entirely misunderstood the object of such a Conference which is more to arouse interest among women themselves in matters that affect them so closely, to educate their opinion in matters educational and social, to make them think and judge for themselves as to what is good for them and what is not. In short, the Conference provides a platform where women can talk without reserve, exchange their views on what they consider to be the needs for the betterment of their sex in particular, of society in general.

So far as arousing the interest of women is concerned this movement has achieved a measure of success. For instance ever since the question of prevention of child marriage was taken up at the Poona Conference, women all over India did a tremendous amount of propaganda work. They created "women's opinion" against such a horrible practice with the result that many of the Indian States like, Mysore, Rajkot, Kashmir, Gondal, Indore, Limbdi, Mandi and Bhavnagar have raised the legal age of marriage. Baroda even went so far as to make marriages under eight null and void. The success of Rai Sahab Har Bilas Sarada's Bill is also to a great extent due to the efforts of women.

Lately the Conference has taken up the question of equal right of inheritance for women. Both Baroda and Mysore have taken steps, by issuing questionnaires, to remedy this defect in the Hindu Law. There is no doubt that women are shaking off their apathy and are taking more and more lively interest in such issues which concern their welfare. The ground is prepared, the real work for the Conference begins now.

Many are the resolutions that this Conference has passed. They are still on paper. Time has come now when they must be translated into action. First and foremost are the educational problems that confront us, for education is the primary need of this country. A resolution had already been passed asking for compulsory primary education. That is not enough. War against illiteracy must be carried on more vigorously. "There shall be no illiteracy in 1940." Some such slogan must be taken up. The conference should give a mandate to its constituencies to see that every village in their area has got a school. The need for more trained teachers will naturally arise. It is a curious fact that while there is a demand for more trained teachers on one hand, the Government of Bombay is closing down the training Colleges and putting all kinds of restrictions in the way of those who

wish to take training as teachers! If the fact as is made out is true that women teachers are not available for village-schools as women are afraid to live alone in villages, then let men teachers do the work for both. Co-educational schools in villages will solve the financial difficulty also.

Again the task of popularising education is not easy unless the education given is in consonance with the environment in which the child lives. The curriculum must be properly arranged. At present there is not much difference found in the curriculum of a rural school and that of an urban school. Agriculture, dairy work and such allied subjects should form part of the syllabus in a village school. Again the curricula of primary schools and secondary schools require readjustment. There is much overlapping of work with the result that much time is wasted without any fruitful gain to the child. Fortunately for this Presidency, the Government has appointed an Education Committee, which one hopes will remedy this defect in our educational system.

Another important point worth taking up is that the secondary education as imparted at present prepares the pupil for University education only. It is not complete in itself, in the sense that the recipient of such education is really good for nothing. This is a great drawback for both boys and girls, for every one cannot afford to go in for higher education either for want of time or of money. The secondary course must be extended by a year or two and made more complete, at the same time the University course may be curtailed by a year.

This leads us to the question of University education. I am not one of those who believe in a separate curriculum for girls. Education in so far as it is cultural should be the same for both boys and girls. However, University education must be universal and must have a wider range of subjects for selection, so that it can cater for different tastes. There is no doubt that the present University courses are very one-sided. Fine arts, Domestic Science, Social Science, Public Health—these are some of the subjects which ought to find a place in the University curriculum as they do in Universities abroad. Will not the women senators move in this matter?

There is a common complaint that the general turn out of the University graduates is poor. One reason to me is very obvious and that is the question of language. Whether the courses of study are made stiffer or more easy, as long as the instruction is given in a foreign tongue, the generality of students will be unable to grasp the fundamentals of the subjects taught. This language problem really requires immediate solution. Will not women agitate for provincial universities where the medium of instruction will be the vernacular of the province?

Lack of proper text books has already been felt. Take for instance the text book readers used in the primary schools in the City of Bombay. They tell us nothing about the city or surroundings that envelop

this beautiful isle, nothing about the harbour or many other places of interest that would appeal to a child brought up in this city. The Bombay Women's Committee on Educational and Social Reform has already offered a prize for the best suggestions of a good series of text book readers for the use of the primary schools in this city. The All India Women's Conference has also appointed a sub-committee to tackle the question of proper text books. It is time the Committee began its work.

I have merely outlined some of the purely educational problems that need solution in the near future. I do not wish to go into technical details about them, nor do I wish to mention others in this short sketch. Similarly I wish to touch on a few only of the socio-educational problems which ought to be taken up soon. The Conference has already taken notice of them by passing resolutions. Medical Inspection of school children is one of them. Mere medical inspection is, however, not enough. From the reports of the medical inspectors who attend the primary school children in this city, one finds that a larger percentage of school children suffer from malnutrition rather than anything. Those suffering from diseases receive some sort of treatment. Even here treatment in special school clinics or in general hospitals should be insisted upon. No steps, however, are taken for underfed children. Feeding the school children, at least those who are poor and underfed, must form part of the duty of those in power concerned.

Evil arising out of overcrowding of schools is another problem requiring immediate attention. I am told that where the system of giving grants per capita prevails private aided schools are invariably overcrowded. We wish education to spread and that is why we demand that it should be made compulsory; but this should not lead to over-crowding of schools and making children victims of some kind of infection or other. Women must protest against this evil and try their best to remove it.

School buildings must be sanitary as well as spacious. In a city like Bombay where school buildings are rented, this is not always possible. The problem, however, can be solved if there are sufficient number of public spirited citizens to finance the scheme of providing the right type of school buildings. There is a resolution before the coming session of the conference to have proper school buildings built on co-operative basis. I wonder if the scheme cannot be adopted by the residents of some of the rich localities in this city. Open air schools wherever possible will also lessen the burden of erecting school buildings. Children love sunshine and open air. Such schools therefore, are bound to be very popular, where such facilities are not possible as in the case of congested places like, for instance, Bombay, open spaces as playground for children should be insisted upon.

Since the Patna Session, this Conference has widened its scope and can take up purely social

questions. Uptil now it concerned itself with taking up such problems only like the prevention of child marriage or purdah which relate to the women's education, as the two evils are a great hindrance to its progress in this country. This year the Conference intends to take up the question of equal rights of inheritance for women. Equality of status in other spheres should also be insisted upon on the plea of justice. However, there are problems concerning women labourers which ought to be taken up by the Conference at an early date. The hardships women have to suffer in certain industries; the housing problem—provision of good sanitary houses in industrial towns; maternity benefit, maternity clinics in charge of women doctors, trained dais are some of them. The Conference can easily undertake investigation in these matters and urge upon introducing necessary reforms.

One more evil, perhaps the greatest nuisance that exists all over India must not remain unmentioned. The beggar problem must find an early solution. Every city, town or village ought to be able to look after its own poor. Begging in streets should be prohibited. The Conference should demand a vagrancy act corresponding to the one existing in England. Women are responsible for encouraging beggars, specially in religious places; they must, therefore, come forward to mitigate this evil.

There is no end to these problems. One can mention hundreds of them. The whole task of social reconstruction is before us. It is a great task. The old order has changed giving place to terrible disorder. Let woman come forward to set things right, to set her house in order, to re-construct a society from whence ignorance, poverty and inequality as between man and man, as between man and woman will have fled.

#### IDEALS IN WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

( BY MRS. V. A. SUKHTANKAR, Indore. )

It is a sign of hope and promise that we are finding all around us a quickening of interest in Indian girls' education, although the subject tends to become a very controversial one. And the question which most frequently comes under discussion is that of the object and scope of the present system of education. Has the scheme been prepared carefully and wisely, with a view to make women's lives more fruitful of good to themselves individually and to the community?

In relation to this question the ideals and type of western women's education often come in for criticism. It is deplored that the western type has become the pattern for the East, for the Indian girls' ideals are, as should be, different and therefore the western type of education is unsuitable for her, inciting to too much freedom and independence and drawing her away from her natural avocation and detesting home-life, wife-hood and motherhood. Her school curriculum, it is said should discourage the

inclusion of the more "brainy" subjects by the substitution of "domestic arts," to fit her for her future part in life. This is so often and earnestly urged that personally I have been led to wonder why it does not occur to these critics to ask themselves what the school's function is, also where home should and must come in as an immensely important factor in girls' development. For much as school and college can do they cannot provide in any real sense, home culture. This can only be supplied by well regulated, refined homes and by the home-makers, the girls' mothers. No school and no curriculum can achieve the same result. Suppose that a school does make it its business to give students cookery lessons, say, three times a week, can such compare for usefulness with the mere sight of the preparation of every day dinner in the natural setting of the home, to say nothing of actually helping in the work, which is not at all outside the province of Indian girl students. I cannot help feeling that if our daughters, who are being educated, fail to give promise of being orderly, industrious housewives the fault lies with us, their mothers, and is not a reflection upon the type of education in vogue in the schools.

Where girls have to live away from home at a boarding school the case becomes different, but the remedy lies with the school authorities in creating in the boarding house, as far as possible, the genial atmosphere of a cultured Indian home and excluding all that tends to a barrack life. Happy instances exist where this is the aim, and a fine result has been achieved. It would indeed be good if such a type of boarding school were many times duplicated. It is one of the greatest needs of girls' education in this country.

But let us not lose sight of the fact that our girls are not simply prospective wives, but human beings first of all, endowed with those noble qualities of mind and heart which are the inheritance of the whole human race.

The educational advantages that Indian girls may now enjoy have been won mainly through the valiant efforts of the pioneer band of women educationists who, scarcely a century ago, in England, set themselves the task, against great opposition of obtaining facilities for higher education which numbers of their own country women were earnestly desiring. Should we willingly let go a position so hardly won, and hark back to the old cry of women's sphere being confined to domestic concerns? It is true that all women have neither the capacity nor the desire for severe, prolonged study—to these the well beaten paths remain always free, but those others who have, may safely be left to pursue their chosen way.

In educational controversies we seem too much disposed to emphasise differences rather than notice points of resemblance. We speak of the East and the West as implying a world of difference, yet mostly the differences are but surface ones.

Beneath lies the common bond of our human intelligence. The Eastern boy and girl and the Western boy and girl are equally appreciating and benefiting by the same good things in education; and because certain things are taught in Western schools is no reason for discarding them in schools for Eastern children. We should avail ourselves of the best that we find in both the Eastern and Western cultures in a spirit of reasonableness and gratitude.

The idea that the strenuous cultivation of the mental faculties must be attended by a falling off in those qualities implied by "heart" seems an absurd one. "Head and heart" together—that should be the ideal—and it can only be fully realised where sound school and college training are supplemented by home nurture of the right type. Happily we can see homes rising around us expressing the old Indian charm of simplicity combined with a fresh sense of delight in beauty and brightness and infused with the modern spirit of activity and public service. And from all that I know of a wide circle of Indian graduate women and college girls I feel that our hope for the fair future of India lies mainly and safely in their keeping—as liberal-minded friends of progress, helpers of good causes, true companions to their future husbands and noble mothers of the generation to come.

#### THE WORK BEFORE THE ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

(By Mrs. Y. HIRLEKAR, M.A., BOMBAY).

The times are fast changing and the call for action is urgent. We have seen—and it is never too late to mend—that we cannot expect anything to be bestowed upon us as a gift on a fine morning by some mysterious power but that everything has to be struggled for and earned. If women's emancipation is to take place, it is women who must take the initiative in this matter. Moreover, it is they who can best understand their own interests and needs. Men can not do this for them even if they would, which involves many unjustified assumptions. Thus women's emancipation is a problem for women alone. For, the need for advancement and progress must be felt from within and the urge for the necessary action will follow from within. It is because of this universal truth and not because man's interests are at variance with woman's that I say that women's progress and advancement is essentially their own task, lying before them at present when a general national struggle is raging keen.

Along with others, education is an item which will have to be taken up more seriously than it is even now. We have not yet arrived at a satisfactory scheme of education for girls, although it is a long established fact among the orthodox as well as the liberal sections of women that women's education is the basis of all progress. A scheme of education for girls gives rise to several problems the details which have not yet received proper atten-

tion, thought and investigation. These problems are many and varied. Should there be a difference between the curricula for boys and girls? If so, is co-education practicable? If not, is co-education preferable? Are there any innate differences between the intellectual capacity and calibre of boys and girls? Do such innate differences exist between their psychology? If so, how do they affect their respective development of individuality? In view of this, what difference should there be in their respective courses of education? There are many more such questions and considerations which have got to be solved and taken into account before a scheme can be drawn. Now, the solution of these questions must be guided not by sentiment or tradition but by a scientific investigation of the innate differences, psychological and intellectual, if any, and physical, between boys and girls and the results must be corroborated by statistics. A scheme of education based on such sound data is naturally likely to be more effective than any other.

In order to improve upon the past, we must be clear about two things. What is to be aimed at and in what respects the previous attempt fell short of that aim. Volumes can be written on what is to be aimed at but to be brief one can sum up the aim of education as follows: Education is the mental and physical equipment which renders the individual economically self-reliant and more able and confident under the conditions of existence. If this is to be our aim, what has the education that is being given to our girls at present, done to achieve it. They appear to have become economically independent because of their scarcity value but if the scope of education is not broadened, women will be as helpless economically in some years to come, as our men-graduates. We must take a lesson from the experience of our boys who have to spend a tremendous amount of time, money and energy over their college career and at the end of it the majority are unable to translate their efforts into money. Physically our girls have become nervous and weak and we are often faced with the anomaly that our illiterate sisters of the working-class are often superior in this respect. For, as long as the education which our girls receive is only meant to be an accomplishment and aims at preparing "cultured ladies", what profession are they fit for except perhaps teaching, medicine and law? All other kinds of labour is below their dignity in their eyes. This is the mentality created by the purely academical education that our schools are providing. Secondly, there is not sufficient variety and option offered to suit individual difference of temperament and capacity. Every one is forced to pass through one particular groove and is declared unfit year after year if the individuality is too strong to succumb to the common rut and is finally made a nervous wreck. An eminent psychologist says, every normal person is a genius at something or other and it is the fault of the school



and the whole machinery of education if they cannot find out that 'something'. It is the sacred task of educationists to afford scope, create opportunities and possibilities for every individual to have his or her temperamental and intellectual needs satisfied so that at the end of education he or she may come out a stronger personality and a better citizen.

Thirdly, whatever scheme we have framed, is meant only for the upper and the fairly well-to-do middle classes and we have made no provision for the poorer classes of whom practically the whole nation is composed. If education of the masses is our goal, the scheme has to be entirely changed. It must have a more practical, technical and industrial bias. For, unless education means some material gain, it is futile to expect the half-starving masses to enjoy the beauties of literature.

All this proves one thing that there is much to be desired in our present scheme of education and it is our duty to take up the matter seriously. Now such questions of general importance can not be tackled by individuals. They must be taken up by a responsible and representative body. Being the biggest women's organization, it is up to the All India Women's Conference to consider this important problem. Upto the last year, it called itself the All India Women's Educational Conference. Now it has dropped the word 'Educational' so as to extend its sphere of activity. This is no doubt a welcome change, still it must not fail to see that there is bound to be a certain logical sequence which must guide its activities in its extended field. It is education alone, where education is defined and administered in a broader sense, that will bring about in its train almost automatically social, economic and political reform. It is not enough to have finely-worded resolutions put on the agenda and to get them 'unanimously' passed when the resolutions are only destined to lie on the paper until another year brings in new resolutions to replace them. It is up to the Conference to see that some actual work is being done throughout the whole year in accordance with the resolutions.

Returning to the question of drawing up a reformed scheme of education for girls, in addition to passing resolutions, the Conference should see that its representative constituent bodies in the various provinces of India appoint expert women-educationists from their respective constituencies to do some investigation and research work and prepare annual reports. This would also be a convenient way of collecting statistics and getting various other informations which would make extremely useful data for further work. Every year is launching in new possibilities and the air is full of vigour. Naturally, we are all looking forward to the All-India Women's Conference which meets in January, to give voice to the needs of women as disclosed by experience and to promote the necessary action in an organized way.

### SOCIAL WORK IN GERMANY.

(By Mrs. KAMALADEVI CHATOPADHYAYA,  
Organising Secretary, All-India Women's  
Conference.)

Social work in Germany is a monumental one and strikes a visitor as being very stupendous. It seems to have had its birth in very ancient times, for private and public social relief work was said to have existed during the reign of Charlemagne. In the early middle ages there existed a widespread system of poor relief administered by the feudal lords while side by side with it the monasteries and religious orders founded hospitals, alms houses and other institutions. Some of these are still to be found in the south of Germany. Later due chiefly to the Reformation and the French Revolution, German relief work underwent a reform particularly in the larger towns and the individualising form of relief was founded. This help consisted not merely in giving food and shelter but extended its care to health and education and provided means of employment. This was carried on by the communities as well as the churches.

Industrialisation in the second half of the 19th century, the war and the post-war period of the 20th century gave a particular character to social work throughout Germany. As a result of the changed conditions of life new problems regarding health, education and economics arose and new methods were sought to solve them. The three main agencies or instruments of work are: (1) public social work, (2) private social work, (3) social insurance.

#### PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK.

Up to 1924 public social work was based on a Poor law but since then it has undergone certain changes which has made it extend its scope. This extensive law makes the towns and rural communities responsible for the individual care of the war disabled and the dependents of deceased soldiers besides the regular pensions paid to them by the State, of those who lost their property as a result of currency inflation, of those who in spite of their invalid and old age pension are in need, of children, of women in pre-natal and anti-natal states, of the handicapped children and other necessitous persons in general. They are likewise responsible for the welfare of the children according to the new law of 1922. By this every German child is entitled to an education enabling it to attain physical, intellectual and social fitness. To attain this end Child Welfare Boards are established by the urban and rural administrations. These are responsible for the

1. Protection of boarded out children,
2. Guardianship of illegitimate children and other wards,
3. Supervision and education of neglected, unprotected, problem and delinquent children,
4. Assistance to the Juvenile Courts (Probationary Courts),
5. Assistance in enforcing the Child Labour Act (Kinderschutzgesetz),

6. Assistance to the police in handling juvenile cases,
7. Relief for war-orphans and children of the war disabled,
8. Besides these measures especial importance is attached to the protection of motherhood, and the welfare of infants, children and adolescents.

Additional legislation provides for the protection and care of cripples and those suffering from venereal diseases or tuberculosis. Most German welfare laws apply to all the German States. In some like Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony they are supplemented by useful additional legislation.

The communities have established welfare boards to carry out the programme. These administer relief on uniform lines. The various departments of these Welfare Boards are the Relief Board, the Child Welfare Board, the Board of Health, the Housing Board and the Board for extensional public education. A Welfare Council has the responsibility of putting the programme into effect. Representatives of the Municipal Council and all classes of the population with expert knowledge of social conditions are members of this. The programme is administered by a system of decentralisation. The various districts are divided into very small sections. A committee consisting of the director, a physician, a social worker and about 20 helpers cares for the individual cases. The members of the Committee are voluntary workers. Their work is carried on in close co-operation with the welfare boards. These take charge of the more difficult cases and turn them over to trained social workers.

The aim of this relief work is that it should be preventive and effective and therefore to be given early and to an extent which would prevent temporary need changing into a permanent one. The particular kind of need should be considered. The relief offered is to insure the necessities of life. These are housing, food, clothing, help and care in times of sickness, help for children's education and vocational training for the blind, deaf and dumb, and burial expenses for all needy persons. A number of welfare centres are maintained and these carry on out-door relief in connection with the health and educational work. There are welfare centres for mothers, infants and small children, for cripples, for the mentally and morally defective children.

#### PRIVATE SOCIAL WORK.

In pre-war times private philanthropy developed strongly and did valuable pioneer work. It established the first kindergarten school, the first welfare centres, labour colonies, employment agencies and convalescent homes. This work was carried out a good deal by the religious charity associations, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish as well as non-secretarian bodies such as the Red-cross and socialist associations. All these associations now aim at co-operation amongst themselves. They have centres

and sub-committees in all parts of Germany and maintain a great number of welfare institutions.

Public and private organs of social work operate in close contact and in many cases joint councils have been formed in order to co-ordinate all efforts in the interest of the various phases of the work. Welfare work is being greatly helped by the scientific research that is done by the German Society for Public and Private Relief.

#### SOCIAL INSURANCE.

Besides this, social insurance in Germany has so developed that it ranks foremost in social work today. The Social Insurance Acts provide sick-benefits, maternity-benefits, accident, invalidity and old age benefits, and unemployment-benefits. The disability and old-age insurance fund grants its members periodical money payments and in order to prevent disablement, gives medical and institutional treatment. The sick-fund grants benefit in the way of periodical money payments, medical treatment including medicines and if necessary, treatment in hospitals and convalescent homes. The accident-insurance-fund grants periodical money payments to its members, if, due to an accident in the course of their employment they are handicapped. The unemployment insurance grants payments to unemployed and their dependents. The social insurance funds maintain their own welfare centres, where the insured members and their dependents undergo medical examination and have records kept of the development and progress of diseases. They also maintain hospitals, sanatoria and convalescent homes.

Then there are of course relief measures carried on by the trade-unions and the employers.

Welfare work is mainly practised by professional trained workers. There are 47 schools for social work out of which 43 are for women and 4 for men. At the end of the training period the students have to pass a State examination.

#### SOCIAL WORK IN BERLIN.

A brief survey of the social work in Berlin gives one an idea of its detailed working. The great expansion of Berlin with its population of 4,000,000 has made it necessary to organize the work in a special manner. The city is divided into 20 districts. Public relief work is directed by a Central Welfare and Child Welfare Board, and has a Central Health Board and a Central Welfare Council and Housing Board working with it. The Central Welfare and Child Welfare Board is organised by a City Department which is a special administrative body. It gives relief in general including care of the blind, deaf and dumb, the administration of shelters, workhouses and public kitchens. The Child Welfare work is for normal, dependent, problem, neglected and delinquent children. It deals with war-disabled and dependents of deceased soldiers and also with social endowments. Twenty district welfare, child welfare boards are entrusted with carrying out the welfare programme.

They are mainly in charge of individual relief work and carry it out according to the family welfare system. A great many professional welfare workers are engaged in this work and in addition there are about 1,000 general welfare and child welfare committees who in their turn are assisted by about 20,000 voluntary helpers.

Family social work includes practically all efforts on behalf of the welfare of a family with the exception of a few relief measures that are referred to one or other departments.

#### A YEAR'S WORK.

In the course of a year Berlin gives assistance and relief to about 3,200 war-disabled and dependents of the deceased soldiers, 74,000 people who lost their property during the war, 33,800 people who in spite of their invalid or old age pension are in need, 108,000 unemployed with no claims on unemployed insurance, 70,000 other necessitous persons, 14,000 pregnant women with institutional care for 10,000, 20,000 mentally diseased, 80,000 needy in hospitals, 35,000 cripples, 18,000 dependent children 7,003 of which are in custodial care, 30,000 juveniles out of whom 16,000 are completely provided for.

The Public Health Service of Berlin is administered by the Central Board of Health under the authority of a Central Council of Health. It is in charge of the administration of hospitals and infirmaries, disinfection, prevention of infectious diseases, social hygiene, first aid, midwifery, private utilitarian health institutions and other measures of welfare service. It has under it 25 hospitals, 3 sanatoria for tuberculosis, 4 asylums and 13 infirmaries.

In order to promote co-operation between the agencies of public and private social work a joint council has been formed consisting of an equal number of representatives of both under the presidency of the Chairman of the Welfare Council.

Berlin has 6 schools of social work for women and 2 for men.

I should like to mention some of the important institutions that do this work of welfare.

#### INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK.

The Municipal Centre combines a night shelter, quarters for homeless families, family shelter and welfare centre for the inmates of the shelter. The night shelter accommodates 5,000 homeless persons and is open between 10 p. m. and 2-30 p. m. The family shelter has wards for men, women and children, for maternity cases and sick people. The centre also helps the inmates in their re-habilitation.

The Municipal Labour colony is a big farm and provides accommodation, food and agricultural employment to the unsheltered. It can harbour 160 men; work is also provided for on neighbouring farms. There is another labour colony where unemployed men find shelter food and work, and in addition they receive a small remuneration.

It comprises three colonies, one for elderly men capable of work, the second for adolescent unemployed and the third for elderly men with limited working capacity. To meet the special needs of formerly well-to-do but now impoverished people a dwelling house has been erected.

The Pestalozzi-Frobel-House is a very magnificent institution and can be taken as a model house for the care of infants and school children. It consists of three imposing buildings. House one contains model kinder-garten schools run both on Montessori and Frobel methods, a school for psychopathic and backward children, a creche, day and night homes, a home for apprentices, a children's reading room, a boarding house for orphans, a convalescent home as also a school for training workers in charge of kinder-garten, clubs and homes. House two trains teachers and adolescent girls in domestic science. House three is the headquarters of the oldest school of social work and of the German women's Academy for social and educational work, offering post-graduate training for such professions.

The Evangelisches-Johannisstift combines a great number of modern child welfare institutions. It has homes for the treatment of psychopathic children, for children with spinal trouble, a home for morally defective youths, a war-orphan training school for domestic science and a home for the aged. It is likewise a training school for diacons and social workers. A special department offers courses in principles of social ethics, social politics, and mission service to workmen, union secretaries and all other groups.

#### SANATORIA AND CONVALESCENT HOMES.

The tuberculosis sanatoria and convalescent homes of the Redcross in Hohen-Lycheu is a very huge concern. The climatic conditions and scenery of the country greatly benefit the healing process. The whole complex with 652 beds and accommodation for another 272 in rooms consists of sanatoria for tuberculosis of all kinds and maintains a hospital and a convalescent home. There are colonies for children pre-disposed for tuberculosis and a horticultural school for juveniles affected by the disease.

The Oskar-Helene-Home is a modern institute for crippled children and adolescents. This is maintained by the society for the treatment and care of cripples. It has a large medical department for clinical and ray treatment for infants and children. It has special wards for the treatment of tuberculosis of the bones and joints, an open air station, a station for surgical and orthopedic treatment.

In addition there is an educational department and a number of workshops for professional training and a seminary for training workers in the care of cripples to which is attached a museum for cripple-dom and cripple welfare. There is provision for the education of adults who have lost or are apt to lose their sight, hearing or speech.

The Jugendland of the City of Berlin in Zossen is a novel institution, formerly a military camp

now comprises about 15 barracks and small houses with 1000 beds for convalescent children. The children are admitted for a period of 4 to 6 weeks; whole classes of kinder-garten and school children accompanied by their teachers stay at Zossen for several weeks and receive regular school training. The deaf, the dumb, the crippled and the mentally deficient regain health and strength here and are offered a shelter-home situated on the outskirts, for hiking, rambling and excursionist boys and girls.

The Private Social Service Centre is doing some unique work. This agency originally founded by the society for Ethical Culture in co-operation with the public and private welfare agencies now gives advice to the needy and takes on the personal guardianship of those in distress and carries on systematic follow up work. Public relief agencies, business firms and wealthy individuals submit applications they have received for help to this Social Service Centre for investigation and relief work.

The society for the protection of children against exploitation and ill-treatment tries to prevent children from being tyrannised and places them in their own houses in unison with physicians, teachers, social workers etc. It maintains a home for the education of unprotected and ill-treated children.

A new form of work is represented by the Schrebergarten of the Volksh eilstattenverein of the Red Cross. These are gardens intended for working men and their families and are meant to raise the general standard of health. The society offers land at low rates stipulating that it be used for growing vegetables or flowers and for recreational purposes.

There are a good many scientific institutes that carry on research work and collect information about Social Welfare. The Archiv Fur Wohlfahrtspfleger is a huge centre. Its library contains about 17,000 books, and about 100 German and Foreign language periodicals and newspapers. It has further more a collection of reports and illustrative literature dealing with the administration of organised relief and activities of welfare institutions. Information is collected on all social work. It also assists in publishing welfare magazines and bulletins. It issues regularly a bibliography of welfare work, a directory of social agencies in Berlin as well as other publications. Information can be obtained here regarding German and Foreign welfare work.

These are but a few of the innumerable institutions for social welfare that Berlin can boast of.

#### WOMEN'S PROGRESS IN INDIA.\*

This is the fourth time that the Madras Constituent Conference of the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform has assembled. So momentous has been the result of its earlier deliberations, and so fraught with possibilities of

\* The presidential address of Mrs. M. E. Cousins at the fourth Madras Women's Constituent Conference.

future changes for India are the present times, that I realise how great is the honour you have done me in inviting me to be your president for this year and the responsibility that lies on me to be worthy of the office. I am particularly grateful for the kindness you have shown me in view of the fact that I have been absent from India for 18 months. I can truly say however that while I was absent from India, during my world tour, India was seldom absent from my thoughts and speech, for in over a hundred meetings which I addressed in Europe, America and Japan I never failed to tell my audiences of the work of these women's conferences and of women's organisations in India for various specialised objects. I believe that such proclamation of the awakened and capable powers of the women of India was a course of education for the adults of the West which had been omitted by their local educational authorities but one which will be fruitful in the international appreciations, which are indispensable to world peace and to the attainment of India's national aspirations.

I feel that my presidentship is under particularly auspicious auspices in that Her Excellency Lady Beatrix Stanley is so graciously amongst us and that she will receive from this gathering her first impressions of the strong currents of life that are evident everywhere amongst Indian women.

#### THE CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT.

The rapid speed with which all things move is characteristic of the present time. We have only to give a strong push towards a goal and we find that the time-Spirit gives us assistance far beyond our expectations. I would remind you that when we first met in this very hall four years ago and groped our way towards clear expression of our desire for better education and more education we came across the barrier of early marriage. We thought then that we could take no more pronounced step than to urge that no marriage of girls should take place before 16. No organisation in the country had at that time formulated a demand for legislation on child marriage. It remained for Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda, President of the first All-India Women's Conference, held in Poona three months later than our Madras Conference, to be the first to sound a clarion call for a law to prohibit child marriage. It was the resolution of that Conference which on the 7th of January 1927 first urged the Government of India to pass legislation making marriage under 16 years a penal offence. The women of India leaped forward to follow the lead of the conference. Before six months have passed our champion in the Legislative Assembly had tabled the Child Marriage Bill and to-day our first thought must be of gratitude to Rai Bahadur Harbilas Sarla and all the men and women and the youth of both the sexes who by their hard work have succeeded in placing the Child Marriage Restraint Act on the statute book. Thus the first push of the women's conference on educational reform has brought us to one

goal. We have to consolidate the gain by vigilance over the details of the enforcement of the law through such instruments as strict enforced registration of births and marriages so that the ages may be under clear supervision. Our conference must be ready also after the first of April 1930 to help in taking legal proceedings if there should be any flouting of the law. But to-day our hearts are full of joy that a historic milestone has been passed on the way to the complete accomplishment of our ideals and the freeing of young people.

#### WIDENED SCOPE OF THE CONFERENCE.

Another instance of the speed of the women's movement is the expansion of objectives for which our conference this year stands. Such a full flood of conscious life has coursed through the women in all the constituent conferences of last year that at the Patna All-India session it burst through the confining banks of educational reform only. It is self-evident that the many reforms which are needed in women's conditions all act and re-act on education and accordingly resolutions relating generally to women's life come within the scope of this year's conference. While we think of the division as in terms of Education and Social Reform these are for convenience only in the conduct of our business. It will be seen from the resolutions that many of them might equally well be placed in the alternate sections. The conference is not a duality. It is an indivisible unity. It may be that in the future as in the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference it eventually has sections also on Health, Industry and Government, yet all these are as the various limbs of the one life and have to function not independently but interdependently. The same is the case with the Women's Education Fund. We have financial responsibility and loyalty to the Conference Fund which is continuously needed to pay the working expenses of propaganda office, printing etc., and I hope that every Constituent Conference will gladly share that responsibility by collecting not less than Rs. 100 each for that purpose. But we have also the privilege and opportunity and duty of helping to collect the lakhs of rupees which are necessary for establishing a Home Science College with its nursery, primary and secondary practice schools on the model of the resolutions we have all drafted as our ideals. It is from this fund also that other necessary reforms about text books, housing for teachers, etc., have to be financed. We see how Christians in America and England are at the moment employing every means to collect money for their missionary women's colleges here. Let us be encouraged by their example to organise in this country great sums for educational purposes.

#### EXAMPLE OF JAPAN.

In Kyoto, (Japan) the largest Buddhist temple was burnt down 30 years ago. In rebuilding it no ropes could be found strong enough to raise the great timbers of its pillars and roofing. Human hair was found to be the strongest substance and when a call for this went out through

Kyoto, 4,000 women devotedly shaved off their dark tresses, willing to sacrifice their beauty in service to the temple of the Enlightened and Compassionate One. We need such a spirit here to erect the temple of learning. We women must mobilise our forces to that end. On the principle of first things first let us make the establishment of compulsory and free Primary education throughout this Presidency and all India our primary and immediate goal. A spirit of promise, good will, expectation and expansion are to-day in the air. It is a psychological moment comparable to that of the period 1917-1919, out of which eventuated the enfranchisement of women and their emergence into all spheres of public life with the success which is willingly accorded to them. Let us utilise this time for a drive to secure primary education for every child in the country.

I am the more impressed with the importance of laying the foundation of the literacy of the masses because of what I have seen and felt in other countries since I last stood here. Many a time my heart has ached with longing that India should soon enjoy the same facilities for education as the children get in all other countries. Our task is enormous—to raise literacy from 2 per cent to 92 per cent for our girls and from 12 per cent to the same for our boys but we will not be paralysed by numbers but rejoice in the honour that is ours in our knowledge that it can and will be accomplished. Japan was faced with the same problem and solved it so successfully that the immense primary school buildings and play grounds of Japan catch the eye in every landscape and in them 98 per cent of Japanese children spend nine happy years. I might instance that one Japanese city has 50 kindergartens and 10 day nurseries and all this education has developed since 1870 when the Emperor Meiji issued an edict that there should not be a village without a school nor family with a single uneducated child. In California it was thrilling to find that the remarkable proportion of sixty per cent of the revenues of that State were given for education. Ancient India realised the basic need for education. The Manusmriti lays down this truth in these words: "The State in which the administrator allows the good and virtuous educationist—and therefore good and sound education, to starve—that whole State will begin to starve very soon similarly and fall in status and civilisation with all its people and their servants, the administrators." I have only to quote the following figures to you to show you how utterly wrong are the ratios of expenditure of India's revenues as contrasted with the wisdom of Manu—Of the total of the country's revenues, 27 per cent are spent on military purpose, 15 per cent for police, 5 per cent for education and per cent for health.

India is physically starving today because its mind has been starved for several centuries. Women are the nourishers of the race. Now they are awake to the necessity for feeding the mind as well as the body. Our new slogan will complete the circle

of life for every individual:—"Well Born, Well educated, and Well Employed."

#### MASS EDUCATION.

The establishment of mass education adapted to the conditions of the individual, the locality and the community, and including elements for physical, mental, emotional, civic and spiritual development is a noble cause and a basic part of responsible national reconstruction. Disproportionate national expenditure which prevents the provision of education will have to be grappled with and removed. Women's desire for world peace and disarmament is linked up with the need of the race for the positive blessings that will accrue to it from the money set free in an era of non-militarism. We shall then have human welfare instead of inhuman welfare.

We, women will undertake from to-day an enthusiastic, eager, persistent campaign to get every child into a primary school, to have the school and play ground into which the little boy and girl can go and to give them the teachers who will give them the happiness. The report of the Hartog Committee on Education and the findings of the Commission on Physical Training will strengthen our hands. I congratulate Madras City on the remarkable increase in the numbers of young women who during the last few years have got the facilities for training as teachers through the self-sacrificing devotion of voluntary and official organisers of women's Training Homes. While this year we are concentrating our educational resolutions on primary education, we remember that our Foundation Memorandum on Educational Reform cover the whole field of education. When abroad I visited very many educational and social service institutions in Europe, America, Japan and China and proud to find that our resolutions are so fundamentally in line with the latest findings of the most up-to-date educationists. Our theories are sound for they are based on the bedrock of living necessity. Now our need is for workers in every sphere.

#### DUTY OF WOMAN.

There is a joy in educational and social service which has to be experienced—it cannot be imagined. Every woman who helps to bring about conditions of freedom for those confined wrongly in body, mind or soul will gain a new zest in life. These conferences point out ways of giving such help as raising the depressed, giving light and clear sight to those in purdah, knowledge to the widow, rescue—as has been so nobly achieved by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, M. L. C.—to those exploited for sex purposes, commercialised vice, health to the mother and political opportunities to women for national service in all ways.

Finally I would like to point out that though we call these women's conferences and at present we reserve them only for women members and visitors, we do not look on them as for the good of women only. This is only a transitional means of proceed-

ing to that time when through the practice women get in these specialised meetings they will become efficient to mingle and co-operate with men without danger of either sex becoming submerged to when there will be true, free, helpful exchange of views and co-partnership in solving together the problem which for the moment we now discuss apart. The Trinity of Mother, Father and Child is the actual Unit of Indian Life. The child is only "well born" where there is equality of freedom, health development, respect in the duality of dissimilar complementaries, the father and mother. And this is equally true of those men and women who whether actually parents or not, perform by their natures the functions of mental and spiritual parentage through remoulding the world nearer to the heart's desires. There is no real division of the problems of the sexes. The status of men and women acts and reacts on both like the seeming divisions of our conference. They are one and we work as the Irish say "separately together" for the good of the whole.

Neither are these conferences working for the good of India only. Our expressed ideals convey needed supplements also to the ideals of other nations. Again in my travels I found that secular education produced a secular 'people and a materialistic civilisation. From the beginning we in India have recognised the spiritual nature of the individuals as the seed from which everything must evolve. We have laid down as one of the first necessities of education that moral training based on spiritual ideals must be included in all schools and colleges. This is in line with the Indian custom by which the first letter taught to an Indian child is the sacred symbol 'Om'. There are eternal verities common to all religious faiths, a realisation of the relationship of the known to the Unknown, of the creature to the Creator, without reverence for the infinite, that inclusive life which is Law and Love, called by Emerson the 'Over soul', the results of education will fail to develop the high character which must be our motive in all our work.

This spiritual consciousness and the fundamental importance of the family are essentially characteristic of Asian countries as contrasted with other continents and they are gifts which Asia can make to world culture. But they can become serviceable to humanity only when Asia herself becomes aware of their value to others and organises them for the enrichment of the human race. For this purpose I dream dreams that these All-India Women's Conferences may blossom into a future All-Asian Women's Conference.

#### THE SARDA ACT.

(By Mr. KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.)

Years ago, the author of "Hindu Superiority" won by the very title of his book the gratitude of most Hindus who regarded themselves as orthodox and patriotic. Today the name of Rai Saheb Har Bilas Sarada, the author of the Child Marriage Bill

which has become the law of the whole country as Act XIX of 1929, is a household word and is spoken with gratitude everywhere except by a handful of die-hards whose power for social tyranny is threatened with extinction. There is no doubt that the Sarda Act is the most momentous achievement of the Indian Legislature for nearly a century. It is calculated to obviate much avoidable suffering and set the people fairly on the path of greater health, happiness and efficiency.

The law which suppressed the "religious" practice of burning women alive on the funeral pyre of their dead husbands is quite a century old. The law which declared the legal right of widowed Hindu women to live an honourable married life again if they liked, in spite of any custom or supposed religious injunction to the contrary, was passed no less than eighty years ago. They were practically British-made. They were both measures undertaken by the State as the supreme protector of its people. Their object was the prevention of organised cruelty to unfortunate members of the weaker sex enforced in the name of religion by the learned and the pious, the *Mahamahopadhyayas* and *Acharyas* of India.

Mr. Sarda's Child Marriage Restraint Act and Dr. Gour's Age of Consent Amendment Act are designed to be the first and second line defences against the cruel kindness inflicted upon voiceless female children during their infancy in the holy name of matrimony and religious obligation, causing individual misery and racial decay. These two measures enjoy the superior merit of being *Swadeshi*. They owe their initiative and energy to the patriotism, humanity and self-respect of Indians themselves, including Indian women, which converted the Government benches from persistent hostility to active friendliness.

Incidentally, the Sarda Act helps to alleviate another cruelty. It is the cruelty to unfortunate Hindu fathers and mothers "blessed" with female progeny. Among Brahmans, and among certain non-Brahman castes as well who ape the Brahmans in their harmful ways, it has become an established canon of social duty that every female child shall be given away by her parents in indissoluble marriage before the earliest symptoms of dawning womanhood make their appearance, which may happen any time between nine and twelve years of age. If this is not done the whole family is doomed to excommunication and would be shunned by their fellows as shameless outcasts. Poverty of the parents is no excuse. Physical unfitness of the girl herself or her repugnance is no valid ground for exempting her from married life; some male person young or old, suitable or unsuitable, worthy or unworthy, willing or unwilling, but belonging to the limited fold of the girl's particular caste, and sub-caste, must be begged, coaxed and bribed heavily along with his parents and relations to "release" her from the "distress of maidenhood" by tying the marriage knot round her neck

before the fatal climacteric of *Rajawalskip* is reached. The prospect of this terrible social duty hangs like a mill-stone round the neck of a girl's parents, whether rich or poor, from the date of her birth and robs life of its innocent joy. The sad case of Snehalata, the sensitive Bengali girl who burnt herself with kerosine oil rather than see her parents ruined for her marriage must still be fresh in the memory of all India. "Kusika", in one of his inimitable stories of South Indian family life, recounts how a poor distracted Brahman father, who found himself between the Scylla of financial ruin and the Charybdis of social ostracism under similar circumstances, burst into a fit of insane glee when his daughter was suddenly seized and carried off by the plague!

Every Hindu house-holder has felt the harrow at one time or other. But few have had the courage to defy the cruel cat of custom to its face, for it meant nothing less than social death to the rash innovator and his family although the number and importance of those who have deified it into a Religion is negligible. There is general rejoicing therefore and thankfulness at the news that that inexorable cat is doomed to death by an Act of the legislature which none of its worshippers can defy with impunity to sacrifice even their own children at its altar.

At the same time there is much trembling curiosity and doubt in the public mind. The date officially fixed for the happy event is yet far off. The Cat and its instruments, are left in full power to scratch and maul till then. Who knows that it would readily yield up its ghost exactly by the morning of All Fools day? Its nine lives are proverbial. Much caterwauling might perhaps frighten the Viceroy into rescinding the Act. What then will become of those who might hastily cross the Rubicon and expose their disloyalty to the Cat? "My safety first" has been our national motto for some centuries past. Tyranny, whether political or social, finds its strongest bulwark in the mutual distrust, mutual fear and mutual ill-will of its victims and in their individual self-seeking and cowardices. So there is a panicky rush of one and all to the marriage market just now to dispose of at once, long before the 1st of April has a chance of coming round, every girl who is likely to be ten or eleven years old within the next three years. Once we are rid of every such contraband and combustible article from keeping, we may leisurely watch with a light heart and from a safe distance the death-struggle between the Cat and the Act and then hasten to offer our allegiance to whichever combatant is found to triumph in the end! Bridegrooms may therefore fetch fabulous prices within the next four months. Even those who had at first made up their minds to lean on the strength of the Act are now stampeded to the side of prudence when they see that the few eligible lads whom they had hoped to secure for their girls in proper time are being eagerly besieged by rival

bidders and are sure to be snapped up long before the midnight hour of 31st March 1930 is struck.

Social reformers, however, have no reason to be particularly depressed or agitated at this mad holocaust and hallaballoo. It matters little to the purpose of the legislation or the destiny of our race that one more generation of our little girls is decimated at the altar of too early marriage in double quick time before the Act could come to their rescue. They may rather rejoice that the glad tidings of the dawn of a new era is carried thus, albeit in a perturbing fashion, into every nook and corner, every village and hamlet of this vast continent much more effectively and quickly than through the usual official channels.

But one thing every well-wisher of the people must guard against. That is the misleading propaganda of a handful of busybodies who are out to incite the people against the Act by misrepresenting its purpose and scope and trying to make out that it is a tyrannical measure affecting their religious freedom and the sanctity of domestic life. The times however are propitious to this legislation. A new spirit is abroad among the woman-folk as well as the men. The temper of the sufferers is not the same now as it was even a decade ago. The accumulated hard experience of every parent and child-wife and child-mother which has sunk into their hearts is asserting itself and will surely rally them round the Act the moment it comes into force and make them cling to it as the super-guardian of their victimised children and their best friend against the tantrums of the social bully and mischievous exploiter of old-world prejudices who masquerades in the garb of religion. Let every intelligent and honest friend of his people make it his sacred duty to study the provisions of the Act and its implications carefully and carry its healing message to every home within his reach in a devoted spirit of service.

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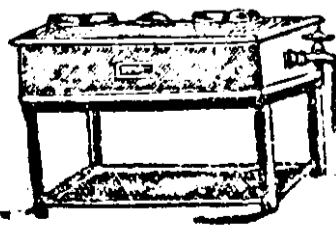
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1929

No. 15

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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That Men May All Be Brothers.	

### NOTES.

**Jesus Christ In India:**—Referring to an observation that the life and teachings of Jesus Christ appeal to educated Hindus, the *Indian Witness* asks in what manner do they appeal, and what the result has been. If the *Witness* were asked how Jesus appeals to Europeans and Americans and what the result is, the answer will perhaps be to point to the translations of the Bible into many of the world's languages, and the publication of books dealing with Christianity. At least that is what may be gathered from the question, "Are they (educated Hindus) making translations into their vernaculars and are they writing treatises setting forth their understanding of these teachings?" And anticipating a negative answer, the *Witness* explains that the Hindu would not care to say very much about the influence of Jesus Christ, as he would be accused of turning towards Christianity. "He would be charged with honouring Christ's teachings above those of Hindu teachers." We can assure our contemporary that it is very much mistaken. Educated Indians who come under the influence of Christ's teachings, have not been afraid or ashamed to acknowledge the fact. But their efforts are directed more to bring their own conduct in line with what they admire in Jesus's teachings than to carry on a propaganda to get others to do so. It is very, very hard to be a Christian after the manner of Christ as the *Witness* will admit. And the average Indian feels that unless he has in some degree approximated to the ideal, one cannot teach Christ or any other teacher for that matter, to others. Religion in India is a manner of life and not a matter for propagandism. Still, men like Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, and many others, have not shrunk from avowing their reverence for Jesus. "We long for the day," writes the *Witness*, "when the educated Hindu will take upon himself the task of interpreting the life and teachings of Christ to his Hindu brethren." Keshub Chander Sen did so, and his colleague P. C. Mozumdar wrote

"the Oriental Christ." We too would welcome an Indian interpretation of Christ not for Hindus only but, we rather think, that the influence of Christ will be merged in the general religious thought of India, as the seed is merged in the flower and fruit. As we have often remarked Christ's teachings to the Hindu seem to be the summing up in their practical application of the religio-philosophical speculations of the Vedanta. Their effect, therefore, is rather in the nature of illuminating than of controverting Hinduism.

**The Viceroy In South India:**—After the sudden ebullition over the Viceroy's statement on constitutional reform, there is a lull in the political atmospheric conditions. Lord Irwin himself is to all appearance entirely absorbed in his South Indian tour. At Sangli and Kolhapur there was some speech-making but total abstinence from postprandial oratory has been the order of the day in Mysore, Cochin and Travancore. The heart of Hindu India beats in these States which are among the most progressive in the country. Education is highly advanced, and the administration is carried on on the lines of British India, but with Indian personnel. There is a clearly marked division between the privy purse and the public treasury and the judicial administration is beyond suspicion of encroachment by palace influence. Whether from the point of natural scenery or historical interest, there is no part of India which is so richly endowed as the territory comprised in these States. The Jews in Cochin and the Syrian Christians in Travancore are ancient communities who settled in India almost at the commencement of the Christian era and have maintained their traditions and practices up to the present day. To one of Lord Irwin's fine feeling, the sights and scenes in these States must have been of absorbing interest. The clamour of the press and questions in parliament had no place amidst the sylvan splendours of Mysore and Travancore. At Cape Comorin where the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal meet and mingle their waters, Lord and Lady Irwin are reported to have enjoyed a sea-bath. Orthodox Hindus will appreciate the compliment implied in this spontaneous concession to the age-long tradition of Kanyakumari as one of the great centres of pilgrimage.

**Function Of The Capitalists:**—Mr. G. D. Birla concluded a thoughtful address as president of the fourth Maharashtra Vyapari Parishad, or Maharashtra Industrial Conference, held at Sholapur last week, with an eloquent appeal for unity. "But," he went on to say, "let me make it clear that the unity which I propose for

the businessmen should be unity for service and not for exploitation. The modern capitalist has been much abused of late. In fact, he is being looked upon at present as belonging to a separate class. But in the days of yore the situation was something quite different. If we analysed the functions of the Vaisya of the ancient times we find that he was assigned the duty of production and distribution not for personal gain but for common good. All the wealth that he amassed, he held as a Trustee for the nation. The state of the capitalists, if they are to fulfil their real function must exist not as exploiters, but as servants of society. No communism or Bolshevism can thrive if we knew and discharged our duty. If I may say so, it is we who provide a fertile soil for the development of communism and Bolshevism by relegating our duty to the background. If we knew our duty and followed it faithfully, I am sure that we could save society from many evils. I have mentioned that our true function is to produce and distribute. India has at present to depend entirely on foreign imports for a large portion of her requirements. You may walk through the streets or move about your house, at every step you come across things of foreign manufacture. India at present is suffering very acutely from unemployment. We could to a very great extent solve the question of unemployment if we took to new industries." These are wise and weighty words which, we trust, will be taken to heart by the Indian Commercial Community. Not only the ancient Hindu system, but a modern thinker like Ruskin, defined the duties of a merchant as those of service to society. Ruskin distinguished the "Liberal Professions" from trades having for their object the earning of a livelihood, on the ground that those who adopted the liberal professions must carry out their functions even at the risk of their lives when the occasion arose for such sacrifice. Commerce, Ruskin included among the liberal professions, because he held that just as it is the duty of a soldier to die in rather than retreat from the battle-field, so it is the duty of the merchant to look to the adequate and proper supply of social wants in times of distress even at a loss to himself, it may be of life. If the men of industry and commerce in this country, have this high conception of their vocation, they will not, as Mr. Birla said, rest content until India is able to supply herself with all her needs.

**Women In Modern India** :—A collection of fifteen papers written by Indian women who are more or less specialists in their own field of work has been published in the form of a book entitled "Women In Modern India," with a foreword by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and prefatory notes by the compilers, Miss E. C. Gedge and Mrs. Choksi. The book is intended to dispel the ignorance prevalent in the West about Indian women and to furnish information of women's movements here by women themselves. The Editors themselves disarm criticism by declaring at the outset that the book does not claim to be an exhaustive account of the women's activities in India. The contributions to the book testify to the high literary ability of our educated women. But with the exception of a few papers which are to the point, the rest indulge in rambling excursions into the achievements of women in the past and

have very little to say about their modern activities which the title of the book leads one to expect. It is plain, therefore, that the title of the book "Women In Modern India" is a misnomer. Nevertheless we welcome this little volume as the first effort of Indian women to interpret the new awakening among them, that is so much in evidence at the present day. The book is priced at Rs. 4 a copy and can be had of Messrs. Tarsaporewalla and Sons, Bombay. The little book should command a good sale, as the profits gained will be devoted to the new building of the University Settlement in Bombay, which provides hostel accommodation for students and professional women without distinction of caste or creed.

**The Library Movement** :—We have received from the Madras Library Association a book entitled "The Library Movement" priced Rs. 2. The volume is a collection of articles on the subject written in five languages—English, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam. The contributions which are from the pen of distinguished men emphasise the importance of libraries and the various aspects of the Library movement to national well-being. The movement is not confined strictly to libraries but as is pointed out in this volume comprises three lines of work—the first is the work with the masses; the second with those that can read and write but have had no real education; and the third with the educated. Hence such agencies as the cinema are also in the programme of the movement. One of the writers in this series makes an interesting suggestion. "Should college libraries," asks Mr. A. Aravamuda Aiyangar of Sri Minakshi College, Chidambaram, "be accessible to the public? This question is likely to arise only in mofussil stations where there are no public libraries and my answer is in the affirmative." We commend the book to our readers as a valuable contribution to the increasingly important subject of mass education.

**A Correction** :—We much regret that in our last issue, writing about the Lady contributors to the Special Number we said that Mrs. Hansa Mehta is a member of the Bombay Corporation whereas she is a co-opted member of the Schools Committee.

(Continued from the Leader page).

Bar. "Tilak's heart," suggests Mr. Kelkar, "was always big with an ambition to achieve something which others could not do and which was not done before his time. This inner urge, or perhaps divine afflatus, it was that impelled Tilak to handle the rod rather than adorn himself with the Gown". And the surprising thing about it is, that Tilak had no natural bent for teaching and was very perfunctory in his methods. "He did not" says Mr. Kelkar, "much care to examine the students' note-books or even to go through the papers with special solicitude. When teaching mathematics, he solved mathematical sums out of hand, which left the students' mind quite vacant." His dislike to the use of the blackboard has been noted above.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 14, 1929.

LOKAMANYA TILAK.\*

I

Mr. N. C. Kelkar has produced a very readable Life of Lokamanya Tilak. The first volume was written in Marathi and published six years ago. Mr. Kelkar could not undertake the English translation himself as he was busy with the second and third volumes. The work had, therefore, to be entrusted to his friend, Mr. D. V. Divekar, and he has carried out the difficult task with a considerable measure of success. The first volume which is the only one which has been so far translated, covers forty-three years of Tilak's life and ends with the last century. Tilak was released in September 1898 from jail after serving the larger part of the sentence passed on him by Mr. Justice Strachey in the first case in which he was prosecuted for sedition. His first book on Indian chronology, "Orion", had been published in 1893, and a large part of the material for his second great book "The Arctic Home of the Vedas" was collected during his period of incarceration. It was soon after his release, that Tilak who, in the words of Mr. Kelkar, occupied till then the position of only a provincial leader, came to hold the position of an All-India leader. It was thus during the period comprised in this volume that the Lokamanya prepared himself for the larger role which may be said to have been thrust upon him. For, Tilak's ambition from the first was to be the representative and mouth-piece of Maharashtra. The larger India outside his native province had only a vague interest for him. Even in Maharashtra, he was essentially the representative of Brahminical opinion. Mussolini to whom the Lokamanya bears more resemblance than to any other modern European leader, says in his autobiography: "I am desperately Italian. I believe in the function of Latinity." Tilak might have said of himself: "I am desperately Maharashtrian. I believe in the function of Brahmandom." He became an All-India leader as after the death of Sir Pheroze-shah Mehta and Gokhale he was the sole survivor of the older group which made politics its main concern. He was obviously ill at ease in the position and yielded it to Mahatma Gandhi at the first opportunity. His dominant interest was Maharashtra as the traditional guardian of Hindu society and religion.

CHITPAVAN BRAHMINS.

Mr. Kelkar's introductory chapters on the Chitpavan Brahmins furnishes a background which materially helps us to understand Tilak.

\* Life And Times Of Lokamanya Tilak, Volume I, published by Mr S. Ganeshan, Madras, price Rs. 4-8-0.

Mr. Kelkar seems inclined to accept the theory that the Chitpavans were immigrants. "On coming into India," he writes, "the Konkanasthas, however, came to be included among the Panch-Dravid Brahmans." Tilak had drawn up during his life-time a genealogical tree at the top of which he placed an ancestor who had gone to the battle-field of Panipat and died on his way home from that disastrous scene. Mr. Kelkar is sure that Tilak had some purpose in preparing this table, but he does not know what it was. It is clear that the Lokamanya, cherishing as he did his Brahman caste, preferred to think of it not as an ecclesiastical sect but as a fighting and ruling race which had founded one Empire and might yet become the dominant factor in another which had been founded upon the ruins of that Empire. "These Chitpavans" writes Mr. Kelkar, "may rightly be compared to the Phoenix." He adds that "it seems as though the goddess of genius is indissolubly wedded to the Konkanasthas," with Ratnagiri, "as an emporium of intellect," for their principal centre. Tilak did not indulge in rhapsodies but it is clear that he felt about his caste much as his friend and biographer. This feeling in its wider scope embraced Hindu society and accounts for the strong and often bitter opposition to social reform and reformers which characterised Tilak's early public activities. The Lokamanya resented the conversion of two of his clan to Christianity and was implacable in his hatred of Pandita Ramabai for her perversion, as he thought, to that faith. Indeed, his antagonism to her seems to strike even Mr. Kelkar as somewhat unreasonable, as he feels constrained to suggest that "it may be, Tilak felt a kind of disgust for Pandita Ramabai at their very first meeting, which her subsequent career confirmed more and more." When the Lokamanya went to South India for the first time, he, we are told, "felt great satisfaction when he saw the undiminished faith of Madrasis in their religion and their extreme regard for the maintenance of the old religious observances, in spite of their contact with Englishmen of a longer duration than that of people on the western side." In Ceylon, he saw a very different state of things and expressed his disgust in strong terms. "To my mind," he wrote "the reusucitation of the instinct of love of country and their own manners must be the first task to which all their (Sinhalese) social reformers must address themselves."

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE.

Tilak's orthodoxy, however, was largely a matter of externals. Sir William Hunter wrote of Dewan Seshadri Aiyar of Mysore that he carried Parabrahma in his heart and Herbert Spencer in his head. This was probably true also of the Lokamanya. His personal and family life, of which Mr. Kelkar gives a vivid pen-picture,



was simple and differed little from that of his forefathers. "A dhoti of the rough common texture, a shirt of coarse cloth, a white upper garment and an ordinary scarf worth about a rupee or two, constituted his daily dress. He never handled a handkerchief, and carried with him a walking-stick costing more than a quarter of a rupee." His meals were equally simple. "He ate in silence whatever was served to him, without pausing to discuss the taste of one dish or another. By day he used to eat wheat and his supper contained the only one unvarying course of rice." The Lokamanya's only luxuries were betel-nut, tea and an occasional glass of aerated water with, in summer, pieces of ices in it. Mr. Kelkar describes his hero as reclining, except when in bed, in a favourite easy chair where "while his mouth was engaged in talking, his hands were occupied in breaking nuts into bits, of which he was extraordinarily fond." Two other peculiarities of the Lokamanya may be noted. He avoided handling chalk while teaching mathematics as Professor in the Fergusson College, and as editor of the *Kesari* and *Mahratta* he sedulously eschewed writing with his own hand. As Mr. Divakar puts it in flowery language: "Except when some peculiar occasion necessitated his own penning, he shunned the atramental touch of the holder as a religiously minded man would fear to handle an accursed or ghostly thing. Writing was to him that dry drudgery at the desk's dead wood." His wife conformed with rigidity to the Hindu ideal of a housewife. "She never crossed the threshold of her house," says Mr. Kelkar, "and in all her life, she never exchanged even a few formal words with persons outside the charmed circle of her family. Her house was all the world to her." As for religion, writes his biographer: "Tilak indeed was religiously-minded but he never made much ado about the observance of religious practices. He did perform certain periodical religious rites in honour of his ancestors; but, though had the ancestral images of gods in his household, he was never noticed to kill them in worshipful meditation in front of them." That last phrase is a characteristic effort at humour of Mr. Kelkar's, of which there are many scattered over these pages. But Tilak insisted on putting on the sacred cloth at the time of dinner and all his numerous and frequent guests, rich or poor, were also expected to conform to this practice.

#### ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOCIAL REFORM.

Writing of Tilak's antipathy towards Pandita Ramabai, his biographer observes: "There, indeed, is no greater lie than that he (Tilak) was opposed to female education. He had the highest regard for every educated lady who sought to lead society gradually towards reform; and whenever he came across a lady even with

a faintly nationalistic outlook, he never failed to hold her up for public commendation." Though Mr. Tilak might not have been opposed to women's education, he did not, Mr. Kelkar would admit, give it, any more than other items of social reform, an important place among his activities. Mr. Tilak, Mr. Kelkar assures us, was not against social reform but he believed that it might wait but political emancipation could not brook any delay. His visit to Ceylon and Burma, confirmed the Lokamanya in his belief that social reform was not essential to political reform. The Burmese and the Ceylonese had no caste, no purdah, practised late marriages and widow remarriages, and had a system of divorce, but they were no more politically free than Indians. "Thus," he declared, "we arrive at the conclusion that there is no inherent connection or relation of cause and effect between social reform and earnestness about national regeneration. On the contrary, there is a possibility of opposition between them."

#### POLITICS AND NATIONAL REGENERATION.

Tilak's sole aim, then, was "national regeneration" by which he meant political freedom. His complaint against social reformers was that they wished to put social reform before political reform. The benefits likely to accrue from social reforms, in his opinion, were secondary. "Far different are the virtues necessary for the development of a nation. Love of one's country, forgetfulness of petty differences, inclination and habit to work unitedly for the country, energy for the acquisition of industrial knowledge of foreign lands, anxiety for the maintenance of national individuality—these may be cited as some of the virtues." The fallacy of Mr. Tilak's argument was obscured at the time but it is clear as day light today that the chief barrier to political freedom is the existence of caste and communal differences, the low literate and social position of women. The full energy of the nation can be made available to sustain political freedom, only if all units function freely and to the utmost of their capacity.

#### KEYNOTE OF HIS CAREER.

The working of the Lokamanya's mind often puzzles even the sympathetic biographer who lived in close intimacy with him. Mr. Kelkar is sure that Tilak never did anything without a definite object in view but he has often to confess that he is at a loss to know what it might have been. One of such is Tilak's studying law and becoming a school master. The legal profession in those days was not crowded and Tilak could easily have made a high position for himself in it had he chosen to practice at the

(Continued in the 2nd column of 2nd Notes Page).

## A THOUGHT FOR THE GITA DAY.

## DUTY IS WORSHIP.

G. V. Ketkar B.A.L.L.B. Founder and Secretary, Gita Dharma Mandal Poona, and Assistant Editor *Kesari* writes:—The 12th of December is according to the Hindu calendar the 11th of the bright half of Margashirsha, the Gita Day or the Gita Jayanti Day, the day on which, scholars of Mahabharatha say, the war between Kouravas and Pandavas commenced. On this day Krishna propounded his philosophy to Arjuna on the battle-field of Kurukshetra. This day has been selected to commemorate the birth of the "Divine Song" and for the last six years observed as the Gita Day throughout India.

Out of the many priceless teachings of the Gita, the one about man's duty, stands foremost. Man's duty to human Society is regarded by the Gita as a part and an essential part of his spiritual preparation. The progress and maintenance of human society is compared to "the wheel of sacrifice." All men great and small have their place, their duty and responsibility as part of this wheel. He who does not help the turning of this wheel, who does not play his own part on the stage of human progress is regarded as a sinful man, a man utterly useless to the world. Man's perfection and salvation lies in doing the duty assigned to him. That duty not only benefits himself and the society but that itself is the best form of worship.

The 48th verse of the 18th chapter of the Gita says this in the clearest and the most comprehensive manner. It may be freely translated as follows:—

"That from which all beings emanate and by which all this is pervaded, by propitiating it by means of doing one's own duty, does a human being win perfection (salvation)."

This verse is incomparable in its breadth of conception. The word "God" does not appear in it. God is mentioned in the most indirect and rational way. "That which is the source of creation and which pervades that universe"—this is the common factor of the attributes of God in all religions. The desire to worship is also taken for granted as a part of human nature. This natural desire is directed towards the wholesome purpose of doing one's own duty.

This is laid down as a precept for all human beings alike, whatever may be their position in society. For, every one has the primary conception of God as the source of creation and as the all-pervading spirit. Everyone has to do his social duty whatever may be his status in life and everyone has the desire to worship. Those who do not possess their minimum are beyond the pale of any religion worth the name. But inside that limit the Gita has a message for everybody. By doing your duty you will benefit society, elevate yourself and please the Almighty. In this verse, the Gita does not give a particular name to God. Neither does it prescribe a particular form to the

perfection or salvation which is promised as a fruit of duty. And the path is shown, not to a particular section of mankind but to humanity in general. No wonder, several Western writers call Gita, a book for mankind, a book for all time, a contribution from India to the future religion of the world.

## THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

## MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

(DR. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, PH.D.)

## XLIX. STRANGERS.

Anyone who has been a stranger in a great city must have a feeling of friendliness towards the stranger. To leave the intimacy of the boarding house; to leave trusted friends for the companionship of slight acquaintances; to desert the green fields for the dusty pavements; to leave the fresh air of the village for the reeking odours of crowded chawls; to exchange the quiet out-of-doors for noisy factories; is no trifling experience. It takes a stout heart to accomplish this transition and to face it smiling.

As I myself, a stranger in a strange land, go about through the chawls, my heart cannot but go out to the newly arrived villagers who are striving to make their adjustment. At times it is most depressing, and at other times the courage of these simple people is a fountain of inspiration. It is no small achievement to maintain a high standard of family life in the midst of overcrowded and unsanitary surroundings. And yet it is not only being done, it is being done triumphantly.

The stranger who comes to us from a different language area, or perhaps even from a different country is often subject to jibes and to suspicion, but unless this same man were not somewhat above the average he never would have left the known for the uncertainty of the unknown. Somewhere in his makeup, hidden beneath his different clothing, and still further concealed by his different tongue, there are perhaps rare qualities—qualities awaiting the sun of friendship ere they spring forth into full bloom. It is not essential to the welfare of the city that every inhabitant adopt the same style of clothing, eat the same food, or speak the same tongue. It is essential to the welfare of the city that there be common loyalty to certain ideals, and a strong bond of brotherhood uniting the diverse population groups. And this spirit of brotherhood cannot spread until men show themselves to be friendly. It is only as we rise above petty prejudice and factionalism that we can hope to see the city great.

To the man who really understands his world there is but one language. In every city there may be a diversity of people, but there is none among them that does not understand the language of friendliness. Go into any strange section of the city. Do not utter a word. Smile, and you will see your world transformed. Persians, Arabians, Afghans, Chinese, Punjabis, Madrasses, Marathis, Gujeratis—differing

in many ways, but brothers. All know the language of the friendly heart.

#### L. ANIMAL LOVERS.

The lovers of animals are really the members of a brotherhood, for they have a common bond that is understood only by the initiated. A man either loves animals or he does not, and if he does love them he is always an enthusiast. To him a horse is not just a horse, or a dog just a dog—each animal has an individuality of its own. The horse is a horse plus the qualities that the discerning eye sees there; and each separate dog means something more than dog in general. There is a flow of sympathy between man and beast, which from the man's standpoint at any rate, is an enriching experience. Time and time again under trying circumstances a man's love for an animal keeps alive within him his love for humanity. And time and time again the patience of our animal friends is a sharp rebuke to our own petulance and impatience.

Though many animal lovers are sportsmen, not all sportsmen can qualify as animal lovers. A steeple-chase over a hazardous course may be regarded as good sport, but it is difficult for one who really loves animals to obtain much satisfaction in watching thoroughbred horses stumble, fall and crash against barriers for the entertainment of a crowd. Hunting may at times be of benefit in ridding the country of dangerous animals or pests, but the kind of hunting that is so often arranged for the so-called entertainment of men of position, whereby the animals are practically delivered into the hands of the hunter, can scarcely be indulged in by real lovers of sport. There is a legitimate sporting field for both men and animals, but when sport turns itself into the hurtful exploitation of animals, the lover of animals must draw the line.

In India it should hardly be necessary to ask the owners of animals to be humane, but the broken and twisted tails of the oxen bear their own mute evidence to the brutality of many drivers. And though the midnight races of the city gharriwallas may be an outcropping of the same spirit that is found on the race course, there is a vast difference between the specially trained racer and the underfed and overworked horse of the gharriwalla. The entrance of the motor truck into the field of heavy hauling calls forth a natural defence reaction on the part of the cartmen, but it is no excuse for the overloading of carts and the consequent straining of the oxen that is so often witnessed upon our city streets. A two-bullock cart is not, and cannot by any stretch of the imagination become the equivalent of a high powered engine. The least that the general public can do is to keep a careful eye upon the treatment of dumb animals, and to report instances of cruelty to the proper authorities. And for those who own animals, personal example is its own best preachment of kindness.

#### SOCIAL SERVICE TRAINING CENTRE FOR WOMEN.

The Social Service Training Centre for women completed its third year of work in October 1929. During the year the Training Centre passed through a critical stage and hence the nature of the year's work has been largely experimental.

At the beginning of the year there were only two students taking a part-time course. Their individual needs were met by holding a study group twice a week. At the same time the reasons for the lack of students coming forward for training were investigated. One of the difficulties experienced in making students realise the usefulness of the training was that the S. T. C. was not definitely attached to any one centre of practical work. It seemed essential for the successful running of a Social Training Centre to have such a centre which would serve as a field for the students' practical work. This was felt to be an immediate need, and possibilities of attaching the Training Centre to any one of the centres of practical work already existing (Naigon Social Service Centre and the Seva Mandir Tardeo) were discussed. Dr. Manshardt of Neighbourhood House suggested Nagpada with its possibilities of work for women as a new and untried field. On this suggestion the possibilities of Nagpada were explored, and it was found to be suitable. As a result the Social Training Centre was moved from University Settlement to Nagpada in November for an experimental period of six months. About this time a student from outside Bombay came for training. It was felt necessary at this stage to take a house so that the worker and the students in training might live close to their centre of work. A house was found near Neighbourhood House and the S. T. C. moved into its new home early in January. By the end of the month two new students both resident, had joined. As soon as a group of four had been got together, the normal time table, with its programme of theoretical and practical work was followed and regular class instruction three days a week was resumed. The first term's work in the syllabus was completed. Along side of class instruction individual coaching was given to meet the needs of the individual students. Before starting any practical work, the students were taken to visit in the neighbourhood in order to get acquainted with the conditions of the life of the people living in the district. Out of this general as well as concentrated visiting in four chawls grew some of the practical work. Two girls' clubs with an average attendance of between 20 and 30 were started. A play centre was started for the children of the primary school in the Poor House, Byculla. Also once a week the students helped in arranging some programme of music or lantern slide show for the women who came to the clinic at the Neighbourhood house.

Besides the theoretical and practical work done during the term, the homes of women students likely to be interested in social study and work were

regularly visited once a week. With the same end in view a week's course in Social Service consisting of evening lectures and visits to institutions was held at the Wilson College by kind permission of Principal McKenzie. The average daily attendance was between 15 and 20. In order to keep in touch with those interested in social study, a study circle was conducted once a week at the University Settlement by Miss Wright throughout the year. Encouraged by the success in practical work done during the term it was decided that the S. T. C. should continue at Nagpada until September.

At the beginning of the Monsoon term there were four Students, two had left at the end of the previous term and two others came for a term. The theoretical work of the term was planned primarily to supplement the work done by the Social Service League Training Class. In addition, special sets of lectures were given on the history of social work in India, nursery school work club and play centre work. Dr. Manshardt kindly gave us the use of two big rooms in the Neighbourhood House which helped a great deal in carrying on and developing new practical work. In addition to the Girls' clubs and Play Centre, two sewing classes for women were started. Three of the Students took the Social Service League classes and appeared for the examination. All three passed creditably, two taking the first two places on the list of successful candidates.

Besides helping to carry on practical work at Nagpada the students have helped at other centres such as Naigaon Social Service Centre and the Seva Mandir.

The work of the S. T. C. was made known among the students of schools and colleges through speaking to groups of students as well as to individuals.

Through the S. T. C. we have tried to direct those who are anxious to do practical work to institutions which need voluntary helpers. Two pieces of work in this way have been carried on for the past six months. A group consisting mainly of Parsi ladies has visited the surgical tuberculosis ward of the Cama Hospital where the patients are mainly Mohamedan and illiterate and are often in the hospital for months at a time. The visitors have not missed a week since they began in April and they are doing very good work in teaching reading and writing in the vernacular and in English to those who are illiterate, also knitting, crochet, sewing and fancy work. Another group of women were taken to an orphanage for Mohamedan girls with a view to starting a play centre there and now two Mohamedan ladies are running a Blue Bird flock under the direction of the Bombay Girl Guide trainer.

The S. T. C. also keeps in touch with old students in and outside Bombay and watches with interest their voluntary and professional work. Mrs. Bulsara is taking a painting and fancy work class for Parsi girls at Balaram Street. Along with Miss

Doctor, another old student, she is also conducting a painting class at the Seva Sadan.

The nursery School for Parsi children at Tardeo, started by Miss Mahaluxmiwala is going well. It has an average attendance of between 30 and 35 children. Mrs. Mehta and Miss Jal, two old students are full time workers there.

Miss Patel and Miss Kapadia are running a club for Parsi girls at Balaram Street. Miss Patel is also helping at the Vigilance Association Shelter where Mrs. Joglekar, an old student is acting-superintendent. Miss Patel has continued to make visits of enquiry for the Parsi Charity Organisation Society. Miss Chinoy is helping with club-work at Nagpada.

We are glad to welcome back Miss Kara from England where she had been to study Settlement work. She has thrown herself with greater enthusiasm into the work at Tardeo which she started before going to the West.

We take this opportunity to thank all who have helped in the work of training the students. We thank them for coming to speak to the students about their work, for welcoming them to their institutions and for providing them with opportunities of getting experience. We would thank Dr. Manker, Miss Williams, Miss Wilkie-Brown, Miss Anandkar and all those who helped with the concert but especially Miss Chattopadhyaya and Miss Noel-Paton who provided us with a splendid entertainment which was very much appreciated by a large audience and raised nearly Rs. 110) which was shared with the Naigaon Social Service Centre.

Co-operation between men and women is most essential in solving social problems in any country but the need for women who will take their share of the task is all the more evident in India. In the West women who have come forward to take part in the work of social welfare have felt the need of training that will equip them. The need has been successfully met in the Western countries by special courses of training conducted by the universities and social settlements jointly. The Social Training Centre is trying to meet a similar need in India but it cannot meet the need effectively without the co-operation of all the existing institutions and agencies of social work that want trained and efficient women workers.

We want to appeal to all those interested in Women's work and women's movements to make full use of the facilities afforded by the Social Training Centre.

#### WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION CONVENTION.

MADRAS DIVISION.

(BY MISS RUTH E. ROBINSON, EDITOR, THE  
*Treasure Chest.*)

Unusual interest and enthusiasm characterized the Annual Convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of the Madras Division, held in

Bangalore from December the 3rd to the 5th. The presence of Miss Campbell, the National President, and the thoughtful and forceful addresses of the speakers listed on the programme, did much to create a favourable atmosphere.

The most important action taken by the delegates was the dividing of the Madras Division into three sections, to be known henceforth as the Mysore, Andhra and Madras Divisions. This arrangement, although giving each Division a smaller number of members than before, gives, on the other hand, a greater compactness and a chance for more intensive work than has hitherto been possible.

Several new members were added at the reception held on the first afternoon, and thirty signatures to the pledge by children and young people were secured after the very effective lantern lecture on temperance one evening by Mr. G. Shankar, cinematographer at the Medical College, Bangalore.

America came in for a good deal of attention by the speakers, and the lessons of its successes and failures in prohibition work applied to India. Miss Ellis, the Y. W. C. A. Secretary of Ootacamund, gave a concise and vivid summary of the outstanding achievements of prohibition to date the world over, beginning with a description of what had been accomplished in America and ending with an account of the movement towards prohibition in the Madras Presidency, with special reference to the work in the Nilgiris. Mr. Isaac, General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in Bangalore, and Miss Campbell both pictured the difference they had seen in America in the pre-war years and within the past few years. Mr. Isaac, referring to his visit to Mr. "Pussyfoot" Johnson in the latter's American home, said, "When I congratulated him on the success of his efforts to bring about prohibition in the United States, he answered, "My effort was not what accounted most. You must have heard about the band of devoted women who for years had been agitating this question and educating public opinion so that we men found the ground all prepared for us." Mr. Isaac called upon the women of India to do their part in arousing their country to the need of legislation in this field. He said that the Mysore Government had given a considerable sum of money to the Bangalore Temperance Federation for Temperance propaganda, and were prepared to give a great deal more. But he appealed for voluntary workers from among both young men and young women who would devote their lives to this cause.

Mrs. Marler, of the London Mission, Bangalore, mentioned having seen some violations of the prohibition law during her recent visit to the United States, and said that, while she did not wish to minimize in the least the splendid work of reform that had been accomplished, she could not help feeling that the abolishing of the saloon had brought about victory only on the physical plane, while the higher, spiritual victory had yet to be won. "When men's hearts are so changed that they have no

desire to drink," she said, "a prohibition law will not be necessary." She felt that India must not be content with the mere passing of the law forbidding drink, but must also work for a change in the hearts of individuals throughout the nation.

In addition to the ordinary officials, chairmen were appointed for the following departments: Evangelistic, hospital visiting, soldiers' work, literature distribution, translation, medal contest, moral education, young people, Loyal Temperance Legion, social purity, child welfare, anti-narcotics, press, membership, citizenship, scattered members, mother's meetings, magazine agents.

Among the resolutions passed was the following:

Resolved, that this Convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union put on record its deep satisfaction in the recent action of the Government of the Mysore State in appointing a Commission to explore the possible sources of revenue from the State that may be substituted for the liquor excise and to assure H. H. the Maharajah that his enlightened and farsighted policy is appreciated by the well-wishers of the Mysore State of all nationalities and creeds. Holding as it does a place of leadership in reform movements in India, the Mysore State, by its courageous example in this instance, is bound to influence opinion in all parts of the land.

#### BEGUM HABIBULLAH SUPPORTS SARDA ACT.

Begum Habibullah delivered the following speech in support of the Sarda Act at the Oudh Women's Social and Educational Conference held at Kaiser Bagh Baradari, Lucknow:—

President and Ladies,—One finds the columns of newspapers full of controversial opinions over the Sarda Act against all expectations as no discordant note could be anticipated against such a useful and wholesome legislation of which the object is to eradicate one of the greatest social evils in existence in India—an evil which has not only undermined the health of the Indians as a whole but which threatens to destroy their future physical and intellectual growth as well.

It was inconceivable that the Muslims will take any objection to such a legislation because Islam leads and is far ahead of all creeds in the recognition and safeguard of the rights of women and the Islamic law has already provisions which if properly followed would have kept the evil down to prevent which the present Sarda Act has been passed.

#### MARRIAGE IN ISLAM

Marriage under the Islamic law is a contract between a man and woman with the free will and accord of the parties concerned and is attested by the testimony of independent witnesses. It is therefore evident that the contracting parties should be adults and should have attained the age of discretion. Such being the case the fixation of age by means of law under which the contract should not be made is by no

means against the Islamic law but it rather facilitates the compliance to its provisions. Besides it should be remembered that in Islam marriage is not complete so long as it is not consummated and that is only possible when the parties to the marriage are adults. Moreover the Musalmans ordinarily do not marry minor girls. That section of Muslims who is against the Sarda Act argue that the legislation takes away the power of guardians and parents of marrying minors. I may remind you here that the opposition comes merely from men who find that their authority and arbitrary use of power is being affected by the legislation. May I ask them whether they exercise their power of marrying minors under the conditions laid down in the Islamic law? The Shariat clearly lays down that a girl if married when a minor will have a full and unchecked right and liberty to affirm or repudiate the contract of marriage made on her behalf during her minority.

#### AN IRONY OF FATE.

Ladies, may I know a single instance in which a girl is ever asked to affirm or repudiate the marriage on attaining puberty. It is evident that the power to marry minors is very restricted and is subject to very strict conditions. To maintain this power which men exercise so arbitrarily they say that they hold this power very dear as it is a gift to them by their religion. But it is an irony of fate that these men have resolved to violate and misuse all sacred laws affecting the right and title of women. Is it not against the clear Islamic laws that they marry these minors without giving them a chance to affirm or repudiate the contract made during their minority on their behalf? Is it not a still greater sin and a clear disregard of the Islamic law not even to take the consent of the adult girls before the settlement of their marriage? This behaviour on the part of men does not only show their undue interference with the rights of women but it is a violation of an essential provision of the Islamic law of marriage as a girl when she comes of age is the chief consenting party to the contract.

The reality is that all Islamic laws relating to women have been trampled under feet by the all powerful man who has introduced such social customs as have nullified the sacred laws of Islam and for this objectionable misuse of power the laws of Islam if promulgated in their true sense would not have necessitated any civil legislation to eradicate these social evils.

Ladies, when our sacred laws have been violated there is no other way to prevent the mischief which threatens to endanger our future physical and intellectual development and growth than by means of civil legislation. It is such a serious mischief that it would be a sin to leave it alone without adopting legislative measures against it.

#### NOT AGAINST SPIRIT OF ISLAMIC LAW.

Another plea taken by those opposed to this wholesome Act is that the law is an encroachment

upon the religious liberty of Musalmans hence opposed to the Proclamation of the late Queen Victoria and ultra vires. It is true that the Proclamation does not permit any legislation against the religious laws of any community but how can this legislation against the marriage of minors be considered as against Islamic law. Similar laws were passed in Turkey during the rule of the Khalifa and again one finds the same kind of legislation passed in Egypt in recent years. There is not the least doubt that the Sarda Act provides against the misuse of power in violation of the Islamic law as regards the marriage of minor girls and that it is in no way against the spirit of the laws of Islam. May I in this connection know if the Indian Penal Code is in conformity with the laws of the Shariat? May I further know whether the civil laws of succession which are applicable to Mahomedans as well and which deprive the women of the right of succession are in accordance with the Shariat?

It is a significant fact that the hue and cry against the Sarda Act is all from men and that class of men who cannot tolerate the least diminution of their arbitrary and unrestricted powers over women. Ladies, ours should have been and should always be the first voice in matters where the interest of womanhood are involved. It is we and we alone who can and do realise the detrimental effect of the mischief of early marriage of girls and we should thoroughly endorse the provisions of the Sarda Act relating to the prevention of early marriages and the wholesome provision of the fixation of the age limit. I appeal to you to lend your support to this resolution in all sincerity and earnestness.—*The Leader.*

### UNTOUCHABILITY BILLS.

#### MR. JAYAKAR'S BILL.

The following is the text of the Bill to remove the disabilities affecting the untouchable castes of the Hindu community, which Mr. M. R. Jayakar proposes to move at the next session of the Legislative Assembly :—

#### "BILL TO REMOVE DISABILITIES AFFECTING THE UNTOUCHABLE CASTES OF THE HINDU COMMUNITY."

"Whereas by usage and custom prevalent in the Hindu community certain castes of Hindus are regarded as untouchable and unfit for association; and

Whereas this imputed impurity imposes serious disabilities on such castes, injures their self-respect and well-being and deprives them of the benefit of institutions, foundations, conveniences and services dedicated to or maintained for public use; and

Whereas many Hindus believe that such imputed impurity is not in accordance with the true interpretation of the precepts of Hinduism and desire that the said disabilities should be removed; and

Where it is just and proper to relieve all such castes from the said disabilities, in order that such

relief may tend to the promotion of the public welfare and the solidarity of the Hindu Community, it is enacted as follows:—

1. This Act may be called the Hindu Untouchable Castes (Removal of Disabilities) Act of 193—

2. It extends to the whole of British India.

3. It shall come into force on the 1st day of—  
193—

4. No person belonging to the Hindu Community shall be deemed to be incapable, by reason of his caste, of sharing the benefit of a religious or charitable trust created for the general benefit of persons professing the Hindu religion, or of sharing the benefit of a convenience, utility or service, dedicated to or maintained or licensed for the use of the general public, any custom or interpretation of the law to the contrary notwithstanding."

#### STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

The following is the statement of objects and reasons:—

"This Bill is intended to remove the disabilities, too various to be detailed here, from which castes known as "untouchable" in Hindu Society suffer. These disabilities mostly arise from custom. The Preamble of the Bill states the grounds which have made its provisions necessary. To these grounds may be added the insignificant circumstances that British Indian adjudication, respectful as it often is of Hindu usages, has tended to confirm the customs, which have had the effect of excluding the untouchable classes from participation in the benefits of endowments in which it is but just that they, as members of the Hindu community, should participate. One ruling of the Privy Council, Sankarlinga Nadan and others (appellants) and Raja Rajeswari Dorai and others (Respondents) reported in 35, Indian Appeals, page 176, has gone the length of laying down, with all the authority of that august tribunal, and the eminent judges who formed the bench on that occasion, a rule which in effect provides that the duty of the Trustees of Hindu religious endowment is to follow the ancient custom; it is not for them to vary it, however unreasonable or antiquated it may be. If they endeavour to alter it, they may be guilty of a breach of trust.

#### RESULT OF RULINGS.

The result of these rulings, consequently, is that it is difficult to obtain, through the medium of adjudication, a variation of the customs which prejudicially affect the untouchable classes, injure their self-respect, and deprive them of the benefits of association with other sections of the Hindu community. This has resulted in a disruption of the Hindu society, the extent of which tends to increase causing irritation and embitterment. It is therefore thought desirable to have recourse to legislation, and with its aid, to abolish all such objectionable customs, to the extent mentioned in the Bill. The Bill effects only those cases in which the bar against the untouchable classes arises by reason of custom,

and the endowment is a public one. The Bill will not affect private endowments nor those where, by the express terms of their constitution, the benefits are confined to particular sections of the Hindu community or of the general public.

The Bill also provides for removal of disabilities from which the untouchable classes suffer in the use of conveniences like public wells or services like tramcars, buses, etc., which are maintained or licensed for the use of the public."

#### DR. AMBEDKAR'S MEASURE.

The following Bill has been drafted by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Bar-at-Law, for the removal of untouchability by law. It will be moved most probably in the next session of the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Jayakar or by Dr. Ambedkar in the next session of the Bombay Legislative Council with appropriate changes with respect to the definition of the locality of its application:—

Whereas it is known that by usage and custom prevalent in the Hindu Community that certain Castes of Hindus are held to be by reason of such usage and customs, untouchable and unfit for association; and

Whereas this imputed impurity imposes serious disabilities on these castes of Hindus and deprives them of their right to the benefit of institutions, services and foundations dedicated to or maintained for public use; and

Whereas many Hindus believe that this imputed impurity, although it is in accordance with established custom is not in accordance with a true interpretation of the precepts of their religion and desire that the disabilities of these castes should be removed; and

Whereas it is just to relieve all such Hindus from such incapacity of which they complain; and

Whereas the removal of this invidious discrimination among persons of the same faith will tend to the promotion of good morals and to the public welfare in general and of the Hindus in particular; it is enacted as follows:—

This Act may be called the Hindu Untouchable Castes (Removal of Disabilities) Act 193—

It extends to the whole of British India, including British Baluchistan and Santhal Parganas.

No person shall be deemed to be unfit or incapable by reason of his caste of sharing the benefit of a religious or charitable trust created for persons of his or her faith or of sharing the benefit of a utility or convenience dedicated to or maintained or licensed for the use of the general public, any custom and any interpretation of law to the contrary notwithstanding.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Open Door International:—The Hon. Secretary, Open Door International writes:—The new international organisation which was founded in Berlin in June of this year, to work for the Economic Emancipation of

the Woman Worker with the title of The Open Door International, has now been added to the long list of societies having direct representation in Geneva. The Open Door International is particularly interested in the decisions of the International Labour Conference and the activities of the International Labour Office, as it exists for the purpose of combating special restrictions placed on women based on sex alone, many of which have been spread to all countries through the influence of the International Labour Organisation. An Office will be opened on Monday, November 4th, 1929, at 67 Avenue Wendt, Servette, Geneva, and Edith Rodgers, the representative in Geneva of the Open Door International will welcome enquires and visitors between the hours of 10 a. m. and noon on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, except during the sitting of the International Labour and other important Conferences, when an appointment should be made.

**Government Servants And Social Conference.**—A deputation on behalf of the Working Committee of the Indian National Social Conference waited upon Mr. O. M. G. Ogilvie, Home Secretary to the Government of Punjab on 4th December with a view to making clear the position of government servants who desired to participate in the Social Conference. The deputation which consisted of Mr. K. L. Rallia Ram, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mrs. Bashir Ahmed, B. B. Sewak Ram, Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram, and Mr. Haradatta, explained that the object of the Conference was to focus public opinion on important social problems such as the age of marriage, the marriage of widows, the removal of untouchability, the caste system, the evil of drunkenness, etc. The deputation further drew the attention of the Home Secretary to the fact that it had never been the intention of the Government to put any restriction upon Government officials who wished to attend a non-political conference such as the Indian National Social Conference or to take part in the Conference. The deputation, therefore, requested the Home Secretary to make it clear that the orders referred to above did not restrict the freedom of Government employees in the case of the forthcoming session of the Social Conference. In reply, the Home Secretary stated that the provision of section 23 of the Government Servants Conduct Rules did not apply to participation in meetings or conferences which were not political in character and that it had never been the intention of the Government to exclude its servants from participation in such meetings or conferences if they desired to attend them.

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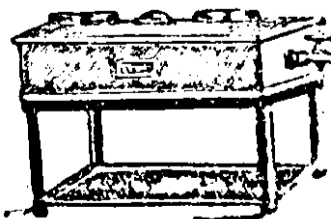
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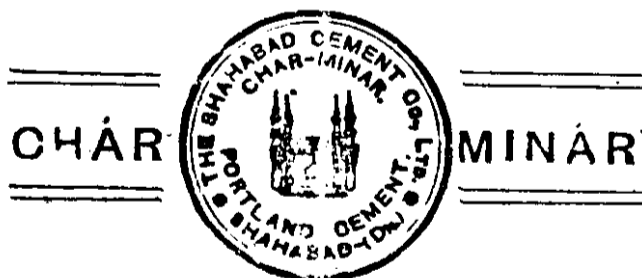
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No. 16

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The National Social Conference:—**  
"While the political movement has changed almost beyond recognition during the last quarter of a century," says the *Tribune* of Lahore "the Social Conference practically stands where Ranade left it." The analogy does not hold. The political movement is a movement to obtain reforms in a system which has existed for hardly two hundred years and which is controlled by a democratic nation. As Telang perceived long ago, it is the line of least resistance to Indians who have acquired a taste for progress. Indeed, the Indian political reformer's most powerful argument is that the political constitution of the country is a violation of British principles and of the pledges based on those principles. When we turn to social reform, we are confronted by a very different state of things. To begin with, we have here to do with a system some thousands of years old and deeply rooted in the religious and social instincts of the people. This system is controlled not by an authority outside it, but by the reformer's own flesh and blood. The rapid development of the political movement is due to several causes, not the least of which was the Great War. The Declaration of 1917 and even the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms date before the adoption of non-co-operation by the National Congress. The fundamental difference between political and social reform can be best illustrated by a recent incident. A leading social worker closely in touch with Sabarmati, who is working for the removal of untouchability, recently met us and was much concerned at the threat of satyagraha of some *antyaaja* leaders in order to force Hindu temples to be thrown open to them. He said that it had actually led to some twenty temple managers going back on their promise to admit *antyaajas* to their temples. He had a list of these. At the close of the conversation, this writer gently hinted that, while he agreed with the social worker that *satyagraha* in such a matter would be prejudicial to the cause, he went further and held that it was prejudicial to any cause, including politics. The worker smilingly replied, "I must admit that *logically* you have the advantage of me."

**A Constitution For The Conference:—**The *Tribune* refers to the absence of a permanent constitution for the National Social Conference. Here, again the analogy of the National Congress is of very doubtful applicability. Even in the case of the Congress, its constitution has been preserved from collapse only by the eleventh-hour interventions of Mahatma Gandhi. What is happening in Bengal where, if anywhere, it might have been expected to function with the most harmony, is worthy of attention. Things are not much better in Bombay. The only two Congress provinces where there has been least friction is Gujarat, Mahatma Gandhi's home province, and the United Provinces where the Nehru influence happens to be dominant. Incidentally, the experience of Bengal ought to serve as a warning to those who want the Provinces to have residual powers and to be practically independent of the Central Government. The manner in which Pandit Motilal's deputy, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, was treated by the Bengal belligerents between whom he had been commissioned to make peace, is a foretaste of what may be expected to happen when the Provinces are made autonomous and independent of the Central authority. A strong central authority is the very essence of a stable political constitution, whereas the very reverse is the case with social reform. It is this fundamental difference in the nature of political and social reform that led to the two being kept apart in the organisation of the Congress. We have now separate women's organizations, including social conferences, caste and communal congresses and conferences, the depressed classes movement and so on. The function of the Social Conference is to gather together all these several activities and not to impose a hard and fast constitution of its own on them. The Social Conference can best fulfil its object by studying the developments, old and new, and trying to co-ordinate them on broad, general lines, so that they may not conflict with one another.

**India In Parliament:—**The House of Commons passed without dissent on Wednesday the following resolution which was moved by Mr. Fenner Brockway who is well-known in this country for his sincere sympathy with Indian political aspirations: "This House welcomes the evidence of co-operation of Indian representatives on the question of constitutional reform in India and relies on the Government of India to encourage goodwill by the sympathetic conduct of its administrative and executive functions, particularly in relation to expressions of political opinion." The remarkable thing about the debate on the resolution is that it was backed up

by the Conservative spokesman, Sir Samuel Hoare—he is perhaps designated for the India Office in the next Conservative Cabinet—who did his best to efface the impression created by the speeches and writings of prominent Conservative ex-Ministers like Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Winston Churchill. On the question of amnesty for political offences, Sir Samuel wanted it to be left to the Viceroy. "After all," he said, "the Viceroy was not a hard faced and narrow-minded man. He was a man in whose judgment, sympathy and wisdom, they all had the greatest confidence." There can be no objection to this being done. The debate and the resolution give Lord Irwin a free hand in the conversations which he is believed to have in contemplation with Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other Indian leaders. While the whole country will support the Congress leaders in seeking a settlement, their failure to achieve it, should not be taken to commit all parties.

**Lord Irwin :—**The Position which Lord Irwin holds today in the estimation of the Indian people is most remarkable. "You know," said one of the most prominent Indians who has special opportunities of coming into touch with the Viceroy, "that I do not believe in Englishmen, but I do believe in this man. I have differed from him frequently, but I feel that he is one, whether you agree with him or not, you cannot but trust and honour." This represents the almost universal opinion among Indians. This is due, to not a small extent, to his statement about the reforms, but it also rests on an instinctive appreciation of the genuineness of Lord Irwin's desire to see the irksome political relations between Great Britain and India replaced by the bonds of mutual respect and goodwill. The two countries can be of immense help to each other. In fact, they are indispensable to each other. The relation in which the other Dominions stand to Great Britain are no concern of ours. It is their concern and that of Britain. So far as India is concerned, it must be free to deal with the Dominions on the principle of reciprocity, as agreed to at the Imperial Conference. Mr. Lloyd George's attempt to bring the Dominions into the discussion on Indian constitutional reform was rightly stigmatised as mischievous by Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons. The basis of the future relations between Great Britain and India should be interdependence which is as honourable as independence. Lord Irwin's reply to the deputation of the depressed classes in Madras, which we reprint, shows how clearly and completely he has grasped the essentials of Indian policy.

**International Fellowship :—**The International Fellowship movement aims at promoting goodwill and harmony amongst people divided by racial, communal, religious and other differences. The belief that God affords the highest incentive to human brotherhood, is fundamental to the movement which is yet in its infancy in this country. But it is a vigorous infancy and the energetic General Secretary, Mr. A. A. Paul, may be expected to see it safely on to its adolescence. Professor P. A. Wadia is the President of the Indian Fellowship for the year and among members, are Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. C. F. Andrews,

Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj, Dr. M. A. Ansari and others. The office of the Fellowship is Maitri, Miller Road, Kilpauk, Madras. The movement has to encounter some obstacles, the chief of which are the jealousy with which the narrow type of nationalism views everything which aims at international co-operation and the distrust with which professions of international sympathy have come to be regarded by many people. This jealousy and distrust are themselves the outcome of a conscious sense of inferiority which leads to the belief that nations can have no real interest in one another except as objects of exploitation. It is unfortunately true that the majority of men have not cultivated an international outlook, but the aim of this movement is precisely to induce them to do so. We in India have especially to be on our guard against allowing the thought of political subjection to blunt our appreciation of the value of efforts to promote international fellowship.

**Prohibition Propaganda In Kolhapur :—**In an editorial note in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 23rd November, comment was made on a statement by the well-known Temperance Worker, Miss Mary Campbell, about her experience in the Kolhapur State. With reference to that, a correspondent writes: "Miss Campbell, who is attending the annual convention of the Women's Christian Union of the Madras Division now being held in Bangalore, was asked by a delegate to state the facts in this case. Miss Campbell replied that in 1920 or 1921 when, at the request of Dr. Wanless and other missionaries, she visited the Kolhapur State for the purpose of holding meetings, she was served with Government injunction No. 144, forbidding her to speak on temperance. This injunction was served by the then ruling Maharaja, the father of the present ruler. In one of the towns of the Kolhapur State, in which Miss Campbell delivered nine lectures, five village policemen armed with ancient weapons occupied the front row. No further trouble ensued, but Miss Campbell still treasures the injunction bearing the Maharaja's seal. The present Maharaja, it was stated, is a teetotaler and in sympathy with temperance work." Miss Mary Campbell in a personal letter bears testimony to the excellent work that is being done in Mysore State.

**An Anniversary Number :—**The Fifth Anniversary Number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* from which we reproduced in a recent issue an article by Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale on Women and Civic rights, contains articles on various subjects and will be read with great interest. Though most of the articles deal with the problems with which Calcutta is confronted they have more than a local interest as the problems of every city are approximately the same. Mahatma Gandhi contributes an article which is given the place of honour in this number and in which he points out how municipalities can help in the matter of untouchability. Among the other contributors are Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Jagadis Bose, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mr. Kalinath Ray and Mrs. Sarala Devi Chaudhurani. The get-up of the annual is creditable to the publishers.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 21, 1929.

LOKAMANYA TILAK.

II.

Lokamanya Tilak was born in 1854. He took his B.A. degree from the Deccan College in 1876 and in 1879 he took the L.L.B. of the Bombay University. He seems to have wavered for a while between the career of a lawyer and that of a teacher in a school of his own, and finally he decided on the latter course. The school was started in 1880, its moving spirits being Tilak and Agarkar. A year after, they started the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* newspapers, through which to educate the public of Maharashtra. The very next year, the two school-master editors, became involved in a libel case in connection with an article in their newspapers and were sentenced to four months simple imprisonment. In 1884, the Deccan Education Society was started and next year the Fergusson College was opened, Tilak and Agarkar being the prime movers. Tilak retired from the College and the Society in 1891. Mr. Kelkar prints as an appendix Tilak's letter of resignation which is a lengthy document. In that letter, the immediate cause is made out to be whether life members of the Society should give their whole time to the college or not.

"INDIAN JESUITS."

The Deccan Education Society, it seems, was originally intended to be conducted on the lines of the Society of Jesus. "We are proud to call ourselves," says Tilak, "Indian Jesuits." Tilak objected to some of the members undertaking extraneous work as being against what Mr. Kelkar calls "jesuitical principles." Tilak himself was conducting a newspaper and Agarkar another, and if they were not guilty of violating "jesuitical principles" it is not clear why the publication of a dictionary or a book on Arithmetic by other members should be regarded as violations of them. Jesuits are popularly, but erroneously as they themselves maintain, supposed to hold that the end justifies the means. Tilak's admiration for jesuitical principles was not perhaps limited to the vow of poverty. There is considerable casuistry in the attempt in this letter to show that the extraneous work which Tilak himself was doing belonged to an unexceptionable category. Tilak never believed in placing all his cards on the table. He had no great regard for those who would apply to politics the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. There are several instances in this book admirably described by Mr. Kelkar of how Tilak outwitted his opponents. One such which Mr. Kelkar narrates with

boyish gusto relates to the welcome offered to Surendranath Banerjee at Dhond railway station on his way to Poona to preside over the National Congress. While the conscientious Gokhale as representing the majority (Liberal) party, was patiently waiting on the platform for the distinguished leader to peep out of his carriage—the train reached Dhond early morning—Tilak or his emissary quickly slipped into the compartment and garlanded the President-elect while he was yet only half-awake!

TILAK AND RANADE.

Social reform was the great bone of contention among the Poona intellectuals in the last decade of the last century. Not that Tilak was indifferent to the need of social reform. "He set an example to the hypocritical reformers in respect of late marriages of daughters" writes Mr. Kelkar, "by marrying his after they completed the fifteenth year." There were in those days, and perhaps will be always, two kinds of "hypocrites" among reformers: those preaching reforms but following the practices which they condemned in public, and those practising social reform while posing as champions of orthodoxy in public. Both lack the inner harmony which springs out of correspondence between conviction and conduct. To our mind, the second type is perhaps morally the more objectionable of the two. The man who proclaims the truth which he intellectually apprehends, but finds circumstances too strong for him to follow in practice, provided he does not seek to justify the discrepancy, is entitled to sympathy. He does not sin against light, he does not seek to stifle his conscience into conformity with his conduct. The second type sees that a practice is wrong, feels it his duty to depart from it in his own life; nevertheless, he pretends in public that it is right and seeks to discredit those who are striving to create a public opinion against it, as enemies of society. With all his admiration for Tilak and his anxiety to put the best construction on Mr. Tilak's actions, Mr. Kelkar is obliged reluctantly to admit that, while the reformers never indulged in immoderate abuse of Tilak, Tilak was not equally restrained in his denunciations of them. "Neither Ranade nor Gokhale," writes Mr. Kelkar, "is reported to have given expression to any such vehemently harsh words about Tilak. If on the side of Ranade there is to be debited a kind of sloppy softness for the Government, we cannot but record in Tilak's account-books a most unrestrained licence of personal diatribe against Ranade and his group." Mr. Kelkar asks the reader to peruse the obituary notices which Tilak wrote of Agarkar, Ranade, and Gokhale, as proof of the absence of any animus against them,

The first article on "Lokamanya Tilak" appeared in the last issue.



We quite believe it. Tilak was seeking to force his way to the front and these people happened to obstruct his path or, which comes to the same thing, he happened to think they did so. He did his worst to pull them down, and by way of atonement, praised them when they were dead and safely out of his way. It is easy to show from Mr. Kelkar's book that Tilak's opposition to social reformers was not an opposition of conviction but an opposition of personal necessity.

#### PERSONS AND PRINCIPLE.

A certain confusion of personalities and principles is involved in this mode of rising to eminence which, however, has been often adopted by politicians in all countries and at all times. Disraeli's attitude to Peel, is the classic example in English politics. Peel was the incarnation of patient dignity and never replied to Disraeli's attacks which made the latter only more furious. On one occasion, however, when Disraeli exceeded even his spacious limits, Peel was moved to anger and in his reply asked why, if Disraeli thought him to be an unscrupulous Minister, he had sought to associate himself with Peel in his political career. Disraeli rose and vehemently repudiated the statement as a total falsehood. Peel said nothing at the time, but his biographer records that one night several days later Peel called his Private Secretary and, under the seal of strict confidence, showed him a letter which Disraeli had written to him asking for recognition of his position in the Tory Party in the formation of Peel's first Ministry. "A public man should never destroy his letters" was the only remark Peel made about it. The letter was locked up again and did not see the light till fifty years later it was reproduced in Peel's "Life." If Ranade belonged to the Peel school, Tilak was of the Disraeli type in Maharastriyan politics.

#### A BIOGRAPHER'S PROBLEM.

In writing a "Life" the most difficult point to decide is how far a biographer should allow his personal friendship to override his judgment of the behaviour of his subject in the important events of his career. Lord Ronaldsday, to take a recent instance, has been criticised for his severe detachment in his estimate of the career of his friend, the late Lord Curzon. In India, as a rule, a biographer is expected to be a panegyrist pure and simple. "Paint me as I am," Oliver Cromwell told the artist who was making a portrait of him for posterity. But few Indians feel like that yet. Mr. Kelkar has, on the whole, given an adequate and faithful picture of the Lokamanya, but he cannot be entirely acquitted of the charge of tilting the scales against Tilak's opponents for the purpose, as it seems to us, of exalting the Lokamanya. From

the miscellaneous rabble—"a host of persons, both worthy and worthless, well-known, unknown or even ill-known," he avers,—who gathered round Tilak in vast numbers—Mr. Kelkar has always stood apart as a man of culture and independence. Gokhale often spoke of him in kindly appreciation. Mr. Kelkar's influence, we are sure, was a good deal responsible for the good understanding which has latterly grown up between the two schools of Maharashtra reformers.

#### THE SOCIAL CONFERENCE CONTROVERSY.

Mr. Kelkar's account of the incidents connected with the quarrel over the use of the Congress pandal for the Social Conference in 1895, is clearly biased by his sense of loyalty to the Lokamanya. The *Reformer* was in close touch with the happenings in Poona at the time, and Mr. Kelkar's narrative strikes us as a travesty. Tilak did not, as Mr. Kelkar makes out, secure the victory in that controversy. The Congress Committee by a large majority rejected Tilak's demand that the Conference should not be allowed the use of the Congress pandal, which had grown into a sort of prescriptive right. It was Ranade who, having secured the victory, voluntarily decided to hold the Conference in a separate pandal out of a magnanimous regard for the susceptibilities of the vanquished opponents. Ranade concluded his inaugural address at the Poona Conference that year with a memorable passage which thrilled all those, this writer was privileged to be one of them, who heard it pronounced in the calm, even tones of the illustrious leader.

"In view of this conflict," said Ranade "it becomes the duty of all to consider what should be the attitude of the reformers towards those who are opposed to them. Strength of numbers we cannot command, but we can command earnestness of conviction, singleness of devotion, readiness for self-sacrifice in all honest workers in the cause. Even though these workers may be few in number, they will in the end succeed in overcoming opposition. We have above all to learn what it is to bear and forbear—to bear ridicule, insults, even personal injuries at times, and forbear from returning abuse for abuse. In the words of the Prophet of Nazareth, we have to take up the cross not because it is pleasant to be persecuted, but because the pain and the injury are as nothing by the side of the principles for which they are endured."

To Ranade the end was not everything. The means was as important as, perhaps more important than, the end. He looked, for national progress to be permanent and wholesome, to the training of character more than to securing of immediate results. Tilak was constitutionally incapable of understanding this point of view. At any rate, it would not have been in accord with his policy to do so, so long as Ranade was alive.

## THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

### MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

#### II. GOOD CITIZENS.

(DR. CLIFFORD MANSFORD, PH.D.)

The term "good citizen" is often used, but it is seldom that anyone attempts to define it. And indeed, if one were to attempt a concise, dictionary-like definition it would be a well nigh impossible task, for the good citizen is a many sided man of both positive and negative qualities. The good citizen is not just a herd-man, always trying to ally himself with the majority. The herd-man may be a good citizen, but in all probability it is in spite of his tendency to follow, and not because of it. The fact that man is endowed with the ability to reason indicates that the Creator must have desired him to do a bit of thinking for himself. Political leaders may be able men, but it is no compliment to any man to accept his ideas without seriously examining them. And the good citizen will examine. He will listen attentively, think deeply, and act reasonably. He will be neither a prey to unscrupulous propaganda, nor a pawn in the hands of a grasping leader. The good citizen is a man of intelligence.

The good citizen is a cooperator. He is not the kind of man who is ready to accept the benefits of peace and of stable government without giving anything in return. He knows that if the village, city or state is to prosper it can only be through the joint efforts of its citizenry. The men in authority may be exceedingly wise, but the programs which they formulate are useless unless they are willingly accepted and heartily carried through to completion by an enthusiastic people. And if at times it seems to the good citizen that any policy of government is not wise, he will still play the game. Instead of sulking in his tent, or proclaiming himself a revolutionary, he will obey the law, though he has the privilege and the duty to use all constitutional methods in an endeavour to bring about its change. In other words the good citizen feels a personal responsibility for the political welfare of the state.

The good citizen is also interested in the social welfare. To him a village or city is much more than a collection of shops and of houses. It is the home of a spirit. It is a pulsing, living thing, and the good citizen feels a personal interest in its development. If the ideals of the city are low he is genuinely troubled, and searches his own life to see wherein he has failed. The good citizen stands for justice in all social relationships. But he does not stop with justice, he also believes in mercy. He wants every man to have a square deal and he is quite willing to surrender some of his own rights in the interest of the larger public welfare. Honest himself, he desires to see the principle of honesty extended into wider relationships. The good citizen does not rejoice in a brother's weakness. Neither is he censorious. Sympathetic and understanding, he helps to bear the burdens of the weak. The good citizen is every inch a man.

The good citizen belongs to a community. He owes that community certain obligations, and he should be proud of his communal heritage. But his regard for his own community should not blind him to the good in other communities. The good citizen will not engage in communal strife. He will endeavour to promote inter-communal unity. He will have faith in himself. He will have pride in his country. And he will have love for his fellow-men.

## NATIONAL SCRIPT FOR INDIA.

(BY SHRIKRISHNA D. CHITALE.)

The more we think of India as a nation the more do we feel the need of a national script for her. Within a very short time India is bound to be remodelled on the lines of the United States of America with a few administrative changes according to her needs. Until a century ago India was a continent composing of various nations as it were, but owing to changing circumstances chiefly political and economical she is bound to be cast into a solid nation. The need therefore of a national script, in view of the impending changes, is all the more pressing.

### COMMON SCRIPT FOR OCCIDENTAL COUNTRIES.

Europe knows the advantages of a common script. Owing to a common script it has been quite easy for all European countries to communicate their feelings and expressions through the means of telegraphy and the press. Just for a moment imagine how difficult the task of telegraphy would have been if a common script would not have been in existence in Europe. It would not be an exaggeration to say that communications through telegraphy would not have been possible without a common script. The task of learning to read and write different languages spoken on the continent has been quite within the reach of an ordinary man owing to a common script which has been responsible for creating common thought and communicating it to men and women of different countries.

### INDIA'S PRESSING NEED.

In view of India's identity of common interest owing to her shortly being cast into a nation her need for a national script is all the more important. She cannot truly be a nation without a national script. A national script is more important than a national tongue. It is easy to learn to speak different languages but it is difficult to learn to write different scripts, unless one specially devotes oneself to it.

### DEVNAGARI AS THE NATIONAL SCRIPT.

Now, which script can possibly be a national script is the question. In my humble opinion Devnagari (देवनागरी) alone can be the national script, since the Sanskrit language which is considered to be the fountain-head of all languages, for most of the words are derived from this mother of languages is written in Devnagari script. This in my

opinion is the chief reason why Devnagari देवनागरी should be the national script. Besides this another important reason why Devnagari should be the national script is that the Hindi language which is shortly going to be the national language is also written in Devnagari script.

#### TELEGRAPHY.

Now assuming that India has a national language—Hindi, without a national script, imagine how difficult, even impossible it will be to introduce telegraphy as a rapid means of communication. If we have about 10 to 15 scripts, how are we going to arrange the telegraphic code? It is needless to say that it is impossible. No matter what language we speak, when we have a national script the task of communicating telegraphic messages by means of a common code will be very easy. It is impossible to have a separate telegraphic code for each script.

#### IV. ADVANTAGES TO PRESS.

We all know that in the modern times press is the best means of communicating thought from man to man even in the remotest corners of the earth. Imagine what an amount of energy is spent in casting different types of letters for the press. Again, the task of composing different letters of different scripts has become a very difficult one. Instead when we have accepted Devnagari as our national common script, imagine how easy the task of the Indian Press will be. I give here an illustration. The sentence below written in different languages shows how easy the task of composing letters will be owing to a national script.

स्वराज्य र दरक मनुष्याका जन्मसिद्ध हक है: Hindi; स्वराज्य हा प्रत्येक मनुष्याचा जन्मसिद्ध हक आहे: Marathi; स्वराज्य आर दरक मनुष्ये जन्मसिद्ध हक छे: Gujarathi; स्वराज्य हई दरक मनुष्ये जन्मसिद्ध हक आहे: Oaneresse.

Now on the contrary imagine what a difficult task it would be to compose this one sentence into several scripts.

#### UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PROVINCES.

By accepting Devnagari as our national script we will make the task of learning to read and write different languages very easy. They will then be quite within the reach of the ordinary man. This will lead us to a better understanding of men and women belonging to different provinces as a result of which social intercourse will increase and provincial marriages will be possible and popular. In short we will then march towards national solidarity which is the most important thing for a new nation like India to have, which is the result only of a better understanding between men and women belonging to different provinces.

#### MY OWN DIFFICULTY.

I myself can speak about five or six important languages, but I cannot read and write them only because the scripts are different on account of this alone I am not in a position to intimately know the culture of different provincial peoples. I am sure, this is the difficulty with thousands of men and women in

this country for there are hardly very few people who do not speak at least two or three languages. Let us not deny each other the privilege of knowing each other intimately. By accepting Devnagari as our national script, we shall be solving the problem of problems viz. creating an understanding between different provinces without which national solidarity will not be a *fait accompli*.

#### THE ALL-INDIA TEACHERS' FEDERATION, MADRAS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Among the Conferences which will meet during the ensuing Christmas Week is the fifth session of the All-India Teachers' Federation which is to assemble in the city of Madras on the 27th, 28th and the 29th instants, under, the distinguished presidency of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, K. C. S. I. The organisation must be congratulated at the outset on being able to secure the services of such a ripe and experienced publicist for the presidentship. It is pleasing to note that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer has not only held the Vice-Chancellorships of the Madras and the Benares Hindu Universities, but has also given generously to the cause of education and has always been distinguished by the most progressive views on the subject. The Chairman of the Reception Committee is to be the Hon'ble Raja Sir Annamalai Chetti whose princely benefaction of twenty lakhs for the creation of the Annamalai University is well-known and whose purse has been open for many years for the unstinted support of educational charities of various kinds.

May I seek the hospitality of your columns to invite the attention of members of the teaching profession all over India and generally of all lovers of education to help this movement which aims not only at the creation of an effective professional organisation, but also at the advancement of the highest principles of education. It was only five years ago that some of us inaugurated this new organisation and enunciated its aims in the following words:

(a) To study educational problems with special reference to Indian conditions;

(b) To work for the adequate realization of the educational needs of India;

(c) To co-ordinate the working of the various teachers' associations of the country;

(d) To safeguard and advance the interests of the teaching profession in India, and to secure for it its legitimate place in national life;

(e) To act as a vehicle of representation at International Teachers' Conferences."

Successful annual conferences have already been held at Cawnpore, Patna, Calcutta and Bombay and the movement is now seeking a new centre in Madras where educational conditions are happily in advance of many other parts of India and where

teaching organisations have already considerable good work to their credit. Any body who takes the trouble of perusing the proceedings of the last Conference held at Bombay (Messrs. Longmans Green & Co., Rs. 2-8-0) will be easily convinced of the genuine efforts made by the Federation to advance educational efficiency and to give a lead to the country in matters on which the teacher can speak with experience and authority. There were a large number of papers read at the Conference on many aspects of the educational problem in relation to India and representatives who came from various parts of the country went back, it is hoped, with the satisfaction that they had learnt some new ideas relating to their own craft. As in the case of last year, the Reception Committee at Madras is also arranging an Educational Exhibition and it may be claimed without any exaggeration that the purely pedagogic aspects of the Conference are receiving close attention.

The direction of educational effort for fostering a sense of international brotherhood is coming to be a recognised aim of the educational systems of to-day and the Federation can be said to have done something even in this direction. The All-India Teachers' Federation is one of the affiliated organisations of the world Federation of Educational Associations and was represented at the recent biennial Conference at Geneva by as many as twenty delegates, including Prof. D. K. Karve, the founder of the women's University, Dr. V. S. Ram of the Lucknow University and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, the well-known worker in the cause of Women's Educational Reform in India. A pan-Asiatic Conference is also to be held next year in Benares and as President of the Indian organisation under whose auspices the Conference is to meet, I have just heard from the National Federation of Teachers in the Philippines that a large number of delegates intend to attend the session coming in a special steamer chartered for the purpose. There can be no nobler ideal than the meeting of people for the great work of spreading enlightenment over the world and it is hoped this All-India organisation will receive the public support its great aims deserve and the fifth session in Madras will mark an important stage in its advancement.

P. SEHADRI, Chairman, Executive Council,  
All-India Teachers' Federation.  
Sanatana Dharma College,  
Cawnpore, 17th December 29.

#### LORD IRWIN ON THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

During Lord Irwin's recent visit to Madras, five addresses were presented by the depressed classes sabhas, namely Arundateeya Maha Sabha, Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha, Madras and the Madras Provincial Depressed Classes Federation. His Excellency in reply said:—Gentlemen,—I have been forced by pressure of time to adopt the expedient of thanking you for your five addresses

in one reply, but I should like to offer you severally my warmest thanks, and those of Lady Irwin, for the kind way in which you have welcomed us to Madras.

I can assure you that ever since I came to India I have given constant thought to the problem of the Depressed Classes. I have followed with interest the various measures employed to improve their condition such as the acquisition of land for houses, burial grounds and cultivation, the construction of wells, the organisation of co-operative societies, and the provision of educational facilities by scholarships and otherwise. The appointment of Mr. Rajah to the Indian Central Committee, which co-operated with the Statutory Commission, was evidence that Government were determined that your case should not go unrepresented. As regards the request made this morning that the Depressed Classes should be assured of representation on the Conference which, as I announced in my statement of October, 31st, it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to call. You will realise that it is not possible for me at this stage to say anything in detail about the composition of the Conference except that, as has already been made clear, it will be fully representative of all classes and interests in India. Much has been done both by Government and by Government officers, by leaders of public opinion like Mr. Gandhi, by social reformers and Christian missionaries, and I am sure that you appreciate the efforts that have been made on your behalf. But you realise no doubt that the age-long disabilities from which the depressed classes have been suffering cannot be removed in the twinkling of an eye. The process of their alleviation must of necessity be gradual, and in this process you yourselves have your part to play. The problem is one which neither Government nor individual social reformers unaided can wholly solve. It is only those who respect themselves that will obtain respect from others, and this battle a man must fight for himself. He must learn that habits of thrift will improve his standard of life, his general well-being and happiness, that cleanliness, both moral and physical, endows mind and body with vigour, that temperance will save him from many forms of degradation. The existence of such societies as I am now addressing leads me to hope that you realise how far the salvation of your community lies in your own hands. But above all things I would appeal for unity among the different classes which compose your community. Union is strength, and the assertion of your claims for equitable treatment must be seriously delayed if your ranks are weakened by dissension.

Although it is thus to a certain extent within your power to improve your own condition, there are difficult obstacles to surmount unless you can find a helping hand from those more fortunately placed than yourselves. Life is a stern school, and one in which it is not always possible to rise from class to class by one's own unaided efforts. I do

not dwell in detail on the particular aspects in which you feel your disabilities, to which you have referred this morning. I appreciate of course their importance in your daily life but they are part of a wider question, on which through you I may in fact address a wider audience, an audience which I hope and believe is ready to listen to your appeals and to hold out a hand to assist you in raising your status in society.

The very term "depressed classes" provokes the thinking mind to enquire on every ground of justice and humanity, what the justification may be for such debasement. Is there, I wonder, a synonym in any other country for the term "depressed classes?" I doubt it. There are social inequalities everywhere, injustices which any one with a soul would wish to set right, contrasts between poverty and riches which it is difficult to justify. But where else in the world is a man by the accident of birth irrevocably denied the barest possibility of ever sharing with his fellow men so many of the things that make life worth living? Few men would think twice about stretching out a helping hand to rescue a drowning man, or would have it in their hearts to knock away the hand on the boat by which the unfortunate man was clinging to the hope of life. And yet I am forced to believe that there are many who are able unmoved to watch their fellow human beings caught in the quicksands of social ostracism, and yet feel themselves debarred by a religious and social philosophy from stirring a finger on their behalf. I am only repeating what many people have said before. You may remember some memorable words used by a great public man and a great speaker, the late Mr. Gokhale. "I think," he said, "all fair minded persons will have to admit that it is absolutely monstrous that a class of human beings with bodies similar to our own, with brains that can think and with hearts that can feel, should be perpetually condemned to a low life of utter wretchedness, servitude and mental and moral degradation and that permanent barriers should be placed in their way, so that it should be impossible for them ever to overcome them and improve their lot."

But words too often fall upon deaf ears, and I make no excuse for adding my appeal to those which have gone before.

All the world knows the greatness of the Hindu religion, its power for good as a religious and a social force, its ideals of national and family life, its inspiration in art and literature, its vitality and absorbent powers. With its roots deep in the soil of antiquity it has produced a civilisation which has stood the test of time. In that civilisation barriers of caste are a recognised feature and have no doubt, served a useful purpose in the various stages of its progress. But the world never stands still, and looking at the political, intellectual and economic forces by which it is to-day being moved I cannot doubt that a tenet which aims at debarring

millions of human beings from concourse with their fellows must in the end prove a grave weakness to Hindu society.

As I have already said I do not believe that it is by any sudden convulsion that reform in these matters will come. But when in so many other ways I see signs of the stimulating of national consciousness in India, I cannot but believe that hand in hand with this will come a quickening of sympathy with the depressed classes and a desire to see them given their proper place in both the social and political life of their Motherland. Meanwhile I wish you well in your task of so organising and educating opinion both within and without your own classes, that in your own generation you may see steady advance made towards the ideal of equal opportunity being afforded to all the sons and daughters of India to do her service.

### INDIANS ABROAD.

#### MRS. NAIDU IN EAST AFRICA.

On their reaching Nairobi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Miss Padmaja, her daughter were extended a cordial welcome. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu laid the foundation stone of the Desai Memorial Hall on Tuesday, when many Europeans attended.

The Patel Brotherhood entertained Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at a grand garden party, when, replying to the address she eulogised the services to India by Messrs. Vithalbhai Patel and his brother Vallabh-bhai, the hero of Bardoli and congratulated the colonial Patels on their great progress.

Two prominent Scotsmen, Mr. James Riddell ex-Mayor of Nairobi Municipal Corporation and Mr. McLaren, Chairman, Kenya Workers' Federation Committee were present at the function. In the course of their speeches, they pleaded for toleration in politics and declared that a growing intelligent European section did not share the dismal forebodings of the scaremongers and favoured the introduction of common franchise. They were governed too long by the Lord Delamere-Grogan crowd and it was time that Kenya settled down to the advancement of common prosperity.

#### THE CONGRESS.

The Congress opened on the 6th instant at Nairobi when, hundreds of Indians and many leading Europeans were present. Mr. Bhagwansingh Varma, the chairman of the Reception Committee in his speech welcomed Mrs. Naidu and emphasised Indians' claims for equality of treatment.

Mr. Gandhi sent a message urging that no compromise should be thought of which affected Indian national honour. A message from Sir Parshottamdas Thakurdas urged for unity. Pandit Kunzru wired from London urging a united stand for equal rights.

#### MRS. NAIDU'S ADDRESS.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in her presidential address recalled her previous visit and referred to the two

commissions; viz., the Hilton-Young Commission and the Wilson mission and described the latter as being most reactionary. She strongly pleaded for equality and gravely warned Indians against the dangers of non-co-operation and declared that the motherland's millions and the Government were to a man one with the East African Indians.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

The Congress passed resolutions urging the repeal of education cess and the appointment of Indians to higher civil services. It also urged the continuance of abstention from Municipal and legislative councils and opposed any scheme of economic federation, as distinguished from administrative co-ordination, as the former will be utilised to form the thin end of the wedge for the advent of a political federation and strongly opposed the inclusion of Tanganyika in any form of closer union.

#### THE FIJI LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The New Legislative Council met for its first session on the 25th inst. After the swearing of the members, His Excellency the Acting Governor welcomed the new members to the Council. He intimated that all important business would be postponed until the arrival of the Governor. The matters to be dealt with in this session were all of a minor nature except the amendment of the Marriage Ordinance. He reviewed the progress of the Colony for the last year, and recommended the appropriation of a further £9,000 for education in 1930, to compensate for delay in formulating an Education Rate Scheme. Sir Maynard Hedstrom, on behalf of the European Elected Members, welcomed the Indian representatives. In his speech he referred to the Kenya White Paper as stating the unalterable basis of the Government of the Colony. The Hon. Premanand Singh returned thanks on behalf of the Indian members. His Excellency entertained the Members of the Council to dinner at Government House. The same evening the Indian Reform League held a Social to commemorate the occasion which was also their own fifth anniversary.

#### THE *Vridhhi*.

This monthly Hindi-English journal announces in its current (October) number that it will be the last of the present series. Our contemporary writes:—First, during the period of indenture, the seed of the glory of India lay sleeping in and beneath the dust. Next came the shoot above ground; the gradual growth from slavery to freedom; the series of changes which culminated last month in the election of three Indian Members to the Legislative Council of the Colony. In this early stage of growth the tender plant had many enemies from which it needed protection, and "*Vridhhi*" claims to have been one of the gardeners. But the time for that is now past. The seed has struck a sturdy root, and henceforth is fit to fend for itself; it is well able to grow without our help, and

to continue to offer such assistance is almost an insult. It goes on to say: The Indian elected Members, the Indian National Congress, and the projected Indian newspapers are the proper agencies to carry on our past work; nor do we wish to offend or embarrass them by interference.

#### TENTH SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS.

The Executive of the South African Indian Congress has decided to hold the tenth session of the Conference at Capetown from the 1st to 4th January 1930. The Congress by its systematic and selfless work has gained a popularity which has given added weight to its prestige. It is recognised by the Union Government as a body which speaks for and acts on behalf of the community. The Indian Government likewise recognises it. Since the Congress has been placed on a stable position, it has done work of no mean kind. Its achievements are a credit to those who have worked heart and soul to elevate the position of the Congress to its present pitch. The wise handling of the situation and the presentation of cases on behalf of our people won approbation for the Congress. We need only mention, among many, the fate of the Class Areas Bill and the deletion of the provision in the Liquor Bill, which threatened the livelihood of a section of our people. The tenth session of the Conference promises to be no less important than those which preceded it. The present unsettled situation in the Transvaal in regard to the question of trade will be bound to become acute.

#### INDIAN PRINCES IN TANGANYIKA.

The Maharao of Cutch and the Raja of Sirguja landed in Tanganyika last month on a hunting trip. The *Tanganyika Opinion* in welcoming them, observes that in Tanganyika there are very few Indian settlers who take interest in game. "We have, however, a very lively account of the game experiences of Mr. Abdul Karim Y. A. Karimji aged about 23 (who is now on a European tour with his parents) a partner of Messrs. Karimji Jivanji & Co. the foremost landowners and employers of native labour in Tanganyika. (It is reported that they own 100,000 acres of land and employ about 200,000 natives on their plantations and factories). He shot a lion 100 inches long some four miles away from the salt mines on the Bagamoyo Road. In September 1928 he had shot two elephants from a distance of 50 yards at his Ngomeni Sisal Estates some twelve miles from the port of Tanga."

It goes on to point out that the Maharao of Cutch has a large number of his subjects settled in Tanganyika, particularly in Dar-es-Salam and they made elaborate arrangements to give their Highness a public reception. The Indians have expressed complete unanimity with the Government and people of India as regards safeguarding the rights of Indians in Tanganyika. The paper expresses its confidence that His Highness of Cutch's visit will materially strengthen the position of Indians in that mandated territory.

**ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.****FORTHCOMING BOMBAY SESSION.**

A proposal for a country-wide campaign for the immediate introduction of compulsory primary education and for improvement in the standard of living of school-going children is the principal item on the agenda for the All-India Women's Conference, which holds its fourth session in Bombay in the University Convocation Hall from January 20 to 24th. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu will preside and nearly 250 delegates from all parts of the country are expected to attend.

Preparations for the Conference, which are proceeding apace are in the hands of Lady Dorab Tata and Mrs. Hansa Mehta, the Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Reception Committee of the Conference and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, the retiring Secretary of the Conference.

The resolutions which the Conference will consider include one extending an invitation to Asiatic countries to hold the first Asiatic Women's Conference in Madras in 1931. Other subjects which the Conference will consider relate to purdah, divorce and the law of inheritance with particular reference to bills on the subject, which are now pending before the legislatures.

The standing committee and all the sub-committees of the All-India Women's Conference will meet from the 16th to the 19th January, 1930 at Bombay. The Organising Secretary writes to say that the names of the delegates with their full addresses must be sent in immediately. Free Board and lodging will be provided for the delegates from the 20th to the 24th January only. Those who are arriving earlier will have to make their own arrangements till the 20th. It is also mentioned that boarding and lodging will be provided for visitors on payment of the required charges. All information with regard to housing arrangements for delegates and visitors can be obtained from Mrs. Hansa Mehta, 23, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay. Delegates of each province, can write directly to Mrs. Mehta and arrange for their accommodation.

No railway concessions can be guaranteed to visitors, although an attempt is being made to secure them.

Delegates who intend to attend the Bombay session of the Conference must take from their standing committee member certificates for railway concession.

The programme for the Bombay session is as follows:—

**20TH JANUARY 1930.**

9-30—11-30 a. m.—Registration of Delegates etc.

1-30—4-30 p. m.—Visits to Institutions.

6 p. m.—Opening ceremony of Conference.

**21ST JANUARY 1930.**

9—12 a. m.—First Sitting.

Afternoon—Visits to Institutions, Entertainment by the Women Graduates' Union.

6 p. m.—Madame Von Killer's Cinema. Lecture on a new experiment in her School.

**22ND JANUARY 1930.**

9—12-30 a. m.—Second Sitting.

Afternoon—Visits to Institutions.

4—5 p. m.—Opening ceremony of the Prabha Mills creche.

6-30 p. m.—Musical Entertainment.

**23RD JANUARY 1930.**

9—12-30 a. m.—Third Sitting.

Afternoon—Visits to Institutions.

4—5 p. m.—Entertainments.

6 p. m.—Lantern Slide Lecture on Art.

**24TH JANUARY 1930.**

Morning—Elephanta Caves.

1 p. m.—Lunch—Talk on Indian Women's Right of Inheritance by Mr. Jayakar.

4—6 p. m.—Final Sitting.

7 p. m.—At Home.

The list of institutions to be visited is as follows:—

**EDUCATIONAL.**

Fellowship School.

New High Schools for Girls.

Municipal Schools where Vocational Training is given

Deodhar's School for Music.

Prince of Wales' Museum.

School for the Blind.

Mahila Mandal.

**SOCIAL.**

(1) Seva Sadan (2) Sir Ratan Tata's Industrial Home for Women, (3) Rescue Home, (4) Children's Welfare centre, (5) Wadia Maternity Hospital, (6) Wadia Children's Hospital, (7) Seva Mandal, (8) Petit Orphanage and (9) Vanita Vishram.

On the evening of the 20th January there will be a broadcasting of messages from the conference as the constituencies are too many. One representative from each province will give a message on the Radio, each speech to last 5 minutes and to briefly outline the work and the ideal of that province. The representative must be a good speaker and must have a knowledge of her province. As there seems to be some difficulty in selecting speakers for the radio it has been decided to have them elected. Each constituency should send to the Organising Secretary the name of one delegate whom it considers the most suitable speaker. The name of one person can be sent from two places. The names of the nominees of each province will then be circulated among the constituencies of that province for the constituencies to vote upon and elect their provincial representative.

**Rasa-Mandal Special Exhibition:—**An Exhibition of Paintings by Manindra Gupta will be held at the Blavatsky Lodge, Theosophical Hall, Chauspati on 20th, 21st and 22nd December 1929. Time 9 to 12 A. M. and 3 to 6 P. M.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Inter-caste Marriage at Sabarmati.**—The Sabarmati Ashram was the scene of social reform measure of a first class importance on the evening of Thursday week last. The first inter sub-caste marriage of its kind in the Vaishya community where the bride and bridegroom came from two distant Vaishya communities of different provinces was performed in the presence of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Kunwar Mohan Singhji of Mewar and friends and relatives of both sides when Mahatma Gandhi bestowed blessings on the couple. The bride, Uma Gouri, 18 years old is a Gujarati Vaishya girl and daughter of Mahatma Gandhi's nephew, whereas the bride-groom is Mr. Shankarlal Agarwala of Mewar and is about 24 years of age. The simplicity of the rites, without the usual feasts and unnecessary and cumbersome ceremonies was a special feature of the marriage.

**The Catholic Index:**—The "Index of Prohibited Books," issued last month by the *Catholic Leader*, Madras, is the first book published by the new printing works of the Holy See in the Vatican City. It is composed of 565 pages, and contains the names of about 5,000 books in alphabetical order. The first "Index" was published in 1559 under Paul IV and since then it has been constantly revised. The "Index" contains a catalogue of books which have been condemned by the Sacred Congregations, but by the general law of the Church the reading of all publications calculated to undermine faith and morals is forbidden. It is a matter of common knowledge that in our days especially the danger to faith and morals from the growing spread of pernicious books is very great. The Church, constantly watching over the spiritual interests of her children, endeavours to ward off all danger to their souls from the perusal of unwholesome publications. The object of the Church is the preservation and propagation of the teachings of Christ and a life in accordance with these teachings. In fulfilment of her mission, therefore, the Church takes all precautions necessary for safeguarding the purity of faith and morals among her children.

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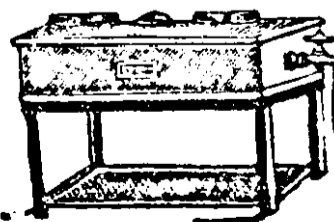
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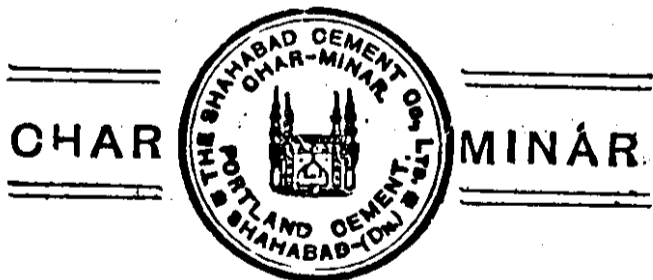
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No. 17

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

### Social Conference Presidential Address:—

We print the full text of the excellent address which the President of the forty-second Indian National Social Conference delivered at Lahore where the session opened on Thursday. It is a well-reasoned and sober pronouncement of the important reforms in our society which are most urgently needed at the present time. Mr. Har Bilas Sharda recognises, as every student of social institutions must, that several of the customs which need reform had originally served some useful purpose, but that they have become now out of place and should be radically changed. The social system provided also a mechanism for making changes from time to time to bring it in line with changing requirements. But this mechanism has broken down and hence, as the President pointed out, we have to resort to legislation as the only sure means of effecting social reform. Mr. Sharda gave the removal of the legal disabilities of woman the first place among subjects requiring urgent legislation. Amongst the Hindus, he said, some of the primary rights of a woman are now denied to her. And even among Mahomedans, although Moslem law gives her certain rights, these are, as in the Punjab, denied to her by custom. Mr. Sharda divided social reform under three heads:—(1) the rights of children, (2) the rights of women and (3) social rights of individuals and classes. This is a very useful and scientific classification and it also brings out the interdependence of the several reforms, making each reform a step in the direction of all other reforms. His own important Act fixing the marriage age, Mr. Sharda placed under the first head of "rights of children." It has also a close bearing on the second and third groups. The practice of child marriage, is an infringement of the most important right of women, namely, the right to have sufficient time for physical growth and education, and it also affects the relations of individuals and classes. Mr. Sharda favours intermarriages though only as a corrective to the caste system. "So long as the caste system exists," he said, "we must permit and, at times, encourage inter-caste marriages."

**Social Rights:—**In his third group, Mr. Sharda includes a large number of questions of varying

degrees of importance, such as, interdining and free social intercourse between people belonging to different castes—both of which are now fairly common—"the admission in the various castes of people belonging to other faiths seeking such admission", the removal of untouchability by extending to the untouchables freedom to enter temples to offer divine worship, and to use wells and tanks and public schools. On the last question, the President of the Social Conference spoke with much feeling and conviction. "It is only in this unfortunate country," he said, "that a man is regarded as untouchable by another. And it is a matter of shame that those whose Sastras teach them that all men are brethren, and that there is divine essence in every man, woman and child should practice untouchability and regard certain classes of men and women as untouchables." He quoted with approval Lord Irwin's wise advice to the Hindu community to get rid of this blot on their social system. Mr. Sharda's observations on the position of women deserve to be deeply pondered by orthodox opponents of social reform legislation. Mr. Sharda traces the lowering of the position of women to the political subjugation of the country. Sir Sankaran Nair, in an important speech in the Council of State in which he called attention to the differences in the legal position of women in different provinces, said that the comparatively liberal interpretation of the Hindu Law in the Bombay Presidency, was due to the political freedom which the Hindu people enjoyed under the Maratha rule. There is a very great deal of force in this view, and that is why social reformers have to be as earnest in their endeavours to secure political reforms as professing politicians. In fact, it is the social reformer, with his perception of the social needs and defects of the community, who has a true perspective of political ends, and can judge correctly the appropriate measure of political advance which would secure at each step the greatest measure of social justice and freedom of development to all classes of people. Politicians who are either opposed or indifferent to social reform are apt to be carried away by watch-words which have no application to the realities of life. We congratulate Mr. Har Bilas Sharda on his thoughtful and weighty address.

**Lady Hydari On Child Marriage:—**Lady Hydari who presided over a public meeting of women in Secunderabad in the course of her address effectively demolished the criticism of the Muslim opponents of the Child Marriage Act that it is opposed to the Shariat. "Child Marriage," observed Lady Hydari, "was a mere custom and defied

any one to prove that the Quran encouraged it. In these days to marry a girl of 14 years of age even was *solum*." She had known several cases where the wife was sent back to her father's house as soon as her health was broken and the man married another woman and the first poor wife was left to beg. In these circumstances she thought it was lesser crime to kill the girls when young than to make them suffer life-long torture. She asked if men ever observed all the commands of their great Prophet and how many men with more than one wife treated them all alike as commanded by the Prophet, or if any of them celebrated, like the Prophet, marriages with widows of forty years. She said Islam allowed widows to marry and yet over and over again they found, when the question arose, that men in the widow's family would not allow her to re-marry. On the other hand, a man could go and look out for another wife on the third or fourth day after his wife's death. In conclusion, she said that women ought to thank God that in British India the Government had at last passed a law to help the poor women and unless the women took it into their own hands to act for themselves, there was no other help for them. The meeting adopted a resolution not only supporting the Sarda Act but calling upon the Nizam's Government to pass a law forbidding child marriage in the State. Recently we published in the columns of the *Reformer* the presidential address of Begum Habibullah who also condemned child marriage and welcomed the Sarda Act. We welcome the expression of opinion by enlightened Muslim ladies in favour of the Act. It is bound to have a counteracting effect to the agitation carried on by the Hindu and Muslim opponents of the beneficial measure.

**The Political Situation :—**The conference of five political leaders with Lord Irwin on Monday did not lead to any definite result. The following official communication which was agreed to by those who attended, was issued after the conference :—

"H. E. the Viceroy met Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Hon'ble Mr. Patel, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, this afternoon.

Discussion was limited to the function of the proposed conference in London. It was pointed out that any member of the Conference would be free to advocate any proposals, and that any measure of unanimity at the Conference would necessarily carry weight with British opinion.

On behalf of the Congress Party, the view was expressed that, unless previous assurances were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the conference was to draft a scheme for Dominion Status which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be grave difficulty about Congress participation.

His Excellency made it plain that the conference was designed to elicit the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament, and that it was impossible for him or for His Majesty's Government in any way to prejudge the action of the Conference or to restrict the liberty of Parliament. Conversation then concluded."

This inconclusive result has been regarded in many quarters as meaning practically the re-starting of the non-cooperation movement by the National

Congress. In some others, it is thought that the door for negotiation is still open. If the Congress embarks upon an extreme policy now, it will do so in the face of strong opposition. Among Congress leaders themselves there is a strong difference of opinion as regards the trend of the Gandhi-Nehru policy. Mr. N. C. Kelkar speaking at the Punjab Hindu Conference at Lahore on the eve of the Congress session, declared that the Hindu Mahasabha would act independently and will not be guided by the policy of the Congress, which he severely criticised as being opposed to the best interests of the Hindus. Mahomedans will not join the Congress non-co-operation as they did in 1921. The Princes of India, the great non-Brahmin community, and the depressed classes, are opposed to it. The Congress will find itself without support except from the small but active group of non-co-operators. The key to the situation, therefore, is once again in the hands of the Viceroy and the British Government. If by a generous measure of constitutional reform they meet the actual political needs as disclosed by the failure of the present system at several points, the non-co-operation movement will pass over without any serious consequence. If, on the other hand, they are niggardly, the situation will become dangerous and it may become uncontrollable.

**The Attempt On The Viceroy :—**The news that a bomb placed on the railway track exploded when the Viceroy's special train passed over it on Monday morning, causing damage to the dining car, and slightly injuring an attendant who was in it, was received with horror mingled with surprise that the attempt should have been made on one so generally respected as Lord Irwin. The bomb is said to have been buried between the two rails and exploded from a distance of two or three hundred yards by means of an electric battery with which it was connected by a carefully hidden length of wire. The incident happened almost just outside New Delhi within a quarter of an hour of the Viceroy alighting there. The motive of the crime was evidently to kill the Viceroy who more than any other of the present generation is working to bring about a feeling of mutual goodwill between the British and Indian peoples. There are unfortunately some who do not wish such a result, and who build their hopes upon the estrangement of Britain from India and India from Britain. All those who realise how important cordial relations between the two countries are to each other and to the peace of the world, will strenuously set themselves to combat this sinister movement.

**The Central Committee's Report :—**The report of the Indian Central Committee which was published on Monday last is a unique document in that the memoranda and dissenting minutes occupy more pages than the actual report. In spite of the differences of opinion recorded in the report, it is gratifying that there is a substantial agreement on the important constitutional issues. There is unanimity regarding the grant of full provincial autonomy and the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government except in Foreign relations and Defence. The question of communal electorates for Mahomedans has given rise to the diversity of opinion expressed in the report.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, DECEMBER 28, 1929.

THE NEW RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK.\*

Amidst much that is discouraging in international relations, there is a gleam of light in the new tendency discernible in the attitude of religions to one another. The most hopeful prospect of peace on earth and goodwill among men, is to be found in fostering and extending this tendency. The Rev. D. J. Fleming who was connected with the Forman Christian College, Lahore, several years ago, and is now on the staff of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, has from the first taken a fresh and independent line regarding the best service which Christian Missions can do in India. The key to his attitude is furnished in the title of one of his best-known books "Building with India." This is different from the attitude of the Farquhar-Macnicol school of building upon India, which was itself a big departure from the old missionary idea of building against India. No religion can claim that it has realised its ideals in the lives of those who profess them. The higher the ideal the greater has been the ill-success in capturing it.

That low man seeks a little thing to do,  
Sees it and does it :  
This high man, with a great thing to pursue  
Dies ere he knows it.  
That low man goes on adding one to one,  
His hundred's soon hit :  
This high man aiming at a million,  
Misses an unit.  
That, has the world here—should he need the  
next,

Let the world mind him !  
This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed  
Seeking shall find him.

Christianity has very high ideals, and its failure has been correspondingly great. Jesus Christ declared that those who followed him would be able to do even greater miracles than he did. No Christian Missionary pretends that he can raise the dead, cast out evil spirits, make a cripple walk by his mere word. Missions have established hospitals, leper asylums and orphanages, but these are, really, an admission of their inability to effect cures as Jesus did by renovating the inner life of the patient by forgiving his sins. Judged by Jesus' test, the Missionaries, therefore, cannot be said to be his true and effective followers. In some vital respect, they are wanting in the power of faith. If this is the case with Missionaries of Jesus Christ, it is much more so with the rank and file of Christians. Then, again, Jesus came to promote peace and goodwill amongst men. Christian nations are among the most wealthy and powerful nations to-day, but this was not what Christ wanted them to be. He wished Christians to be active agents in promoting peace and goodwill among nations, and it is needless to point out how far his wish has been fulfilled.

\* "Ways of Sharing with other Faiths," By Daniel J. Fleming Ph. D., Association Press, New York. Price.

Judged by these two specific tests explicit in Christ's own words Christianity has been a failure. Not that other religions have a better record in this respect. The Hindu religion which proclaims the solidarity of man through identity of the human with the Supreme Soul has miserably failed to live up to it. The existence of the "untouchable" classes is the crowning proof of its failure. Aiming at the Universal in its philosophy, in practice it has become the most particularistic of religions. Islam which was to be a brotherhood, has its castes and sects, and while its very name signifies Peace, it has become a fruitful source of conflict in India and elsewhere. Thus, no religion can say that it has succeeded more than others in raising its followers to the level of its highest teaching. All are in the same boat. It does not lie in the mouth of one of them to reprove the others for their defects. All have to sit together and take counsel among themselves as to why religion has lost its hold on nations and how it can be made what it should be, that is the most potent influence in human life.

This, if we understand him aright, is what Dr. Fleming pleads for in this extremely suggestive book. It is not only that he does not lay much store by the proselytising activities of the missions; others before him have emphasised the evangelical against the proselytising function of missions. Dr. Fleming's special contribution lies in his acceptance of other religions as having much not only to learn from but also to impart to Christianity and to one another. We certainly do not think it derogatory to Hinduism for a Hindu to derive spiritual comfort and inspiration from the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. The *Gita* declares that whenever there is unrighteousness, the Divine Being incarnates to redeem the world from age to age. It does not say that the Incarnation has always been or should necessarily be in India or in any other country. Gautama Buddha is one of the recognised avatars of Hinduism, and Jesus too, is entitled to a rank by his side. If the Incarnation idea is unacceptable, Jesus belongs to the category of great Teachers of the human race. The Prophet of Arabia acknowledged that there have been messengers of God before him, and liberal-minded Mussalmans today cite the Koran as the greatest gospel of religious toleration. Christians alone have refused to recognise any Teacher other than Jesus except on an inferior plane. We do not quarrel with Dr. Fleming when he places Christianity in the centre of his religious sphere as the sun in the solar system illumining other religions. He, we are sure, will not quarrel if a Hindu or a Buddhist or a Mussulman assigns the central place to his own faith. After all, it is difficult to distinguish between centre and circumference in the religious sphere. Every point is a centre and all points together make the circumference. As a geometrical proposition, this cannot be demonstrated on the black board, but in the geometry of the spirit, it stands out in high relief to every earnest seeker after Truth.



## THE 42nd INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

### MR. SARDA'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The forty-second session of the Indian National Social Conference was held at Lahore under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur Har Bilas Sarada. The following is the full text of Mr. Sarada's Presidential address :—

I must thank the Chairman and the members of the Reception Committee of the 42nd session of the Indian National Social Conference for the honour they have done me in asking me to preside at this year's momentous session. While I appreciate the great honour done to me, I am not unconscious of the fact that the office, to which I have been called, imposes upon me heavy obligations and responsibilities, especially as, after the passing of the important social legislation by the Central Legislature this year, we have entered upon a stage in the evolution of our social life when the eyes of the whole world are fixed upon India, and the people of Europe and America and the advanced countries of Asia are watching us to see how we deal with those great social problems peculiar to India—problems which have long stood in the way of our progress, and whether we possess the necessary courage, intelligence and wisdom to solve them satisfactorily. For, by the results of our efforts in that direction, they will judge whether we possess the qualities necessary to enable our great country to retrieve her lost position.

We have therefore to bring all the ability, wisdom and courage we possess, to bear on the deliberations of this distinguished assembly representing as it does, the accumulated intelligence and united experience of social India. And I have ventured to take part in the deliberations of this august body because of my burning desire to serve my country, my unflagging interest in the social welfare of the people, my pride in her past and my unshakable belief in the great future. And if we continue to bring to the solution of the various social problems that face us the same spirit, wisdom and courage which have been shown by the representatives of the nation in the Legislative Assembly in dealing with child marriage—one of the greatest evils from which our country has long been suffering—there can be little doubt that the dawn of a happier era is near and that our woes and troubles are soon coming to an end.

#### READJUSTMENT ESSENTIAL FOR PROGRESS.

Gentlemen, while the fundamental principles of life remain permanent and unchangeable, the conditions of life keep ever changing, owing to the conflicting interests of individuals and communities, and the varying needs and requirements of the nations of the world in different stages of evolution. In view of this constant change it is necessary to maintain a proper adjustment of relations between the facts and conditions of existence and our acts and practices in order to secure a healthy life and growth of society. When this adjustment is broken, the life of a society is threatened and its progress and prosperity stopped. Constant adjustment of

relations is therefore a condition of healthy growth. In other words, reform, political and social, is the necessity of a healthy state of society. We in this conference are concerned only with the social aspects of Indian life, and our deliberations are to be confined to the consideration of social matters. A wise people therefore is always ready for reform, where and when necessary. It will never nail its colours to the product or embodiment of a particular aspect or condition of life and say, we are wedded to it, and by it we stand or fall. The principles of life, which guide us in readjusting relations are, as stated before, always true and unchanging; and we must always hold by them. But the products of forces, generated by adjustment of relations, such as individual acts, customs, practices or attitudes towards things, must change according as the conditions of life change. A readiness to revise the valuations of facts and standards of life, whenever necessary or called for, is essential to the continuance and growth of social life. Thus only can a social system be kept as a living and growing organism and thus only can social life lead to a healthy and vigorous national life.

#### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORM CORRELATED.

Both the social and the political aspects of life are equally important as they touch every individual member of society at every point of his life, and his well-being and happiness are promoted or retarded according as a proper and timely readjustment of relations is effected or neglected. This is why, social and political reforms are so intimately connected with each other that the neglect of the one vitally injures the other. They act and react on each other. Social reform, by releasing forces hitherto held in check and by generating others, gives dynamic force to the movement of political reform just as political emancipation powerfully helps to bring about readjustment of social relations and facilitate social reform. The emancipation of the mind from thralldom, individual or communal, whether in the social sphere or the political broadens the vision, quickens the impulses, strengthens the will and has an elating effect on every fibre of the person or persons emancipated, leading automatically to the breaking of chains in the other sphere. This truth is summed up in the aphorism, 'Progress is Unity'. Social and political advancement must therefore go hand in hand. Any effort in one direction only, to the neglect of the other, will be infructuous and of little value.

#### VARANASHRAMA SYSTEM.

We all know that India had a glorious past and that her achievements in the various domains of

human activity were great. One great reason for this was that her social constitution was very elastic and gave freedom to individuals. It did not hamper growth but afforded full and free scope for their activities in all directions.

The structure of society was based on two institutions peculiar to India: (1) Varnashrama and (2) Joint family system. The Varnashrama meant the division of the people into 4 classes—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishas and Sudras. Those devoted themselves to acquiring and imparting knowledge and dedicated their lives to the development of mental and spiritual powers, and guided the counsels of the nation, were called Brahmans and were accorded a place of honour in society. Their ideal was self-denial. They did not seek wealth or material advancement. Their rule of life was high thinking and plain living. They were therefore accorded the position which in the modern world, wealth and worldly power alone give. They thus enjoyed all the benefits which wealth and power confer without their drawbacks.

The ideal of the Kshatriyas was not how best to live, but *how best to die*. Self-aggrandisement was not their aim: service was their *summum bonum* in life. The Rajputs, the descendants of the Kshatriyas, illustrated in their lives the high ideal of the warrior class. To die worthily in a worthy cause, "to make the mother's milk resplendent" was their solicitude. The Rajputs in days gone by "loved strife, and sought opportunities of dying in a just cause." To die gloriously was what they lived for. The history of India is full of instances that prove this distinguishing feature of their character. The outburst of Devaldevi, the mother of the celebrated heroes Ala and Udil, on their refusal to return to Mahoba to fight for their country on its invasion by Prithviraj Chauhan, sums up Rajput character in a sentence. She exclaimed:—

"Would that gods had made me barren, that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the path of the Rajput and refuse to succour their prince and country in danger. Her heart bursting with grief, her eyes raised to heaven, she continued, "Was it for this, O Universal Lord, Thou madest me feel a mother's pangs for these destroyers of Binafur's fame? Unworthy offspring, the heart of a true Rajput dances with joy at the mere name of strife, but ye, degenerate, cannot be the sons of Jasraj. Some earl must have stolen to my embrace and from such ye must be sprung."

This was irresistible. The two heroes declared they would die fighting for Mahoba. On this, Devaldevi said:—

"Well have you spoken my son. Nothing now remains but to make thy parent's milk resplendent by thy deeds. The calls of the peasant driven from his home meets the ear, and, while we deliberate, our villages are given to the flames."

Ala added:—

He who can look tamely on while the smoke rises from his ruined towns, his fields laid waste, can be no Rajput. He who succumbs to fear when his country is invaded, his body

will be plunged into the hell of hells, his soul a wanderer in the world of spirits for sixty thousand years, but the warrior who performs his duty will be received into the mansions of the Sun and his deeds will last for ever."

In the third division came the Vaishas. They were engaged in manufacture and trade. They produced things and distributed them and accumulated wealth and material resources. They were men of intelligence, industry and courage. They went to every part of the world, had the strength of arm to defend their lives and property. The Vaishas were the mainstay of society. Those who were unfitted to follow any of the above mentioned three callings supplied labour and served the other three classes.

#### CASTE SYSTEM NOT RIGIDLY EXCLUSIVE.

But these four classes were not rigidly exclusive of each other. In the same family one was a Brahman, the other a Kshatriya and the third a Vaisha. The Hindu scriptures themselves illustrate this feature of the Varnashrama system. The *Puranas* say that Raja Yuvnashva of the solar dynasty had a son called Harita. Harit's son became a Brahman and his descendants were known as Ângiris: Harit. The *The Vishnu Purana* and *Bhagwad* say that Raja Nélishta's son Nâbhâg became a Vaishya. Raja Suhotra of the lunar dynasty had three sons, Kâsh, Lôsh and Gritsmad. The latter's son Shunak had a son called Shainak. Shainak's sons became Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisha and Sudra respectively. Take another instance. Kushik was the son of Raja Kushashva of the lunar dynasty. His grandson Vishwâmitra's descendants are known in India as Brahmans of the Kaushik *gotra*.

Individuals and communities took up the callings and pursuits that suited them and afforded free and full development to the physical, mental and moral qualities with which nature had endowed them. There was no rigid, hide-bound, watertight system of caste in old days. The classification was based on individual *गुण कर्म स्वभाव* qualities, actions and temperament. But for all practical purposes of social life, they formed one class. There was perfect adjustment between the requirements of the time, the needs of the nation and the material required fully to satisfy those wants. People were thus enabled to make the best use of their talents and opportunities for their own happiness and prosperity, and employ them, when necessary, in the service of the nation.

#### SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION LEADS TO POLITICAL DEGRADATION.

Coming now to the application of the theoretical propositions enunciated above to the practical facts of social life in our country at the present time, we find that our social life is at a very low ebb; that society is cut up into castes and sub-castes, and the sub-castes are again divided into smaller groups all exclusive of one another, with restrictions regarding food and marriage and association carried to a point beyond which this fissiparous tendency could not go. This, with the resultant narrow view

of things, and the lowering of high ideals of conduct, made the nation impotent to protect itself from foreign inroads, and powerless to withstand the impact of forces foreign to its constitution. The result was social disintegration ending in political subjection. The history of India illustrates most clearly how social evils have inevitably led to political degradation. In Ancient India, free and elastic social system went hand in hand with political liberty and economic prosperity.

#### BREAK DOWN OF JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM.

The joint family system was a contrivance which the Hindu economists and social thinkers invented in order to maintain the traditions of the race, and give stability and continuity to family life, as the family and not the individual was the unit in the social system. The two bases on which the system rested, were (a) co-operation or mutual help between those who were nearest in blood and bound by ties created by nature herself, and (b) the care and protection of the weak and afflicted among them. This institution made for peace and order, promoted unity and prevented disintegration. But it did not ensure progress. So long as it worked properly, no necessity was felt for such institutions of the West as poor houses, old age pensions and poor laws. But the joint family system was a product of the peculiar circumstances in which society was placed at the time. The system worked successfully and did useful work when the country was self-contained and self governed; when the population was homogeneous and differences of religion were not serious; when education was in the hands of the nation, and society was not subjected to the impact of foreign influences; and, lastly when life moved in a narrow sphere. But things are completely changed now. India has long ceased to be self governed and is no longer homogeneous; religious differences are tearing the society asunder: education is in foreign hands. The impact of foreign influences, political, economic and social, is disintegrating society. New ideals of life and conduct, due partly to the introduction of foreign culture and partly to a new valuation of things, which both are being increasingly accepted in the country, resulting in the rejection of the principles and ideals on which the system was based, are undermining it and must ultimately destroy it. Moreover, life has now begun to flow in much wider channels. Take the case of a father who lives in Simla, and has four sons. One is a doctor in Lahore, another a contractor in Delhi, the third a shopkeeper in Agra, the fourth in railway service, one day here and the next in another place, all having different interests, moving in different circles and forming no corporate life. Is it possible for them all long to form a joint family?

#### OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM SHOULD BE OVERHAULED.

The Varnashrama has disappeared giving place to the present caste system. And the joint family system, which took away the personal rights of

individuals and bestowed them on a corporate body, the family, has now ceased to function as originally intended. Naturally, the adjustment between the actual facts of life and the necessities of personal happiness and social welfare is completely broken.

My purpose in describing in detail the leading features of the social system of the Hindus is not to advocate its revival. The object is only to show that the elasticity of the social system of ancient India, and the freedom it gave to individuals to live the life that suited them best, enabled the people to achieve good results. Back to the past, is not my cry. This, however, does not mean that we must discard everything that is old. Much of what is old has stood the test of time and has proved its efficacy; and we must retain what has been proved to be sound in the past. But we must be prepared to accept new things as circumstances require and we find them helpful. The interests of the country require that our social system must be modified so as to admit of social intercourse with people belonging to different denominations and faiths in the country. Economic forces beyond our control and foreign trade relations demand that the limitations and restrictions necessitated by a strict observance of the caste and other social conventions must be removed.

#### FULL FREEDOM FOR MAN AND WOMAN DESIRABLE.

The social system in vogue in ancient India had its own ways to secure the welfare of women. In the changed conditions of modern India, that welfare can only be secured by according to the women their natural rights, and making them enforceable at law. In order that those rights may be fully exercised, it is necessary to break the bonds of caste, and free men and women from the shackles which tie them to the old order of things. Men and women must have full freedom to utilize all opportunities and avenues open to them to attain their full physical, mental, and moral growth, and to arm themselves with all the modern weapons used in economic, educational and social spheres to enable them to hold their own in the deadly struggle for existence going on in the world. Then only can we successfully compete with the advanced nations of the West.

#### LEGISLATION, THE ONLY METHOD OF REFORM.

As for the methods of social reform, there exist at present in India two ways in which reforms can be introduced: (a) public opinion crystallised into caste or communal regulations and (b) legislation. If the caste organizations were at the present time effective and fully operative, a great deal of social reform could be carried out through those organizations. But the discipline of caste having become loose and its authority having lost its efficacy, the work done in old days through this agency cannot now be so accomplished. The only sure means of effecting social reform now is legislation. As a great English writer has said, where large communities or numbers are concerned legislation is the only effective means of carrying out social reform.

There is no country in the world where important social reform has been accomplished by means other than legislation. Those who contend that social reform should be carried out only by educating public opinion and through the agency of caste or communal organizations, have failed to understand the real nature of reform and the function of legislation. Nor do they appreciate the gravity of the situation. Reform becomes necessary where the rights of individuals or groups of individuals are withheld or denied. As the caste agency has no legal sanction behind it and is powerless to have those rights respected, the aggrieved party has every right to appeal to the State, whose primary duty is to see that the rights of individuals living within its jurisdiction are respected. We see this in daily life. When a right to land or money is invaded or the terms of a contract are broken, if an amicable settlement by the intervention of friends is not arrived at, the aggrieved individual appeals to the State and the courts of law enforce the right. If the just rights of a woman, on the exercise of which her happiness depends, cannot be protected by society; if public opinion or caste organizations have not the power or the inclination to redress her wrongs, it is the legitimate right of the woman to appeal to the State for protection. It is the inherent right of a child to get nourishment, to be allowed to grow up and develop physically and mentally. If food or protection is refused to it by parents, or if a child is sought to be sacrificed as an offering to some deity or to save the parents from expense, or fear of ignominy (*vide* the annals of infanticide) the law must step in to save it. Similarly, if the parents give away a girl in her infancy in marriage, whereby she may be subjected to the cruelties of early consummation or maternity, while she is physically quite undeveloped, the girl has a right of protection from the State against the custom-sanctioned, though non-malicious, cruelty of the parents.

#### WOMEN'S RIGHTS DENIED.

If the rights of a woman, who is entitled to equal treatment with man, are systematically denied her and she is treated like chattel, it is the duty of the State to intervene. Amongst the Hindus some of the primary rights of a woman are now denied to her. And even in other communities, some of her rights though recognised by the personal law governing her, are denied her owing to the force of custom. In the Punjab, the right of inheritance conceded to a Moslem woman by *Shariat* (Moslem law) is denied to her by customary law, and so far as her right to property is concerned, she is very nearly in the same position as her Hindu sister.

Hindu law chiefly centres round marriage, inheritance and the joint family system. The law of inheritance was based on the requirements and the incidents of the joint family. But as the joint family system is rapidly disintegrating and the individual is taking the place of the family as a unit of society, both the law of inheritance and that

governing joint family must be modified in the light of changed circumstances. As the present law governing marriage was based on the Varnashrama which has long since disappeared and even the caste system which took its place, is rapidly going to pieces, it is necessary that this law too must be materially modified.

#### LEGISLATIVE INTERFERENCE JUSTIFIED.

It is too late in the day to object to legislative interference with the Hindu law of inheritance or of joint family or marriage. The State has irrespective of the scruples of the orthodox, been enacting laws on social matters. In 1870 A. D. a law was passed providing that a member of a joint Hindu family could become a Christian and yet retain all the rights and privileges of a member of the joint family. And can there be a greater interference with the Hindu marriage law than that embodied in Act III of 1872? An Act of legislature has made it possible for a Hindu widow to remarry and yet retain under certain circumstances the property of her last husband.

#### SAFEGUARDING RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

The readjustment or reform in the social system of the country easily falls under three heads: (1) Rights and welfare of children (2) Rights and status of women (3) Social rights of individuals and classes. As regards the rights of children, an important step has recently been taken by the country in forbidding marriages of boys below 18 and girls below 14 years of age. This law, if duly enforced and strengthened later in the light of future experience of its working, will put a stop to child widowhood, protect girls from early death and lifelong ill health, and will give them time to receive education. Physical degeneration of the race will be arrested, and boys will have a chance of growing into sturdy men. Children are also entitled to receive such education and training as will enable them to live a decent life in the world. For this, the State should provide necessary facilities. It has now been universally recognised as the duty of the State to give primary education to every boy and girl; and we call upon our Government to recognise its obligations in this respect. In England, the State has also recognised its duty to look after the health of all children between 5 and 14 years, which is the period of compulsory education there.

#### INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES.

So long as the caste system exists we must permit and, at times, encourage inter-caste marriages. Some communities are so small that it is not possible to find within their folds, suitable matches for boys and girls. Inter-caste marriages upto a certain extent are sanctioned by Sastras and they are now recognised by law. With such marriages becoming more frequent, the evil of prices being paid sometimes for bride-grooms and sometimes for brides will disappear. This pernicious practice has ruined many homes and has occasioned many suicides. Reform in this direction is urgently called for.

## SOCIAL DISABILITIES SHOULD GO.

I include under the head, Social rights of individuals and classes, such questions as interdinings; free social intercourse between individuals belonging to different castes; admission in the various castes of people belonging to other faiths seeking such admission; untouchability; freedom to enter temples to offer divine worship; use of wells and tanks and public schools. It is only in this unfortunate country that a man is regarded as untouchable by another. And it is a matter of shame that those who believe in *वसुदेव कुटुम्बकं* (Mankind form one family), whose Sastras teach them that all man are brethren, and that there is divine essence in every man, woman and child should practice untouchability, and regard certain classes of men and women as untouchables. If it is true that "*bani adam azai yak degrand*," and if all mankind are regarded as forming one family, why should those who follow certain most useful and necessary professions be regarded as untouchables and be looked upon as less than men and women. Everyone has a right to use public wells and tanks and roads; to read in public schools maintained by public revenues; and to worship God in temples. Places of divine worship and temples are places dedicated to the Deity, and as God is the God of all peoples, irrespective of caste or colour, rich or poor, high or low, no person or persons can rightfully prevent any other class of persons from approaching the Creator and offering worship in those places. Those who do so prevent people, deny that God is the God of all mankind.

## PROPER TREATMENT OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

It is of prime importance for the Hindus to do away with the evil of untouchability. It has yet to be realized by them that the future of the Hindus as a community depends to a great extent on a proper treatment of the depressed classes, and on their whole-hearted co-operation. All well wishers of the country must therefore see that this question is solved to the satisfaction of those classes. Fortunately, the question of untouchability, except in the case of the small class of sweepers, is practically non-existent in Upper India.

I cannot do better than quote here the excellent observations made by His Excellency Lord Irwin in his reply to the address presented to him by the Madras Depressed Classes Federation on the 12th of this month. In three sentences full of profound wisdom and sympathy, he summed up in a masterly way the greatness of Hinduism and the strength and weakness of the Hindu caste system. He said:—

"All the world knows the greatness of the Hindu religion, its power for good as a religious and a social force, its ideals of national and family life, its inspiration in art and literature, its vitality and absorbent powers. With its roots deep in the soil of antiquity, it has produced a civilisation which has stood the test of time. In

that civilisation, barriers of caste are a recognised feature and have no doubt served a useful purpose in the various stages of its progress; but the world never stands still, and looking at the political, intellectual and economic forces by which it is to-day being moved, I cannot doubt that a tenet which aims at debarring millions of human beings from concourse with their fellows must in the end prove a grave weakness to Hindu society."

## WOMAN'S QUESTION SUPREME.

The most important question, however, as it concerns every man and woman in the country, and as it vitally affects society, is the position of woman and her rights. The woman question is in one shape or another a world question. In India it is of especial importance at the present moment, as on the right and speedy solution of it, hinges the future welfare of the country. The pivot of life is the home and the home is the woman's citadel. She is the presiding genius of the household. People test a nation's civilization from the position women occupy in it. In Islam, the most democratic religious organization in the world, theoretically her position is high and her rights are to a great extent safeguarded by law. Amongst the Hindus of old, she occupied a position of great respect and consideration, enjoyed great privileges and in certain respects held a dominant position in the family.

The *Rigveda*, (Mandala 10, verse 45) says:—

Over thy husband's father and thy husband's mother, bear full sway. Over the sisters of thy lord and over his brothers, rule supreme."

The *Shatapath Brahmana* (5. 2. 10) says:—

"She the wife, in sooth, is half of his own self, hence as long as he does not obtain her, so long is he not regenerated, for, so long is he incomplete."

Manu says:—

"The mouth of a woman is constantly to be held in the same esteem as running water, or a beam of sunlight."—Ch. V. 133.

"Where women are honoured, there the deities are pleased; and where they are not honoured, no religious rite yields rewards. Where women live in grief, the family soon perishes, but the family where they are happy ever prospers."—Ch. III 55.

The *Mahabharata*, the grandest of the epics of the world says:—

"The wife is the best of friends: the wife is the root of threefold worldly activity: the wife is the root of salvation."

"Strike not even with a blossom a wife guilty of hundred faults," says a Hindu sage,—"a sentiment so delicate," says Colonel Tod "that Reginald de Born, the prince of Troubadours never uttered any more refined."

## STATUS OF HINDU WOMEN IN ANCIENT TIMES.

Hindu scriptures show that women were given the highest education in ancient times. They

held their own in philosophical and literary discussions with the most eminent scholars of the time. Gargiya and Maitriya are names wellknown for their learning. Women occupied a position of equality with men in every respect. They accompanied their husbands every where, sometimes even to the battlefields, and fought by their side, performing deeds of valour. Kekayi, Satyabhama and others are instances in point. Women enjoyed rights of property. Even in the Vedas there is mention of women growing old in their father's houses and claiming their share of the paternal estate. A wife's co-ownership of property was recognised in that the husband could not make a religious gift without her consent. The legal status of a wife and the equal treatment accorded to her with her husband is thus defined in law :—

1. If a wife dies, her husband may marry another wife. (Manu, Ch. V. v. 165).

If a husband dies, a wife may marry another husband (Manu quoted by Madhava and Vidyanatha Dikshita ; Parasara Smriti ; Narada ; Yagnavalkya, quoted by Krishnacharya ; Agni Parana ; Smriti, quoted Chetti Koneri Acharya and Janardana Bhatta).

2. If a wife becomes fallen by drunkenness or immorality, her husband may marry another. (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 80 ; Yagnavalkya, page 416, v. 73.)

If a husband becomes fallen, a wife may marry another husband (Manu, quoted by Madhava and several other authorities above mentioned).

3. If a wife be barren, her husband may marry another wife (Manu Ch. IX, v. 81).

If a husband be impotent she may marry another husband (Manu, and several other authorities quoted above).

4. In particular circumstances, a wife may cease to cohabit with her husband (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 79).

5. If a husband deserts his wife, she may marry another (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 76, and several others).

6. If a wife treats her husband with aversion, he may cease to co-habit with her (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 77).

7. A husband must be revered (Manu, Ch. V, v. 154).

A wife must be honoured by the husband (Manu, Ch. III, v. 55).

8. A good wife irradiates the house and is a goddess of wealth (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 26).

A good husband makes his wife entitled to honour (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 23).

#### INFLUENCE OF HINDU WOMEN.

With the political downfall of the Hindus came their social decline, and the legal position of women deteriorated. In the matter of marriage, in matters of inheritance and her position in the family, many of her rights have been taken away from her and her freedom has been restricted. But though her freedom has been restricted, and owing to the desirability of maintaining intact the joint family system,

legal power to enforce many of her rights has been taken away from her, yet it is generally true that the position she occupies in the family is predominant, and the influence she exercises in domestic matters almost supreme. Traducers of Indians, professional decriers of weak nations, who have made it a business to defame subject peoples for political purposes like the notorious Miss Katherine Mayo, may with the aid of imagination, depict the condition of Indian women in family life as deplorable. But those who are acquainted with the real condition of things and who have a knowledge of the working of family life in this country, know well that women occupy even now a most respected position in Indian households, and that their influence remains unimpaired. The late Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald, on her return home from a tour in India with her husband, the present Prime Minister of England, declared that the influence of Hindu woman in domestic and social matters was supreme and that she possessed a greater sense of honour than men.

#### SOME URGENT REFORMS.

Monogamy should be made the strict rule of life. Polygamy in its origin was an economic measure. When more men were wanted for fighting purposes and tribal strength had to be kept up, polygamy perhaps had its use. But times have changed, and this institution has now become positively harmful. Ethically, it cannot be justified ; and students of Indian history know how disastrous have been its consequences on the politics of the country. The history of every State in Rajputana is stamped with the dire results of this evil custom. The dissensions amongst the nobles of Mewar which paralyzed its power and allowed Babur to consolidate his position, illustrates the disastrous consequence of the evil custom.

If a man can claim restitution of conjugal rights, a woman is equally entitled to do so, though in the case of both, such rights should be governed by considerations of the welfare and happiness of the parties.

Widow re-marriage should become as general as widower remarriage at present is. If marriage is a sacrament, and can be performed only once in life, why is a widower allowed to perform it a second, a third or a fourth time when a widow is not so allowed ? A husband is as much subject to the conditions of the sacrament as a wife is. The evils of enforced widowhood are many and widespread ; and apart from the great injustice it does to women, it has its repercussions in the entire field of domestic life, and produces most harmful effects on the body politic of the Hindus.

#### RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE FOR WOMEN.

It has also become essential now that full rights of inheritance should be secured to women. If a son gets a share in his patrimony, on what moral or spiritual grounds, can a daughter be refused her share ? The natural rights of both are equal,

Marriage and transplanation in another family may modify the extent of the right, but should not take it away completely. She is also entitled to a share in her husband's property. She becomes by marriage a member of her husband's family and must *ipso facto* acquire rights of property in that family. I have introduced in the Central Legislature, a bill to give a Hindu widow right to inherit her husband's share in the family property, along with her sons if any. The key to secure and strengthen her lawful position in the family is to give her a legally enforceable right of inheritance. As soon as her just right in family property is secured to her by law, most of her troubles will be over.

#### WRONG FOREIGN INTERPRETATION OF LAW.

Hindu women have suffered not at the hands of Indians only. Part of her troubles is due to the fact that India has the misfortune of having her Sastrie laws interpreted and administered by strangers—to her traditions, strangers to her culture and ignorant of the language in which the laws exist. Moreover, these judges were till very recently very backward in their ideas of women's rights. We know with what difficulty and after what hard struggle, the Englishwoman has been able to secure her right of franchise; while the Indians with age-long traditions of chivalry behind them have already conceded this right to women in some provinces, and are ready to give it to the rest as soon as it is desired. Mr. M. B. Jayakar, in his learned Presidential Address to the 41st Indian National Social Conference last year at Calcutta, said:—

“The Englishman was not accustomed until the eighties to regard women in his own country as independently capable of acquiring or holding property. English women got this right at a very late stage. With this bias in his mind, it is not surprising that the English judge at Westminster, in interpreting ancient Indian texts written in a language which he did not understand, and of the context of which too he was personally ignorant, adopted a position inclining more towards limited female rights than towards absolute ones. In a celebrated ruling which laid down for all time that inheritance derived by women from a male in their husband's family can never become their absolute property, the Privy Council, being solely dependent upon confusing rival quotations cited on opposite sides, have actually the *Mitakshara* rule in favour of more ancient and doubtful texts vaguely prescribing an ascetic life for Hindu widows. The bias thus acquired by judicial decisions has unconsciously survived to the present day. The English judge in England and in India, owing to his natural caution born of his ignorance of the language and the habits of the people, has fought shy of liberal interpretations except when compelled by the clearest evidence. The whole administration has been, so far as Hindu Law is concerned as grievously unnatural as if Japanese judges sat at Westminster in 1928, giving rulings on the domestic laws of Englishmen from Japanese translations of Bracton or Coke or Lytteton, unconcerned with the mighty social changes which had taken place in English society since those

times of which they had no conception owing to their isolation.

The time has now come to put an end to the judicial system under which English Judges—though capable and conscientious but ignorant of Indian conditions and ideals of life and the language in which the laws are written—are invested with power to interpret and administer Hindu Law.

#### WIDER FIELD OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION.

Social reform, as popularly understood, is reform of evil customs and practices; but social legislation covers a much larger field and we must now enlarge the sphere of legislation in our country by including in it all measures calculated to promote the health and happiness of men and women, increase their comfort, and help the general welfare of society.

#### EXHORTATION TO YOUNG WOMEN AND MEN.

And now I appeal to the women and young men of India. I appeal to the women to prove themselves worthy daughters of the brave women of India who, in days gone by, covered the history of this country with glory. It was the women of India who made heroes of men and inspired them to perform deeds of valour which are sung in the country and are remembered and admired everywhere. Take the case of Rajputs. The history of Rajput heroism is the history of the heroism of Rajput women. It was the Rajput women who inspired their husbands and brothers and sons to do great deeds. They not only defended their minor sons' rights with exemplary valour, but actually headed troops in their places. Read the historian Feristha's animated picture of Durgvati, the queen of Gurrah who, like another Boadicea, headed the army and fought a desperate battle with Akbar's general Asaf Khan, in which she was wounded. Scorning flight or to survive the loss of independence, she like the antique Roman in such circumstances, slew herself on the field of battle. Remember how, on the death of the Rana of Chitor on the battlefield of Thaneshwar, his heir Karan Singh being a minor, the queen-mother Korum Devi, headed her Rajputs and gave battle in person to Qutbuddin Aibak near Amber (Jaipur) when Qutbuddin was defeated and wounded. Jawahir Bai, another queen-mother of Chitor in order to set an example of courageous devotion, headed a sally during the seige of that fortress by Bahadur Shah of Gujerat in which she was slain. The unparalleled heroism displayed by the mother of Fattah during the seige of Chitor by Akbar is unforgettable. Says Colonel Tod:—

“When the Saloombra fell at the gate of the Sun, the command devolved on Fattah of Kailwa. He was only 16. His father had fallen in the last shock and his mother had survived but to rear the sole heir of their house. Like the Spartan mother of old, she commanded him to put on the saffron robe—the robe that Rajputs put on when determined to die in a fight—and die for Chitor; but surpassing the Grecian dams she illustrated her precept by example; and lest any soft compunctious visitings for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre

of Kailwa, she armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Chitor saw her fall fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such deeds, the Rajputs became reckless of life."

Another instance of how Rajput women compelled the men to defend their country and die in its defence is related by the French traveller Bernier. When Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, after losing the battle of Fatehabad about the middle of the 17th Century, retired with only a handful of followers to Jodhpur, his queen refused to see him. Bernier says:—

"I cannot forbear to relate the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her husband Jaswant Singh after his defeat and flight. When she heard he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the battle, that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left; and at last, no longer able to resist the enemy, had been forced to retreat; instead of sending some one to condole with him in his misfortune, she commanded in a dry mood to shut the gate of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband;.....In a word, he was to vanquish or to die."

The magnificent example of woman's valour and devotion to her country so finely displayed by that immortal heroine, Queen Lakshmbai of Jhansi, during the days of the Sepoy war must ever inspire you to remain true to your ideals.

I will not tire your patience with more examples of woman's courage, sense of duty and devotion to her country. The noble traditions of heroism left by your forbears should ever be kept untarnished. Let the sons and daughters you rear, be such as would uphold the honour of the country and restore to our motherland her past grandeur and glory. There was a time when in my part of the country the ideal of motherhood was embodied in the famous line—

जननी जने तो ऐसो जन के दाता के दूर,

"O Mother, let thy offspring be either a great benefactor or a hero ;

My appeal to you, young men, is to break the bonds of convention and custom. Fight against evil customs and pernicious practices. Emancipate the women. Cultivate the spirit of self denial of the Brahman of old, become as fearless and as devoted to duty as the Rajput of medieval times. Remember also that a sound social system is the only basis for a lasting political structure to be raised on it. Forget not that an enormous amount of social work has to be done in the country. Let every young man in India work with the unshakeable resolution born of the conviction which inspired William Pitt at the age of 24 to declare, "I know that I can save England and I know that no one else can save it." Lay to heart the sound advice of the great Goethe, and act accordingly—

Ponder well and know the right  
Onward, then, with all thy might.

## THAT MEN MAY ALL BE BROTHERS.

MEDITATIONS FOR THE YEAR.

LII. THE GREAT COMMUNITY.

(DR. CLIFFORD MANSCHARDT, PH.D.)

During the past few months we have been endeavouring to share the lives of the people whom we are daily meeting, but with whom we may have felt that we have little or nothing in common. We have tried to show that though men may differ in occupation and general outlook, they still have certain common ideals and aspirations. We have attempted to take a cross section of our every-day life and so to delineate it, that men would actually feel themselves to be akin to their fellow-men. Our underlying idea is more worthy than has been our execution of it, but we do venture to hope that some good has been accomplished. Unless mankind does recognise its underlying unity, there is scant reason to expect that civilisation as we know it will continue. Unless we learn the lesson of co-operation there is little to look forward to save a resounding crash. Individuals and nations cannot utterly oppose one another and still expect to dwell in peace and harmony. Understanding and good will seem to be the only way out, and the object of this series of papers has been to create understanding.

The great Prophet of Nazareth once spoke the following parable to his disciples: "The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and sowed in his field, which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown, it is the greater among herbs and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof." So it is with the Great Community—the Kingdom of Goodwill. It progresses from small beginnings. A voice is heard, another voice is heard there; a newspaper begins to champion the cause; the public becomes awakened; and soon a mighty movement is under way having for its aim the righting of a wrong, giving some unprivileged group a chance, or making a definite contribution to the public welfare. First the seed, and then in the fulness of time the tree. The one lesson that we need to learn and often to re-learn, is the lesson of patience.

And now as we come to the end, your mind cannot but turn again to the words of that far-seeing prophet, Isaiah. Living centuries ago in a day of religious formalism, he sensed the true meaning of religion, and laid down a formula that is still a worthy guide to both religionists and to social workers.

"Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?"

"Is not this the fast that I have chosen to loose the hands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens,



and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?

"Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?"

"Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee....."

"And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones, and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not."

#### THE VICEROY AND THE INDIAN YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

H. E. the Viceroy showed his interest in the Indian Y. M. C. A. of which he is Patron, by interrupting his programme, during a tour of Travancore, to pay a visit to the Y.M.C.A. in Trivandrum, the capital of the State. Trivandrum ranks second to Madras as a centre of student life in South India, and a large gathering of all castes and communities crowded the new building of the Y.M.C.A. on December 8th to honour the distinguished guest. The visit was quite informal, and before leaving, although he had asked that there should be no speeches, His Excellency came back to the platform and addressed a few words to the gathering.

Speaking extempore he said, that though he had made it a condition before accepting their invitation that his visit should be completely informal and there should be no speeches, he felt that courtesy required that, even at the point of breaking a rule he had endeavoured to lay down, he must say a few words of thanks for allowing him the pleasure of visiting their premises and seeing those who are engaged in the work. He found it hardly possible to believe that everything he had been shown was only a year old. Even more than the pleasure of seeing the buildings was his pleasure in seeing the people who were working there and those for whom they were working. Nothing had struck him more during his visit to Travancore than the immensely valuable contribution that was being made, up and down the length of the State, by such agencies as this, and the contribution they were making to the life and development, in the best sense of the word of the whole population.

"If I may conclude with one word," said His Excellency, to the young men who have come or will come within the influence of the Young Men's Christian Association, "I would like to say this. To all young men who are here, and many thousands outside, life is going to offer a very, very great opportunity. As they grow up, they will find themselves differing in political thought and in their general outlook on life. If however they will only come together through agencies like this, finding the one foundation of life which really matters, namely

the combination of education with a foundation of religion, be that whatever it may, they will be able to compose their differences and to fulfil that which has been the honourable motto of this Association namely, partnership in service. And their service will be for the greater good of their community, the greater good of Travancore State, the greater good of India, and the greater good of the still wider field, the world. Let this Association always keep the glamour, charm, romance and powers of youth. Let it always look forward to the development of youth with all the enthusiasm, zeal and energy youth alone can give. Thus will all be enabled, with the growing experience of years and with an enthusiasm that is ever new, to approach new problems and extend their field of service. I thank you for allowing me to see you, and I can wish you nothing better than that you may continue the work you are doing and the fine things for which the Association stands. You may ever hold a large place in the world in which your labours are carried on."

One phase of Y. M. C. A. work, though not mentioned in His Excellency's speech, found a place on Viceregal table. Near Trivandrum the Y.M.C.A. maintains one of its rural reconstruction centres at the village of Martandam where a valuable demonstration work is being done in poultry rearing, bee keeping, cottage industries, &c. A day or two before the Viceroy's visit to Trivandrum, the villagers of the Martandam Y.M.C.A. were flattered, and their hen-runs not a little flattered, by a telegram ordering a hundred eggs to be sent to the State Guest House for the Viceroy's party. It meant much to the villagers to know that they were in a position to supply eggs good enough for the Viceroy's table.

#### CHRISTMAS SEASON.

The Editor *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir:—The Christmas season is the season of the year above all others when nations, societies, and individuals put aside their animosities and disagreements, and experience something of that benevolent spirit that animated the Founder of Christianity.

Christ was the Light of the world. He came to us in the flesh. He will come again in the flesh, and unite all nations into one under a theocratic rule. At that time there will be no United States of America, and no United States of Europe, but the United States of the world. God will be king and Father to all races on earth, and Christ, His Son, will be the Prince of Peace.

Christ was the Light of the World. Then at Christmas time, the anniversary of His appearance in the world, let us put lights in our windows to symbolize Him who was the true Light. These Lights will also serve to express our hope and confidence that He will not leave us desolate at this time of our need, at this time of the world's need, but that He will come again, and set our feet upon true paths. We sweep, decorate, and light our houses

when we expect an honoured guest. Then let us set lights in our windows to welcome that Guest of guests who is coming, and who is coming quickly.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, U.S.A.

Yours etc.

November 18, 1929.

CHARLES HOOPER.

### THE SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, BOMBAY.

#### REPORT OF THE WORK DONE DURING THE YEAR 1928.

The following is a brief summary of the report of the work done by the Social Service League, Bombay, during the year 1928.

The League maintains four centres, i. e., the Head Office in Girgaon, (2) The Parel Settlements, (3) The Madanpura Settlement, (4) and the working-men's Institute.

#### NIGHT SCHOOL.

During the year under report the League maintained 9 night schools out of which one was Anglo-Marathi, two Anglo-Gujarathi, 4 Anglo-Urdu, and two Night High Schools. The total number of students on the roll in all these night schools was 413, the average daily attendance being 310. Six of the night schools received grants-in-aid from the Bombay Municipality.

In three of the night schools at the Madanpura Settlement Boys' Clubs were continued and 28 meetings were held.

#### LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS.

There were three standing libraries, 3 reading rooms and 38 boxes of travelling free library during the year under report. All the libraries contained 9,808 books and pamphlets in Marathi, Gujarathi, Urdu and English and the total number of books issued during the year was 4,339. The number of those who took advantage of the Libraries and Reading rooms was 125.

#### MAGIC LANTERN LECTURES.

During the year under report 12 lantern lectures were arranged under the auspices of the League, the subjects of lectures being "Co-operation," "Social Service," "Child Welfare," etc.,

#### TEXTILE TECHNICAL SCHOOL.

There are in all six classes in this school, 3 in each of the two departments, viz., spinning and weaving, each class requiring a year's instruction. This school is equipped with machinery necessary for demonstration in practical training. At the beginning of the year under report there were 32 students on the roll, the daily average attendance being 25. Twenty-two students appeared for the examinations and out of them 16 were successful. Six students appeared for the final year examination, and five of them passed it and were given certificates.

This school receives grants-in-aid from the Bombay Municipality and the Committee of Direction for Technical Education.

#### BOY SCOUT TROOP.

At the end of the year this Troop consisted of 40 scouts and 8 Rovers. Patrol classes were regularly held and the students went through the theoretical course in scouting. Parade drill and games were regularly held and several excursions and camps were organized during the year under report.

#### BAI BACHUBAI CHARITABLE DISPENSARY FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

This dispensary is maintained by the League at Parel. During the year under report the total number of patients treated at this dispensary was 21,987, of whom 11,717 were women and 10,270 children. The daily average number of patients was 73. A grant is received in aid of this dispensary from the Bombay Municipality. On behalf of the Arya Mahila Samaj, Bombay, milk is supplied free to needy mothers and children at this dispensary at the recommendation of the lady doctor. In the year under report the cost of milk thus distributed came to Rs. 828-8-0.

#### FREE EYE TREATMENT.

At the Madanpura Settlement Dr. S. R. Machave of the Blind Relief Association continued to attend twice a week to the eye complaints of poor people. During the year under report 2,551 patients were treated.

#### SANITATION ROUNDS.

During the year under report four sanitation rounds were arranged in the different wards of the city, and the reports of the insanitary conditions noted and complaints received from the inhabitants of the respective localities, in the course of these rounds, were forwarded to the authorities concerned. Also several representations were made to Municipal authorities by whom, most of these complaints were attended to.

#### MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE VILLAGE SANITATION FUND.

This fund is administered by the League. During the year under report four applications were received for grants and the total amount sanctioned was Rs. 300.

#### WORK FOR WOMEN.

This work consists of sewing and cutting classes, home industry classes, reading room lectures and meetings etc. During the year under report the total number of students attending sewing and cutting classes was 122, the daily average attendance being 65. The schools committee of the Bombay Municipal Corporation has recognized the eighteen months' course in these classes as qualification for employment as sewing mistresses in its schools. In the year under report these classes were registered with the Educational Department of the Bombay Government and the Director of Public Instruction was pleased to sanction a grant-in-aid. Home industry classes were attended by forty women. Several ordinary

and lantern lectures were organized for the benefit of women during the year under report. A sewing cutting class is maintained at Vile Parle, and during the year under report the number of students on the roll at Parle was 45. The work for women is managed by the Mahila Mandal, Parel (The Women's Branch of Social Service League, Bombay).

#### INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT AT BELGAUM.

In the year under report the League received a proposal from the Government for undertaking the management of the Industrial (Criminal Tribes) Settlement at Belgaum. The League accepted the proposal and sent Mr. M. B. Bade, B. A., B. Sc., one of its life-workers, to take over the management of the Settlement, which consisted of 145 persons, men, women and children. Sanitation, education and recreation are looked after by the manager, who has also started a co-operative society for the inmates of the Settlement. The expense of this settlement are met from the capitulation grant received from the Government.

#### WORK FOR OTHER INSTITUTIONS.

Messrs. P. G. Naik, D. S. Savardekar and A. W. Phanse worked for the Bombay Released Prisoner's Aid Society, the Children's Aid Society, the Bombay Vigilance Association and the Society for the protection of Children in Western India, during the year under report.

#### CO-OPERATION.

There were 38 Co-operative societies under the League's supervision. The total membership of these societies in the year under report was 3,447; working capital, Rs. 1,47,031; Share capital Rs. 61,555; reserve fund Rs. 20,156; and during the same period loans amounting to Rs. 1,18,493 were advanced to needy members, the amount recovered during the same period being Rs. 95,213. 12 lectures on co-operation and allied subjects were arranged during the year.

#### RECREATION FOR THE WORKING CLASSES.

The Indian Gymnasium attached to the Parel Settlement was taken advantage of by about 50 men daily on an average during the year. Forty-six dramatic performances were performed in the Damodar Thackersey Hall, and out of these 8 were given by the Sahakari Manoranjan Mandal which is an amateur dramatic club formed under the auspices of the League. Open air sports were organized for the students of a night-school conducted by the League and two fresh air excursions were arranged for two of the night schools.

#### LEGAL ADVICE AND PETITION WRITING.

Mr. A. G. Shaik, B. A., LL. B., continued to attend the Madanpura Settlement on every Sunday and gave free legal advice to 63 persons during the year under report. At the same settlement 218 letters, 129 applications and 43 petitions were written on behalf of poor illiterate persons. At the Workingmen's Institute 249 petitions, applications, complaints notices etc., were written during the same period. A number of workmen's Compensation cases were also dealt with.

#### PROPAGANDA WORK.

In the year under report the League continued the publication of two quarterlies, viz., the *Social Service Quarterly* and the *Samaj Sevak*, in English and Marathi respectively, maintained an Information Bureau and Register of charities, a library of books on social and labour questions, and organized a social workers' training class. Thirty-five lectures on different subjects were arranged in this class and were attended by 74 students among whom there were several ladies.

#### MEMORANDA TO GOVERNMENT.

The views of the League's Managing Committee were called for by the Government and were duly forwarded to it on the Dangerous Drugs Bill, the Trade Disputes Bill and the Workmen's Compensation (Amendment) Bill.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Queen buys Portrait of Sheshanna.—The Indian exhibition in London was honoured by the visit of the Queen who was interested in the examples of Indian art and purchased a portrait of Veena Sheshanna, the musician. The Queen also admired the decoration showing inlaid work on the cornice of Delhi dome with which Fyzee Rahmin presented Her Majesty.

Signor Mussolini And Birth Control.—A new Italian Penal Code has been introduced bringing drastic changes into the law of the land in the right direction. Among the offences punishable by law is propaganda in favour of birth control. Anyone publicly advocating its practice or carrying on a campaign in its favour is made liable to a fine of 50,000 lire or a year's imprisonment.

Stagnation In The Arya Samaj.—Says the *Liberator*:—"Taken on whole, it must be admitted that the movement has been more or less stationary during the past one year. Something like a feverish activity was visible for a time in one or other of the various centres of the movement but when we start counting the cash at the end of the day, we find that there has been little addition to what we had before. Even on such a point as the establishment of the right of the Samaj to carry nagarkirtan processions in various parts of the country,

our achievement has been on the negative side. The Moradabad satyagraha campaign which was being widely canvassed and for which preparations appeared to be in progress, fizzled out. To our mind even the failure on the part of the Samaj to carry out the campaign of satyagraha is by no means so great as the absence of real work in the propagation of the gospel of Rishi Dayanand. How many non-Aryas have been into the fold of the Aryan religion during the year? What is the progress which we can point to in the matter of keeping alive the teachings of the Swami?"

**Mrs. Whitley on Indians:**—Mrs. Whitley, wife of the chairman of the Royal Labour Commission, in the course of an interview observed "Send your young men, who have had the benefit of Cambridge and Oxford education to the villages. 'Mass education is the only remedy to make your villagers and workers read. English workers read the morning paper and that is why they are earning more. When every one of India's vast population learns to read and write there can be no nation in the world so much advanced as she will be.'" The illiteracy of the Indian workers pained Mrs. Whitley much. She said that mass education was India's salvation. Mrs. Whitley was very much impressed with Indian hospitality, India is a very wonderful country and her people are wonderfully patient and good-tempered, she stated. Mrs. Whitley paid a glorious tribute to Indian womanhood who, in her opinion, were adorable. Indian women were very gentle, sweet and capable. Comparatively Indian women were unselfish and clean in their habits. The labouring classes, though they lived in dingy chawls, had their floors well swept and things well arranged, whereas in the English worker's house, everything was in confusion. Mrs. Whitley, summing up her impression of India, said that the country's prospects would improve, if efforts were taken to educate the masses. Mrs. Whitley paid a tribute to Gandhiji for having awakened the consciousness of the masses.

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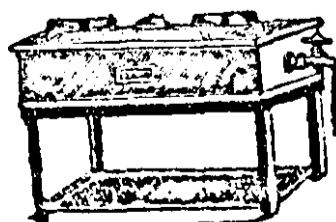
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No. 18

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Presidential Addresses:**—A large part of this issue is taken up with extracts from the presidential address of Sir Phiroze Sethna and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru at the Liberal Federation in Madras and the National Congress at Lahore respectively. We feel an explanation is due for devoting so much space in a weekly paper to utterances which have been published in extenso in the daily papers. The *Reformer* from the first has been not only a review but also a record of all important pronouncements having a bearing, direct or indirect, on the social life of the people. The presidential addresses at the two most important political gatherings this year, are of special significance inasmuch as they lay down the broad lines of India's political evolution. While Sir Phiroze holds that such evolution can best be advanced within the British Commonwealth, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru is convinced that it should and could be only independently of the British connection. The difference between the two may be illustrated by reference to a parallel in social reform. A large number of Indians are dissatisfied to a more or less extent with the social systems in which they are born. Some disgusted with the old customs have gone over to other communities where, they thought better customs prevail, and a few have settled down in Europe or America where they find social conditions more congenial. To this latter group, belong those who have married foreign wives finding it easier to do so than to educate and train Indian wives to the manner acceptable to them. Others, by far the largest number, have preferred to stay in their own communities and to work for the social betterment of their own people. Judging by the results during the last one hundred years, it is quite plain that the latter method has been fruitful of greater good to the people of India than the former. The Indian Christian Community is advanced in education and social life, but it has become isolated and as the result of its isolation is not contributing as much as it might to the general progress. Not only that, but it has itself suffered owing to this isolation, but, we are glad, that

far-seeing leaders of the Community are exerting themselves actively to break down this isolation and to bring the Community into organic relations with the parent communities. Coming to the British connection, it is clear that though only of two centuries duration, it has struck root into and greatly influenced Indian culture and outlook. We are therefore bound to it by ties not dissimilar to those which binds us to our respective communities. For good or evil, India internationally belongs to the English-speaking group of nations in the world. The right policy for us to follow is the one which, in the social sphere, has been tried and proved most effective to bring about wholesome reforms.

**Women Of Asia:**—We warmly support Mrs. Margaret Cousins' suggestion to hold an All-Asian Women's Conference, the first session to be held in this country. The reasons for convening a conference of this kind are admirably set forth in her letter which we print to-day. For centuries there was no essential difference between the Eastern and Western ideals of womanhood. During the last fifty or seventy years, the democratic principle has pervaded social no less than political life, and women in the West have made great strides towards equality with men in all spheres of life. This equalitarian movement has affected the East, but owing chiefly to the prevailing illiteracy of women it has touched only a small fraction of the population. While the fundamental principle is the same for East and West, namely, that women's status should be in no way inferior and that they, like men, should have full freedom of personality and opportunities for service, the way in which it should be applied need not be identical in all countries. It may be that the women of Asia will be able to improve upon the modes of the West so that eventually we may, as in the past, have a single ideal for the East as well as the West. There are also other reasons for an Asian Women's Conference, which are clearly indicated by Mrs. Margaret Cousins.

**The Hindu Annual:**—The *Hindu Annual* for the year 1929 maintains the high standard which is expected of it both in its contributions and illustrations. The articles are mostly on subjects which are topical and range from high politics, descriptive accounts to stories and sketches in a lighter vein. The special feature of the Annual is the number of contributions on the burning questions of the day from the pen of English friends of India like Mr. Fenner Brockway, Major Graham Pole and others whose unceasing efforts to secure the political freedom of this

country both in parliament and outside are well known. The cultural subjects have a due share in the Annual, art and music having found fitting exponents. The readable stories written with a purpose to ridicule some social custom or an individual foible will help to while away many a weary hour. The colour plates and pictures reproduced from the works of rising young artists give an adequate idea of the revival of art in this country. The selection of illustrations might have been better. The inclusion in it of one of the pictures from the Wilson studio, is not quite in tune with the rest of the Annual. It would have been more distinctive of the presidency if the Annual had made it a point to select its studies from the type common there.

**Company Of Books :—**In a very learned and interesting address to the All-India Library Conference held at Lahore during Congress week, Sir P. C. Ray showed the value of reading habit in one's life. Speaking about himself, Dr. Ray said that the most precious portion of his life had been divided between the library and the laboratory. "I might add," said Dr. Ray "that the company of books in which are enshrined the thoughts master-minds has been a source of perennial joy to me. It has enabled me to drown, nay, to defy many a sorrow." Dr. Ray lamented that a taste for reading and a love for books was rarely found among students. Dr. Ray remarked that a good library is a national asset and that books are the priceless treasures of the wisdom of nations. He also expressed satisfaction that the library movement had taken root and that there were organisations of district and taluka libraries and associations in various parts of the country. Every student should take to heart Dr. Ray's words and strenuously cultivate the reading habit.

**Opposed To Communal Representation :—**It must be said to the credit of the Christian community that it has been consistently opposed to communal representation. The Rev. B. A. Nag in his presidential address to the All-India Christian Conference gave expression to the feeling of his community in this respect when he observed, "I trust we all realise how harmful communal electorates are to a minority community like ours. Such electorates make the majority communities absolutely independent of the minority communities and often hostile to them. The majority communities can thus by sheer force of numbers override the wishes of the minority." He is also opposed to nominations to the legislatures and local bodies because "they proclaim them as inferior to other communities in education, culture and influence." Mr. Nag wants Indian Christians as a minority community to lead the opposition against communal representation. The other communities clamouring for communal representation will do well to ponder over Mr. Nag's words.

**The Late Dr. Swaminathan :—**We regret to learn of the death of Dr. S. Swaminathan, M.A., LL.B., B. Sc. (Edin.), Ph. D. (Harvard), Barrister-at-law, on Tuesday night at his residence in Chetput. He was ailing for the last few days from heart trouble and in spite of medical help he succumbed. He belonged to a poor and respectable

Brahmin family in Malabar and by dint of sheer merit and perseverance he rose to be an eminent Advocate of the Madras High Court. The late Dr. Swaminathan though a busy lawyer, took a keen interest in the educational and civic affairs. For a number of years he was a member of the Senate of the Madras University and the City Corporation Council and his services to those bodies were very valuable. When the District Education Councils and the Secondary Education Boards were constituted he was appointed President of the Madras Council. He as an active worker in the Co-operative field and was one of the promoters of the recently formed Central Land Mortgage Bank. He was for some time the President of the Provincial Co-operative Bank, and the State Aided Bank of Travancore, Alleppey. We extend our heartfelt sympathy to his family.

**The First Bombay Khoja Conference :—**Mr. S. M. Merchant writes :—

"The Khojas of Bombay will be interested to learn that a Khoja Social Conference the first of its kind is shortly to be held in the city. Mr. M. A. Jinnah and other leading Khojas of the city have promised the Conference their valuable support. The preliminary meeting of the leading Khojas came off on Sunday the 15th instant in the Hall of the Muslim Students' Union and was attended by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Bundalibhai Hajibhai, present Sheriff of Bombay, Mrs. Sakinabai Somjee, Mrs. A. Vishram, Miss Miani and many others. The meeting was of the unanimous opinion that there was a great need for such a Conference. The aims and objects of the Conference were considered and approved with a few alterations. Those present at the meeting formed themselves into a reception committee with Mr. M. C. Chagla as its president, and Lady Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Mrs. Sakinabai Somjee and Mr. A. M. Merchant as the Joint Honorary General Secretaries. The meeting fixed rupees ten as the minimum subscription for membership to the Reception Committee. An appeal is being issued to the members of the Khoja community to join the reception committee in large numbers in order to make the Conference a great success which it undoubtedly deserves to be.

The object of the Conference is to bring about better understanding between the Khojas of various sects and to promote their general welfare. The aims for which the Conference is being convened are :—

1. To combat harmful social customs.
2. To take steps for the spread of education, particularly technical and vocational. Special efforts to be made to promote female education.
3. To organise Home nursing and first aid classes for ladies.
4. To establish a Central Industrial School for Khojas.
5. To fight the growing menace of unemployment.
6. To assist the growth of the Library and kindred movements.
7. To popularise physical culture institutions and demonstrations.
8. To encourage the formation of co-operative societies.
9. To take part in such activities as may be beneficial to the carrying out of the above aims and objects."

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 4, 1930.

## A FALSE STEP.

The proceedings at the National Congress at Lahore and the Liberal Federation at Madras, both of which began on Sunday, make it plain that Mahatma Gandhi has made a serious mistake in practically rejecting the offer of a Round Table Conference by the Viceroy with the approval and sanction of the British Government. This Conference is to be convened by the Prime Minister after the issue of the report of the Simon Commission but before the British Government drafts its proposals on the report for submission to Parliament, in order to allow Indian representatives to have the opportunity of stating their views on the recommendations of the Commission. The Legislative Assembly on the motion of Pandit Motilal Nehru himself had put forward, as the national demand, the suggestion that such a Conference should be called, and it was understood that the British Government and the Viceroy had this in mind in deciding upon calling the Conference. In the statement in which Lord Irwin made the announcement, he incidentally took occasion to remove a doubt which had been expressed as to the meaning of the Declaration of 1917. The Viceroy stated that it meant and was intended to mean that it is the policy and purpose of Britain to admit India to equal status with the self-governing Dominions. This is what the Declaration had been understood to mean by Indians and by several British publicists of note, and Mr. Baldwin, the late Conservative Prime Minister, said in the House of Commons that it could mean nothing else. But the Government of India in Lord Reading's time had thrown doubt on this point. The Viceroy's statement besides removing the doubt on this point said nothing and could have said nothing as to the time and conditions of India's admission to Dominion status. These remained subject to the qualifications mentioned in the Declaration and recited in the pre-ambule to the Act of Parliament which gave effect to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

The Congress leaders were placed in a dilemma. At the Calcutta Congress in December last year they had been parties to a resolution to declare independence of the British connection as the goal if Dominion status were not conceded before the expiry of 1929. Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and some other Congress leaders were content with Dominion status, but some others were for independence. The rank and file, as usual, was for the more radical claim, and in order to conciliate them, Mahatma Gandhi

proposed the compromise. But he had suggested two years which, however, was reduced to one on the insistence of the Independence group. It was natural in these circumstances that the Viceroy should infer that if the goal of Dominion Status was placed beyond doubt, Mahatma Gandhi would feel and exert his influence to make the Congress feel that the principal condition having been satisfied, the resolution of the Independence goal became inoperative. But Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru professed to understand the Viceroy's statement to mean that Dominion Status was already granted and that the Round Table Conference was merely to work out the details of the scheme of Indian self-government. Mr. Lloyd George fastened upon this interpretation by the Congress leaders and demanded to know whether the British Government had agreed to it. In order, evidently to clear up the situation, Lord Irwin invited Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jinnah to a personal interview. The two Congress leaders at that interview seem to have insisted on their interpretation of the Viceroy's statement and when Lord Irwin pointed out that neither he nor the British Government had authority to anticipate the decision of Parliament, they declined to join the proposed Conference and withdrew. They went to Lahore and the Congress passed by a large majority a resolution declaring Independence to be the objective of Indian politics.

The immediate step towards giving effect to the resolution which the Congress adopted, is to boycott the Legislatures, Provincial and Imperial. Pandit Motilal Nehru has lost no time in calling upon Congress members of the councils to resign their seats. It may be recalled that the Pandit on his own authority as the President of the Congress for last year had issued a similar fiat in the middle of the year, and if it had been obeyed, the Sarda Act would not have been passed. But he found the protests from Congress members so strong that he had to suspend his mandate for the time being. The President of the Legislative Assembly, the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, unveiling a statue to the late Lala Lajpat Rai in Lahore this week, spoke of the Sarda Act as a historic achievement. There are several other important Bills pertaining to urgent social reform either pending or awaiting introduction in the Legislature. We may mention as prominent instances Mr. Jayakar's Bills regarding women's property rights and the disabilities of the Antyajias. There is besides the important Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill which has reached the third reading stage in the Assembly. Several measures of industrial and economic amelioration, are ripe for legislation. The decision of the Congress to break up the continuity of such

a beneficent history is nothing short of madness. The question of importance, to our mind, is not so much under what flag India should progress. The question is what the chances of progress are if the Congress resolution is to be taken seriously. These are very much less than they are sure to be if the reform of the present system of administration without breaking with Great Britain is pressed forward. It is the duty of all those who do not want the country to be plunged into a more or less prolonged period of social and economic regression and political chaos to make a determined stand against the destructive policy which the Congress has adopted under the guidance, we are sorry to say, of Mahatma Gandhi.

#### AN ALL-ASIAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

(By Mrs. MARGARET E. COUSINS.)

Each Continent of the World has its own distinctive characteristics. Europe,—Asia,—America—what different feelings they call up in our minds! Asia, which contains more than half the population of the world, is utterly different from Latin and Teutonic Europe, or futuristic young, America. Each has its gift for the world. Each must retain its individuality for the enrichment of human unity.

The world "oriental" best expresses the quality of Asia. It calls up quietness, simplicity, agriculture rather than industrialism, arts and crafts rather than mass factory production, a realisation of Time stretching behind and before in aeons, an ever-present sense of a world of the spirit interpenetrating this world of the senses, poverty, pain, poise, patience, peace.

In the extremes of honour and of serfdom accorded to its Womanhood Asia is one. In its worship of the Family, in the hopes of the here and the hereafter that it places in the Child, in its marriage codes, in its illiteracy, in its present renaissance Asia is one. It has messages concerning the sanctity of life; the vocation of woman as race nourisher; ideals of art, philosophy and spirituality of a complementary nature to the views on these subjects entertained by other continents. None hold this oriental culture more tenaciously, more authentically than its women. But the Chinese woman sees more of her American sister than of her Burmese neighbour; the Hindu woman knows more of her British sister than of her Arabian or Afghan relative.

The tides of Western influence are pouring in on the oriental woman from all sides. They are already putting a modernist veneer over Japan. They have swept away cultural landmarks of Turkestan women. They seek to cast a glamour over India. The power to sift what is essential, what is appropriate for Asia from this surging life can only be wisely gained if ASIA AS ASIA gets together to review her own uniqueness, if she takes stock of her own assets of civilisation.

How can Asia's gifts be preserved? By bringing together the closest custodians of her inherent life, the women of Asia, that they may discuss their own cultural problems, and through a better knowledge of their fundamental differences from women of other lands may the more valuably be able to solve their difficulties, appreciate at its legitimate value the interchange of gifts from other lands and through keener appreciation of human relationships be the better fitted to preserve the peace of the world. It is essential that they meet face to face to know their common heritage, so that they may become self-conscious of the spiritual gifts with which they can serve the world.

The women of India have already experienced the inspiration of gathering together from all parts of India, and have realised the power of united service of the needs of this country. The women who met at the Women's Pan-Pacific Conference in Honolulu joined the hands of East and West. Women of Europe have many times rejoiced in their solidarity. The women of the Americas made vital contacts in their Pan-American Conference—but Asia lags behind in unified self-consciousness.

Cannot Bharatmata, Mother India, the foster mother of Asia's cultures, the caravanserai of Islam from the West, of the Aryan from the north, of the Buddhist returning from the East, cannot she call her daughters to her shores so that in a joint family they may review their oriental qualities and defects; organise the first for their own and world service; strengthen one another by understanding, knowledge of data, interchange of experience; remedy the evils of their illiteracy, their high death-rate, their infant mortality, their unequal national status. Such a union of Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Burmese, Javanese, Indian, Afghan, Tibetan, Arabian, Persian, Turkish, Jewish and other Asian women, can be brought together if a loving, wise, call to unity is sent forth bravely, strongly, unselfishly. Through such a Conference of Asian women more easily than in any other way can oriental gifts of spiritual consciousness, the fundamental value of the family, the holiness of Motherhood, the restfulness of simplicity, the happiness of unselfish service, be organised and made available for the helping of humanity.

Shall not we awakened and unified women in India invite the representatives of all the Asian family to meet in this focal, magnetic point of Asia as soon as possible? Honolulu will see another Pan-Pacific Women's Conference in August 1930, and in China in 1932. Let us plan for an All-Asian Women's Conference for 1931.

Offers of co-operation with this proposal, and opinions and suggestions concerning it are requested to be sent to Mrs. Cousins, International Representative of the Women's Indian Association, Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, Madras, who is willing to undertake the preliminary organisation of the Conference if sufficient approval of it is expressed.

## THE 42nd INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

### PROF. RUCHIRAM SAHNI'S WELCOME ADDRESS.

Prof. Ruchiram Sahni, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 42nd National Social Conference held at Lahore in the course of his welcome address said:—

#### OUR CHEQUERED HISTORY.

Our past chequered history has profoundly influenced, shaped and moulded our whole social life and polity. The very stream, which is flowing at our feet to day, is associated with an event which heralded the advent of the Aryans to this country. For as scholars tell us, it was probably, on the banks of the Ravi—the *Parushni* of the *Rig Veda*—that the great fight between the first Aryan immigrants and the combined forces of ten indigenous kings took place, resulting in the complete victory of the race whose descendants the bulk of the present day Indians are proud to claim themselves to be. It was in this land of the Five rivers, again that our ancestors finally laid down and codified most of the rituals, the customs and the canons and standards of conduct for the various spheres, aspects and relationship of life, which we find embodied and enshrined in the sublime *Vedas*, and exemplified in our two great Epics.

#### CULTURAL CONTACTS.

We are not here concerned with the purely political results of the invasions from the north-west. What is more germane to the special objects which have brought us together on the present occasion is the outstanding fact that *cultural contact* with diverse races, religions and civilizations could not but have profoundly influenced and liberalised our social order, lifting up the incubus of long established customs and usages, widening our outlook and broadbasing our sympathies, feelings and social conduct more and more on reason, justice and the growing needs of the times. It is, I firmly believe, to this circumstance more than to any other single factor that we, Punjabis, owe the comparative freedom and elasticity of our own social system. If the sea-voyage question has never seriously stood in the way of our students, scholars, merchants and soldiers going to foreign lands, if we are not tied down so much as most other provinces have been by the minutiae of a rigid caste system, specially in the matter of eating and drinking, if the extreme forms and practices of the curse of untouchability, the very mention of which makes a Hindu hang down his head in shame and humiliation, are unknown to us here; it is mainly because we have escaped the social and intellectual isolation in which it was the lot of our brethren in other parts of India to live for long centuries.

#### OUR LOSSES.

Before I proceed further, I must say a few words about the great loss which the cause of social reform suffered about this time last year in the death of

Lala Lajpat Rai. Great as were his services as a political leader of the front rank, I venture to claim that his services to the cause of social reform were greater still. Indeed here in the Punjab, he had already carved for himself a niche in the temple of fame by the work as a sincere, selfless, devoted friend and helper of the orphans and the poor widows, long before he came into prominence as political worker. We also deeply mourn the sad death of Pandit Raghbar Dayal, late Principal of the local Sanatan Dharam College.

These losses coming soon after the deaths of veteran social reformers like Swami Shraddhanand, Pandit Bishen Narain Razdan, Rai Sahib Bhai Kashi Ram, Babu Abinsh Chander Mozumdar and Sir Ganga Ram have been most keenly felt by workers in the cause of social reform all over India.

#### CHOICE OF PRESIDENT.

You will agree with me that we have been particularly happy this year in our choice of President for the Conference. Rai Sahib Har bilas Sarda is a veteran worker in the field of social reform, and his arduous labours in connection with the important legislation which has made his name so well known all over the land, have justly earned for him the esteem, regard and gratitude of his countrymen. It is a good augury for the success of the Sarda Act that it was passed in the centenary year of the abolition of the cruel rite of *Suttee* through the labours of the illustrious Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

The new law is bound to produce far-reaching results. As we know, there are a little less than 3 lakhs of widows in India below the age of fourteen years. The Sarda Act ensures that not a single unhappy soul shall be added to this category in future years. It is also expected that the incidence of infantile mortality as of mortality of women during child-birth will be appreciably reduced, that the number of abductions of minor girls will be diminished, and that, generally, the new Act will make a substantial contribution towards improved health and happiness in numerous homes.

This does not mean that we can now rest upon our oars. Far from it. It should be the constant endeavour of every well wisher of his country to educate and organise public opinion for further substantial advance in the same direction. In my opinion, no girl should ever be allowed to enter the temple of holy wedlock before she has completed her eighteenth year.

#### THE SCOPE OF THE CONFERENCE.

As some of you might know, during the past few years, there has been a persistent demand

for enlarging the scope of the work and activities of the Conference and now and again resolutions on the subject of social welfare which were previously regarded as being outside the province of the Conference were actually moved and adopted. We have, therefore, definitely decided to extend the scope of the Conference by including in our programme such subjects as child-welfare, domestic hygiene, mother craft, public health and sanitation, factory labour and the social problems connected with it, and generally questions like co-operation, cottage industries and primary education which affect the social well-being of the masses and which are included in the comprehensive phrase "rural reconstruction."

#### CONFERENCE CONSTITUTION.

While whole-heartedly welcoming this change, I must say that unless we have a proper All-India Organisation, with provincial committees affiliated to it and functioning throughout the year, the mere passing of resolutions once in twelve months will not take us very far. If we are earnest about this work, before this Conference comes to a close we should adopt a permanent constitution for the future work of the Conference.

#### THE VITAL PROBLEMS.

The newly enlarged scope of the Conference would not, I hope, lead any one to the conclusion that we are quite satisfied with our achievements in respect of the older and more restricted programme of our work. No doubt during the last ten years, along with the general political upheaval, there has been a tremendous awakening in the social sphere also, but, as a well-known philosopher has told us, the enlightenment has only made us realise more keenly than ever before the existence of a greater circle of darkness outside of it. If I had my own way I would see that our efforts for the social uplift and emancipation of our people are largely concentrated on two problems, namely, the abolition of caste and the full recognition of the equal right of women to lead a healthy, normal life in the free enjoyment of equal privileges with men, both as members of society. I have not mentioned untouchability, because, as my friend Mr. Natarajan once so neatly put it, "so long as there are castes, there must be outcastes." The obliteration of caste distinction naturally implies and includes the disappearance of the monster of untouchability.

I am glad to tell you that the Punjab is taking the lead in this direction. Last year a separate Association was formed here with the sole object of abolishing caste. *The Jat Pat Torak Mandal*, as the new organisation is called, has been carrying on a vigorous propaganda throughout the province. It has a monthly organ of its own as well as a band of enthusiastic itinerant preachers. It has met with a fair measure of success. The Mandal is holding a separate Conference during the present national week under the presidency of Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, Editor of the *Modern Review*.

About the other vital problem I will not say much. It is recognised by all that woman is the pivot of our ancient social and religious system. She is the *Ardhangi*, half body, of man, his constant and inseparable helpmate and partner in life without whose active participation no social or religious ceremony may be performed. In the Hindu pantheon these are goddesses as well as gods sitting side by side and both are worshipped with equal reverence. More than this, the goddess Shakti is even to-day exalted above all other deities by millions of Hindus and adored as their chief object of worship.

#### CONCLUSION.

The object of all the social workers coming together in a Conference like this once a year is simply to compare views with one another, to co-ordinate our activities and, as far as possible, to formulate common plans and programme of work. The real work, of social reform propagandist as well as the actual carrying out of the resolutions adopted at our Conferences, can only be done by small organisations working throughout the year. Nothing substantial can be achieved without patient, steady and strenuous effort on the part of a large number of men and women. Here is a job waiting for each and all of us. But many or few, social reformers must be men of sincerity and of faith. Numbers are not so important as faith in ourselves and the cause for which we stand. Let us then make our own humble contribution in the firm assurance that all will go well.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

The Social Conference reassembling on the 27th adopted the following resolutions:—

Miss Khem Chand moved the following resolution:

(a) That while congratulating Mr. Harbilas Sarda on the successful issue of his efforts towards raising by legislation the minimum age limits for marriage to 14 years for girls and 18 years for boys and thanking the Government and members of the Legislative Assembly for supporting the cause of reform this Conference regards the recent measure as only a step in the right direction and urges upon the reformers all over the country to agitate for a further advance in the marriage age limits for boys and girls alike.

(b) That this Conference rejoices at the enactment of the Child Marriage Restraint Act and places on record its grateful appreciation of the service rendered by Mr. Harbilas Sarda who introduced the measure in the Indian Legislative Assembly and worked vigorously for its success and of the courage shown by the members of the Assembly and of the Council of State both official and non official who have helped in carrying out this much needed reform.

Miss Khem Chand said that the Bill had been passed and therefore, the only work to be done by them was propaganda. A section of Muslims was against this Bill

and they had organised *hartals*, but the Government was to be congratulated for not paying any heed to it. It was the women of India who had given their support to this Bill. It was regretted that members of the Hindu Sabha were also standing in their way. It was really surprising that Pt. Malaviya, the great leader, was against this Bill. They wanted heroes like Pt. Jawahar Lal to liberate their country. How could they get heroes, if women were not free.

Mr. Rattan, Mr. Krishan Gopal Datt and Mr. K. L. Ballia Ram supported the resolution and it was carried unanimously.

Prof. U. N. Ball moved another resolution urging upon the social bodies to carry on propaganda to popularise this Bill.

Prof. Tej Singh of Khalsa College supported it and the resolution was carried.

#### INTER-COMMUNAL UNITY.

Sir Mohammad Shafi then moved the following resolution :—

The Indian National Social Conference is firmly convinced that social solidarity and intercommunal co-operation are essential for the social progress of India. It earnestly appeals to all communities to take active steps to promote harmony and concord as a result of enlightened tolerance and generally, by creating common social platform to enable members of all communities to come together in a spirit of harmony and good-will for the purpose of promoting unity.

Sir Mohammad Shafi, in moving the resolution, said that their ancestors did not move in motor cars as they were now moving. They did not put on coats and pantaloons, but were united. The Hindu and Muslims always participated together in marriages and fairs and in other social conferences. At present India needed Hindu-Muslim unity most and if Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians were united at this time, they would have attained their object. It was their dis-union that was an obstacle in their way. He said that clubs should be opened throughout the provinces where Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs should meet together. Political advance he said, was essential, but this could not be got unless the country was socially reformed. Sir M. Shafi concluded by reading a poem on Hindu-Muslim unity.

Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, in supporting the resolution, said, as far as social reform was concerned there were three evils. First was the caste-system, the second was the mistreatment accorded to widows, and the third was the child marriage. These three evils, he said, should be eradicated from the country.

The common ideal before India was to liberate the motherland. He said every Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian should consider himself as born in India. There should be oneness of the ideal. It was then that there could be unity. He appealed to the Moulvis and the Pundits not to indulge in criticism that might injure the religious susceptibilities of the other communities and that they should have forbearance and fortitude. He strongly appealed to the Press that it should lead the country towards unity.

Sir Abdul Qadir also supported the resolution.

Mr. P. V. Kamal said that unless communal representation and communal educational institutions were abolished, there could be no social progress and communal unity.

Dr. Satyapal regretted that other countries had marched fast while the Hindus and Muslims were fighting with each other. He said that youngmen had risen who would soon drive out communal distinction out of the country.

After some more speeches, the resolution was passed unanimously.

#### WIDOW REMARRIAGE.

F. S. Sewak Ram then moved the following resolution :—

While appreciating the progress made in regard to widow re-marriage all over the country this Conference would impress upon all social workers to redouble their efforts.

After being supported the resolution was passed.

Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni next moved the following resolution :—

This Conference is strongly of opinion that special efforts should be made to provide largely increased facilities for women in general and widows in particular to be trained for some calling or trade by which they could if necessary, carry a respectable livelihood. With this object in view, this Conference appeals to the Government and the charitable-minded public to establish in all large towns and other important centres, industrial schools and widow homes like those founded by the late Sir Ganga Ram, Lady Bose and others.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Dwyendra Nath Dutt and others and was passed. After some more resolutions were considered the Conference adjourned.

On Dec. 28th the Conference passed some more resolutions. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu spoke on the resolution relating to the abolition of castes. She said that widespread education would enable young men to exercise complete freedom in the matter of the choice of wives. According to her, there was nothing wrong with the spirit of the caste system, but the trouble lay with unreasonable caste men. Many women speakers supported the resolution which was passed unanimously. A resolution regarding the removal of the disabilities of untouchables, moved by Mr. Raju, the depressed classes' representative in the Bombay Municipality and Secretary of the Parvati Temple Satyagraha Committee, was also passed.

The session concluded at night with a dinner, which could be characterised as international, inter-provincial, inter-religions and inter-caste, for it was attended by men and women of four nationalities, of almost all the provinces of India and the principal religions in India and of several castes. Among the hundred and fifty guests present were Dr. Stanley Jones, Dr. Holt of Chicago University, Dr. Kraemar, a Dutch missionary, the Hon. Emile Kinnaird, sister of Lord Kinnaird and Mr. Manoharlal, Minister of Education, the Punjab. After Mrs. Shah Nawaz had eulogised the services of Harbilas Sarda in getting the Child Marriage Bill passed and after other speeches urging social uplift, Prof. Ruchiram Sahni, Chairman of the Reception Committee, thanked the delegates for making the Conference a success.



## THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

### SIR PHIROZE SETHNA'S ADDRESS.

The following extracts are from Sir Phiroze Sethna's presidential address at the annual session of the Liberal Federation held in Madras on Dec. 29.

#### VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT ANALYSED.

The announcement clearly and emphatically declares that Dominion Status is the political goal of India. 'I am authorised,' says his Excellency, 'on behalf of his Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment, it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.' This is, indeed, satisfactory. All that is necessary now is to make what is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 perfectly explicit by a statutory enactment.

#### OUR DUTY.

What then should be our response to this new gesture on the part of Government? I feel not the slightest hesitation in saying that India will commit a very grave blunder if she rejects the offer. I think the Secretary of State is fully justified in saying that using the word policy in a wide sense there has been a change. The first change is a change of spirit, but the second is far more important. It is a change in policy which in reality is the central object of interested Indian opinion and that is the 'Conference.' I think the keynote of the new spirit and the new policy is to be found in the noble sentiment expressed by the Secretary of State, instinct with true moral and political purpose, viz. that obstacles to selfgovernment should be regarded not as an excuse for abandoning a predetermined course but as merely exciting a desire to overcome them, and that they could be overcome in a spirit of sincerity and goodwill. Given sincerity, goodwill and a genuine desire to appreciate and adjust different points of view, it is not at all difficult to arrive in the Conference at a solution of the constitutional problem such as may carry behind it the general agreement of political India. We should, therefore, accept the offer of the Conference in the same spirit in which it has been made.

#### CAUTION.

Provided the terms of reference to the Conference are satisfactory, we should not insist on any condition being fulfilled as a prerequisite to our cooperation with Government in this matter of the Conference. We should scrupulously avoid complicating the situation or adding to the difficulties of the Labour Government by seeking to impose any such condition. It will be a great folly on our part to commit once more the mistake made in 1921 when Lord Reading seriously thought of holding a conference. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has told us with his inside knowledge, if that mistake had not been committed, the political situation to-day would have been quite different from what it is. A

repetition of such a mistake would show that we utterly lack constructive statesmanship, or sound diplomacy and allow ourselves to sacrifice vital interests in the pursuit of objects which are really of a subsidiary character. The transcendent issue is the satisfactory settlement of the constitutional problem, and its chances must not in the least be imperilled by mistaken or impractical idealism or sentimentalism, or by giving undue prominence to matters or questions that might well abate the conclusion of the Conference.

#### THE REALITIES.

I think, the British people are realising with greater and greater vividness that the days of Imperialism, of domination, of autocracy are gone for ever. The perpetuation of the British domination is now impossible. It is impossible because it is opposed to the true interests of the British people themselves. It is impossible because awakened India is bound to revolt against it and to continue the revolt till the domination is ended. It is impossible because the world forces which are irresistibly leading humanity on to a higher and higher destiny are arrayed against it. It is impossible because rational and enlightened world opinion sees and feels that therein lies the destruction of all hopes and efforts for a higher, nobler, worthier, happier and purer human life, that therein lie embedded the poisonous germs of the crash of culture and civilisation. There can be no doubt therefore that the national will of India is bound to prevail with the British Government and people, that they are not likely to commit such an act of insanity and national suicide as to flout or defy it.

#### THE IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM.

We are all agreed as regards our political goal and it is to us a matter of the sincerest satisfaction that the British Government have made it absolutely clear that that goal is no other than and nothing short of Dominion Status. Dominion Status will give us every scope for rising to the fullest height of our national stature. As regards this goal there is perfect agreement not only among all Indians except those who want independence, but also between them and the British.

#### COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Let us examine what are our differences? They relate, as you know, for the most part, to the question of communal representation. Even with regard to this question, let us, in the first place, note and emphasise the points of agreement rather than the points of difference. Though in the opinion of a considerable section of our people, communal representation is a necessary evil in the present conditions of India, we are all agreed that it is an evil that in the long run must disappear and

further that the sooner the conditions become favourable to its disappearance the better. The evils of communalism and communal representation are recognised on all hands, even the strongest and the most extreme communalists do not maintain that communal representation is good in itself and that therefore it should remain a permanent feature of our polity. They admit, no less than others, that a system of democratic self-government of which communal representation is a permanent feature cannot be a sound system of democratic self-government, that it must be a parody of such a system, that it is not a system that will make for the fusion of the different communities and elements in the body politic, and the evolution of a true national and democratic mind. Such being the case we all realise with greater or less force and vividness, the inherent and patent evils of communal representation and we all want that it should not mark our political life and system a day longer than may be absolutely necessary.

#### FAIR REQUEST.

I, therefore, most strongly urge that another serious effort should be made to reach an agreed solution of the question of communal representation with the Moslem community. Any solution of this question which fails to carry behind it the support of at least a considerable majority of the Moslem community, however good it may be in itself, has little chance of being acceptable to the British Parliament which will certainly be justified, if it desired, in vetoing such proposals. Similar efforts should also be made to reach agreements with the depressed classes and other important minority communities. If we are able, as I fervently hope we may be, to settle our internal differences as regards this question of communal representation, the constitution which we shall then be in a position to recommend at the Round Table Conference will have such strength behind it that the British Government and Parliament will find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to reject it. And if they do, the responsibility for such disregard of the Indian national desire will fall on them, and such disregard will be a sufficient justification for any strong action we may subsequently decide to take. Personally I feel confident that an agreed solution of the constitutional problem, reached by us among ourselves, will strengthen the hands of the Labour Government which will, I think in that case, be able to persuade Parliament that any delay in meeting the united wishes of all India and in granting her Dominion Status will be unjust and fraught with grave danger.

#### INDIAN STATES.

It is a matter of the utmost satisfaction that the Indian Princes and Chiefs have all heartily welcomed the proposal for the Conference and are quite willing to extend their co-operation for the sake of making it a thorough success. The question of the relations between British India and the Indian States, when she develops into a self-governing Dominion in the fullest enjoyment of responsible

government and Dominion Status, is a highly important one which must be satisfactorily solved, if the organic territorial unity and nationality of India are to be living realities, and the development of the two constituent parts of India is to take place on peaceful, harmonious and well considered lines.

#### RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND DEFENCE.

One of the objections taken to the establishment of full responsible government in India is that she is not yet ready to undertake the responsibility of her own defence, and that she will not be able to maintain internal peace and security without British troops. The argument is that responsible government connotes the assumption of the duty of maintaining internal peace and security by the sons of the soil and of defending national frontiers against foreign aggression. It is contended that India will not be able to maintain internal peace and security and defend herself against foreign aggression without British troops, as she has no national army fully trained, equipped and manned by Indian officers, and that so long as British troops cannot be withdrawn from India, the establishment of full Swaraj or responsible government is outside the domain of practical politics. Now in the first place, it must be borne in mind that the demand for full responsible government and Dominion Status stands on an entirely different footing from that for national independence. It is obvious that the latter is incompatible with the maintenance or selection of foreign troops and that a people that want national independence must depend upon themselves for its national defence. But the question assumes a somewhat different aspect in the case of a demand only for full responsible government and Dominion Status. The proposition that if India wishes to have full responsible government and be raised to the status of a Dominion, she must assume the responsibility for her national defence, may be admitted as perfectly sound.

#### INTERNAL PEACE.

A responsible government must certainly be able to preserve peace and order without relying upon troops that are not indigenous. We claim that we shall certainly be able to maintain internal peace and order without invoking the assistance of British troops. Preservation of internal peace and order does not mean that there will be no disturbances at all; if that were its meaning, even the British Government cannot claim that it is able to maintain peace and order. Disturbances may take place in future as in the past, but we do claim and claim most emphatically that we shall be fully able to discharge our responsibility of maintaining peace and order with our own police and military forces. In this connection it is pertinent to remember that even in the British Colonies, though the principle was laid down that they must assume responsibility for defence and internal peace and security, yet British troops were not immediately withdrawn,

they were even employed in maintaining internal peace and order. When the cry is raised that India cannot be granted full responsible government because she does not possess a national army fully trained and equipped and therefore cannot discharge the responsibility of national self-defence, we cannot but condemn that cry as utterly unfair, absolutely unjustified by the facts of colonial history, and as really inspired by the selfish desire for prolonging Indian political subordination as much as possible.

#### INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Next in importance to the supreme question of the attainment of Dominion Status is that of the status of our countrymen in other parts of the Empire. Happily in South Africa the wonderful work of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri has helped to set our minds at ease. Thanks to his matchless labours, there has been a decided change for the better in the angle of vision not only of the white population in South Africa but of our countrymen too. Among the latter the old spirit of bitter and sulking despondency has given place to a feeling of hope for the future. Their self-respect and with it their self-confidence and self-help have revived. The most striking example of this renaissance is the Sastri College built entirely by contributions from Indians in Natal, which was recently opened by his Excellency the Governor-General of South Africa, a compliment which India appreciates greatly. There has been striking progress in the education of Indian children.

#### KENYA.

In East Africa the situation is far from reassuring. The spirit of arrogance and unreason seems to animate the outlook of the European settlers. The just and moderate claims of our fellow-countrymen are viewed with contumely and hostility. Our demand for equal citizenship is met by the Europeans with a demand that they shall be politically dominant in East Africa. Our contention that political advance in these territories shall wait upon the development of the native community to take their just share in ordering their own affairs is met by the rejoinder that they (the European settlers) can be fully trusted to exercise greater political power to the advantage of the native. Indians in East Africa have repeatedly declared that they do not seek political domination either in Kenya or in any of the other territories in Eastern Africa. At the same time, consistently with their self-respect, they cannot accept a position of political inferiority. Nor does their past experience encourage them to view with satisfaction the prospect of any arrangement which will transfer greater power of government to representatives of the European settlers. In the interests of the Indian who in the past has admittedly done a great deal for the development of Eastern Africa, and in the interests of Imperial solidarity, the duty of his Majesty's Government is clearly to repudiate the European claim to domination and concede the Indian claim for equality. More it will be unreasonable of us to ask. Less it will be unmanly of us to accept.

#### NO PROPER MACHINERY.

It is the bounden duty of Government to look after the interests of our nationals in other parts of

the Empire. Have we readily available full information about their present political and economic status in all those lands where they have settled? Have we any efficient machinery for keeping ourselves informed of the political and economic changes that are afoot in the rapidly developing colonial Empire of Great Britain; an agency which constantly studies developments in these regions; determines what changes are likely to affect the interests of our compatriots and acts with the fullness of knowledge and promptitude of decision which in international affairs hold the key to success? It is obvious that the setting up of the machinery which would help us both in looking after the Indian communities already settled abroad or in exploring the possibilities of fresh migration, must be done by the government of the country. Government alone has resources, the facilities and the power to study, to investigate and, when necessary, to act diplomatically. True, its policy must conform to public opinion. But public opinion cannot be clearly and correctly formed unless the necessary data are placed before it and those data must be collected by Government agency.

#### CONCLUSION.

I must apologise for the length of my remarks and thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me. It is expected of the President to refer to the burning questions of the day. There are many I have had to leave out. Those that I have taken up, I am sure you will agree with me, required to be dealt with at some length. The numerical strength of the Liberal party may not at present be very large, but we are the leaven of the whole national life of India and our influence upon her development has always been wholesome and abiding. We stand for all-round progress, we have faith in modern civilisation, modern spirit and modern culture. We believe in construction, in unity, in synthesis, in harmony. We stand for Dominion Status with the firm conviction that England cannot withhold it from India even if she wished, and that England will not wish it even if she can. We insist on national self-improvement and maintain that all the social evils from which this country is suffering must be completely removed. Our faith in social reform is as intense as our faith in India's political destiny; we want that all the communities in India, great and small, will be inspired by enlightened liberalism and rise absolutely above communal, parochial, sectional and narrow spirit. We aim at building up a strong, united, progressive India with a unity that nothing shall break, with a deep and abiding sense of nationality and solidarity which will synthesise all differences and in the fulness of time evolve a nation whose material and moral strength and whose achievements will further the highest ends of internationalism. We believe in self-government, but we also believe in good and efficient government. We believe in democracy but we want that it should be an enlightened democracy keenly alive no less to its duties than to its rights. Such is the high mission we have to perform, such is the great responsibility that rests on our shoulders. Let us be true to God, to our Motherland, to ourselves and it shall follow as the night the day, that we Liberals shall play a part, by no means small or unworthy, in the remaking of this country.

## RESOLUTIONS.

Sir Tej Bahadur moved the resolution relating to the Viceroy's announcement. It ran :—

"The National Liberal Federation cordially welcomes the announcement made on October 31 by the Viceroy as it authoritatively confirms the view that Dominion Status for India was what was intended by the declaration of 1917, as it definitely recognises that British India and Indian States should together form a greater united India, and as it concedes India's claim to the right to confer on a footing of equality with the British Cabinet on the form of the future constitution of India. The Federation further resolves that the Liberal Party do participate in the deliberations of the Conference contemplated in the announcement and strongly urges that the Round Table Conference should be held as early as possible in 1930 and that the progressive element in the country should have preponderant representation on it".

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri then moved the following resolution :—

"This Federation urges upon all parties in India which accept the recent announcement of the Viceroy wholeheartedly and are prepared to secure its complete and immediate realisation, to combine for the purpose of securing a constitution based on Dominion Status with such safeguards and reservations as may be necessary for the period of transition."

## APPEAL.

The following is the text of an appeal issued by the National Liberal Federation :—

"The March of events during the last two months, particularly during the last few days, makes it imperative that the Liberal Federation should make an appeal to those in the country who have hitherto pinned their faith to the achievement by India of Dominion Status as an integral member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The announcement made by H. E. the Viceroy on October 31 with the full consent and authority of His Majesty's Government evoked a remarkable feeling of response in the country and from the Indian Princes which led us to believe that a solution of the difficulties with which we have been confronted was at last within sight. The debates that followed in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons unfortunately gave rise to a great deal of misunderstanding with regard to the meaning and the effect of the purpose and scope of British policy adumbrated by the Viceroy. Nevertheless those of us who realise the political conditions surrounding the Labour Government in England were disposed, and are still disposed, to attach far greater significance and weight to the authoritative statements made by His Majesty's Government through the Secretary of State in England and the Viceroy in India than their critics in Parliament or in the English press.

## NEED FOR AGREEMENT.

"As we read the situation, the essential condition of the success of the Round Table Conference is that there should be the maximum amount of agreement among ourselves in India. If we can secure such an agreement our representatives at the Round Table Conference will be able to press with

every hope of success for complete Dominion Status being established, subject to such safeguards and reservations, including the the protection of the interests and rights of the minorities, as might be necessary in the present condition of India for the period of transition. We have always been anxious that in order to produce a favourable atmosphere the Government of India should implement the new policy by an action calculated to remove all causes of irritation and produce calm and good will.

## THE ONLY RALLYING CRY.

"We firmly believe that the only rallying cry which can unite Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Europeans, the propertied classes and the labouring and the depressed classes can be Dominion Status for India not as a distant goal or ideal but as an object capable of achievement within the shortest possible limit of time. In a constitution seeking to give India a status of a Dominion there will be no difficulty in making ample provision for the safeguarding of her security against internal trouble and foreign aggression. During the period of transition the mutual relations of British India and the Indian States can also be satisfactorily defined and a provision made for their future regulation consistently, on the one hand, with Dominion Status now contemplated and, on the other, with the autonomy of the Indian States.

## CONGRESS POLICY DEPLORED.

"Those of us who believed in the peaceful evolution cannot but deplore that any section of the people of this country should raise the cry of independence and involve our future in turmoil and confusion. Believing as we do that the Labour Government and Lord Irwin are in real earnest in seeking an acceptable solution of the constitutional problem, we should be guilty of utter shortsightedness and lack of statesmanship if we fail to seize the opportunity that has been extended us. We realise that the task of those who believe in Dominion Status and who are prepared to work for it has become more difficult by reason of the attitude adopted by one leading political organisation in India and that their responsibility has become all the greater, but if other parties who believe in Dominion Status will join hands together, in pressing India's claim there is no reason why we should not achieve it.

## COMMUNAL AMITY.

"But this makes it necessary that the internal differences which divide one community from another should be composed in a just and generous manner. Believing as we do, in the principles of justice and equality and fairness to all parties and communities and interests, we make an earnest appeal to all these whose object is Dominion Status to devise means of common deliberation. If such an attempt is made and we proceed about our business in a spirit of give and take, we are confident of a settlement amongst ourselves which will expedite and facilitate the work of the Round Table Conference in London. As a necessary preliminary, we appoint a small committee of our own party, with power to co-operate with representatives of other parties, for taking the necessary initiative."

## THE 44th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

### PANDIT JAWAHARLAL'S ADDRESS.

The following excerpts are from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's presidential address at the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress held on the 29th December.

#### WHY INDIA FELL?

When everything is changing it is well to remember the long course of Indian history. Few things in history are more amazing than the wonderful stability of the social structure in India which withstood the impact of numerous alien influences and thousands of years of change and conflict. It withstood them because it always sought to absorb them and tolerate them. Its aim was not to exterminate but to establish an equilibrium between different cultures. Aryans and non-Aryans settled down together recognising each other's right to their culture, and outsiders who came like the Parsis found a welcome and a place in the social order. With the coming of the Moslems the equilibrium was disturbed but India sought to restore it and largely succeeded. Unhappily for us before we could adjust our differences, the political structure broke down, the British came and we fell.

Great as was the success of India in evolving a stable society she failed in a vital particular and because she failed in this she fell and remains fallen. No solution was found for the problem of equality. India deliberately ignored this and built up her social structure on inequality, and we have the tragic consequences of the millions of our people who till yesterday were suppressed and had little opportunity for growth.

And yet when Europe fought her wars of religion and Christians massacred each other in the name of their Saviour, India was tolerant although alas! there is little of this toleration to-day. Having attained some measure of religious liberty, Europe sought after political liberty and political and legal equality. Having attained these also she finds that they mean very little without economic liberty and equality. And so to-day politics have ceased to have much meaning and the most vital question is that of social and economic equality. And so to-day politics have ceased to have much meaning and the most vital question is that of social and economic equality.

India also will have to find a solution to this problem and until she does so her political and social structure cannot have stability. That solution need not necessarily follow the example of any other country. It must, if it has to endure, be based on the genius of her people and be an outcome of her thought and culture. And when it is found, the unhappy differences between various communities, which trouble us to-day and keep our freedom, will automatically disappear.

#### DISTRUST AND SUSPICION.

Indeed the real differences have already largely gone, but fear of each other and distrust and suspicion remain and sow seeds of discord. The problem before us is not one of removing differences. They can well remain side by side and enrich our many-sided culture. The problem is how to remove fear and suspicion and being intangible they are hard to get at. An earnest attempt was made last year by the All Parties Conference and much progress was made towards the goal. But we must admit with sorrow that success has not wholly crowned its efforts. Many of our Muslim and Sikh friends have strenuously opposed the solutions suggested and passions have been roused over mathematical figures and percentages. Logic and cold reason are poor weapons to fight fear and distrust. Only faith and generosity can overcome them. I can only hope that the leaders of various communities will have this faith and generosity in ample measure. What shall we gain for ourselves or for our community if all of us are slaves in a slave country? And what can we lose if once we remove the shackles from India and can breathe the air of freedom? Do we want outsiders who are not of us and who have kept us in bondage to be the protectors of our little rights and privileges, when they deny us the very right to freedom? No majority can crush a determined minority and no minority can be sufficiently protected by a little addition to its seats in a legislature. Let us remember that in the world to-day almost everywhere a very small minority holds wealth and power and dominates over the great majority.

I was born a Hindu, but I do not know how far I am justified in calling myself one or in speaking on behalf of Hindus. But birth still counts in this country and by right of birth I shall venture to submit to the leaders of the Hindus that it should be their privilege to take the lead in generosity. Generosity is not only good morals but is often good politics and sound expediency. And it is inconceivable to me that in a free India the Hindus can ever be powerless. So far as I am concerned I would gladly ask our Moslem and Sikh friends to take what they will without protest or argument from me. I know that the time is coming soon when these labels and appellations will have little meaning and when our struggle will be on an economic basis. Meanwhile it matters little what our mutual arrangements are, provided only that we do not build up barriers which will come in the way of our future progress.

#### SEEMING OFFER OF PEACE.

Recently there has been a seeming offer of peace. The Viceroy has stated on behalf of the British Government that the leaders of Indian opinion will be invited to confer with the Government on the

subject of India's future constitution. The Viceroy means well and his language was the language of peace. But even the Viceroy's goodwill and courteous phrases are poor substitutes for the hard facts that confront us.

#### TRUE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OFFER

With much searching of heart we signed that manifesto and I know not to-day if we did right or wrong. Later came the explanations and amplifications in the British Parliament and elsewhere and all doubt, if doubt there was, was removed as to the true significance of the offer. Even so your Working Committee chose to keep open the door of negotiation and left it to this Congress to take the final decision.

#### 'DOMINION STATUS IN ACTION' A SNARE.

During the last few days there has been another discussion of this subject in the British House of Commons and the Secretary of State for India has endeavoured to point out that successive British Governments have tried to prove not only by words but by deeds also the sincerity of their faith in regard to India. We must recognise Mr. Wedgwood Benn's desire to do something for India and his anxiety to secure the goodwill of the Indian people. But his speech and the other speeches made in Parliament carry us no further. 'Dominion Status in action' to which he draws attention has been a snare for us and has certainly not reduced the exploitation of India. The burdens on the Indian masses are even greater to-day because of this 'Dominion Status in action' and the so-called constitutional reforms of ten years ago. High Commissioners in London and representatives on the League of Nations and the purchase of stores and Indian Governors and high officials are no parts of our demand. We want to put an end to the exploitation of India's poor and to get the reality of power and not merely the livery of office. Mr. Wedgwood Benn has given us a record of the achievements of the past decade. He could have added to it by referring to martial law in the Punjab, and the Jallianwala Bag shooting and the repression and exploitation that have gone continually during this period of 'Dominion Status in action.' He has given us some insight into what more of Dominion Status may mean for us. It will mean the shadow of authority to a handful of Indians and more repression and exploitation of the masses.

#### CONDITIONS FOR CO-OPERATION REMAIN UNFULFILLED.

What will this Congress do? The conditions for co-operation remain unfulfilled. Can we co-operate so long as there are no guarantees that real freedom will come to us? Can we co-operate when our comrades lie in prison and repression continues? Can we co-operate until we are assured that real peace is sought after and not merely a tactical advantage over us? Peace cannot come at the point of the bayonet and if we are to continue to be

dominated over by an alien people let us at least be no consenting parties to it.

#### THE GOAL OF INDEPENDENCE.

If the Calcutta resolution holds we have but one goal to-day, that of independence. Independence is not a happy word in the word to-day for it means exclusiveness and isolation. Civilization has had enough of narrow nationalism and gropes towards a wider co-operation and interdependence. And if we use the word independence we do so, not in the sense hostile to the larger ideals. Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. Having attained our freedom I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.

#### FULLEST FREEDOM OF INDIA.

We stand, therefore, today for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the Parliament and conscience of the world and to them we shall demonstrate, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination. Today or tomorrow we may not be strong enough to assert our will.

#### THREE MAJOR PROBLEMS.

We have three major problems--the minorities, the Indian states, and labour and peasantry. I have dealt already with the question of minorities. I shall only repeat that we must give the fullest assurance by our words and our deeds that their culture and traditions will be safe.

#### THE INDIAN STATES.

The Indian states, even for India, are the most curious relics of a bygone age. Many of their rulers apparently still believe in the divine right of kings--puppet kings though they be--and consider the state and all it contains to be their personal property, with they can squander at will. A few of them have a sense of responsibility and have endeavoured to serve their people, but many of them have hardly any redeeming feature.

#### THE ECONOMIC PROGRAMME.

Our economic programme must therefore be based on a human outlook and must not sacrifice man to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers then the industry must close down. If the workers on the land have not enough to eat then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go. The least that every worker in field or factory is entitled to is a minimum wage which will enable him to live in moderate comfort, and minimum hours of labour which do not break his strength and spirit. The All-Parties Committee accepted the principle and included it in their recommendations. I hope the Congress will also do and will in addition be prepared to accept its natural consequences. Further that it will adopt the well-

known demands of labour for a better life, and will give every assistance to it to organise itself and prepare itself for the day when it can control industry on a co-operative basis.

#### THE CRY OF THE PEASANTRY.

But industrial labour is only a small part of India although it is rapidly becoming a force that cannot be ignored. It is the peasantry that cry loudly, piteously, for relief and our programme must deal with their present condition. Real relief can only come by a great change in the land laws and the basis of the present system of land tenure. We have among us many big landowners and we welcome them. But they must realise that the ownership of large estates by individuals which is the outcome of a state resembling the old feudalism of Europe, is a rapidly disappearing phenomenon all over the world. Even in countries which are the strongholds of capitalism the large estates are being split up and given to the peasantry who work on them. In India also we have large areas where the system of peasant proprietorship prevails and we shall have to extend this all over the country. I hope that in doing so we may have the co-operation of some at least of the big landowners.

#### PEACEFUL MASS MOVEMENT.

Any great movement for liberation to-day must necessarily be a mass movement and mass movements must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organised revolt. Whether we have the non-co-operation of a decade ago or modern industrial weapon of the general strike, the basis is peaceful organisation and peaceful action. And if the principal movement is a peaceful one contemporaneous attempts at sporadic violence can only distract attention and weaken it. It is not possible to carry on at one and the same time the two movements side by side. We have to choose and strictly to abide by our choice. What the choice of this Congress is likely to be I have no doubt. It can only choose a peaceful mass movement.

Should we repeat the programme and tactics of the non-co-operation movement? Not necessarily, but the basic idea must remain. Programmes and tactics must be made to fit in with circumstances and it is neither easy nor desirable for this Congress at this stage to determine them in detail. That should be the work of its executive, the All-India Congress Committee. But the principles have to be fixed.

#### BOYCOTT OF COURTS AND SCHOOLS.

The old programme was one of the three boycotts—Councils, law courts and schools—leading up to refusal of service in the army and non-payment of taxes. When the national struggle is at its height I fail to see how it will be possible for any person engaged in it to continue in the courts or the schools.

#### BOYCOTT OF LEGISLATURES.

The boycott of the legislative councils has led to much heated debate in the past and this Congress itself has been rent in twain over it. We need not revive that controversy for the circumstances to-day are entirely different. I feel that the step the Congress took some years ago to permit Congress-

men to enter the councils was an inevitable step and I am not prepared to say that some good has not resulted from it. But we have exhausted that good and there is no middle course left to-day between boycott and full co-operation. All of us know the demoralisation that these sham legislatures have brought in our ranks and how many of our good men, their committees and commissions lure away. Our workers are limited in number and we can have no mass movement unless they concentrate on it and turn their backs to the palatial council chambers of our legislatures. And if we declare for independence how can we enter the councils and carry on humdrum and profitless activities there?

#### NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES.

This boycott will only be a means to an end. It will release energy and divert attention to the real struggle which must take the shape of non-payment of taxes and where possible with the co-operation of the labour movement, general strikes. But non-payment of taxes must be well organised in specific areas, and for this purpose the Congress should authorise the All-India Congress Committee to take the necessary action wherever and whenever it considers desirable.

#### POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BOYCOTT.

Our programme must therefore be one of political and economic boycott. It is not possible for us, so long as we are not actually independent, and not even then completely, to boycott another country wholly or to sever all connection with it. But our endeavour must be to reduce all points of contact with the British Government and to rely on ourselves.

#### WE PLAY FOR HIGH STAKES.

The Congress represents no small minority in the country and though many may be too weak to join it or to work for it, they look to it with hope and longing to bring them deliverance. Ever since the Calcutta resolution the country has waited with anxious expectation for this great day when this Congress meets. None of us can say what and when we can achieve. We cannot command success. But success often comes to those who dare and act; it seldom goes to the timid who are ever afraid of the consequences. We play for high stakes; and if we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers. Whether we succeed soon or late, none but ourselves can stop us from high endeavour and from writing a noble page in our country's long and splendid history.

#### AN OPEN CONSPIRACY TO FREE COUNTRY.

We have conspiracy cases going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But the time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule, and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in store for you are suffering and prison, it may be death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever young, and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

## RESOLUTIONS.

## MR. GANDHI EXPLAINS THE NEW POLICY.

Mr. Gandhi next moved the main resolution of this session of the Congress regarding independence and boycott. The resolution reads :—

“This Congress whilst endorsing the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by the party leaders including Congressmen in connection with the Viceregal pronouncement of October 31, relating to Dominion Status and appreciating the efforts of H. E. the Viceroy towards a peaceful settlement of the national movement for Swaraj, and having considered the result of the meeting between the Viceroy and Pundit Motilal Nehru and other leaders, is of opinion :—

“That nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference;

“And in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress last year this Congress now declares that Swaraj in the Congress creed shall mean complete independence, and, therefore, further declares the Nehru scheme of Dominion Status to have lapsed, and hopes that all parties in the Congress will devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence, and hopes also that those whom the tentative solution of the communal problem suggested in the Nehru constitution has prevented from joining the Congress or actuated them to abstain from it, will now join or rejoin the Congress and zealously prosecute the common goal :—

“And as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for independence, and in order to make Congress policy consistent with the change of the creed, declares a complete boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and calls upon Congressmen to abstain from participating, directly or indirectly, in future elections, and the present members of the legislatures to tender their resignations, and calls upon the nation to concentrate its attention upon the Constructive programme of the Congress, and authorises the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch upon a programme of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary.”

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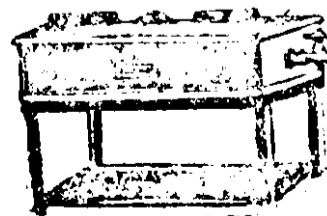
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1930

No. 19

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### NOTES.

**The Next Social Conference:**—The decision of the Congress that there will not be a session in December this year once more raises the question whether the National Social Conference will not be better able to fulfil its objects by holding its annual session away from the Congress. The fact, moreover, that by favouring the boycott of Legislatures the Congress has repudiated an important instrument of social reform, gives prominence to the necessity of appealing to the large section of the intelligentsia outside the Congress who have hitherto held back from the Social Conference under the impression that it was an auxiliary body to the Congress. The main reason advanced in favour of holding the Social Conferences at the same place as the Congress was that it was there that the appeal could be made to the largest gatherings. With the division of the Congress into three parties this is no longer valid and it cannot be denied that in the past the Social Conference has suffered from the alliance. Apart from the fact that several social workers have feared that their participation in the annual gathering would be construed as inspired by political motives—and among this body are several missionary social workers both Indian and foreign—the delegates to the Social Conference are very often Congress delegates who are asked to speak on resolutions of which they are not active supporters. Nor has the Congress always adopted a very cordial attitude towards the Social Conference. We are sure that it will be a welcome change if the usual practice is deviated from this year and it must happen unless the Social Conference also postpones its session to February which, for obvious reasons, would be absurd. The Conference separated from the Congress may not attract the large audiences it has drawn in the past but it will be attended by people who are really interested in social work, to whatever political party they may belong.

**The English Eye On Indian Life:**—We have had with us for some time back three books written by Englishmen, which show an earnest

desire to take a fair and just view of the Indian people and their problems. The authors are Mr. J. S. Hoyland, Mr. F. W. Wilson and Mr. Edwyn Bevan. All of them have proved themselves in different capacities to be true friends who are sincerely anxious to bring about a cordial understanding between Great Britain and this country with the object of helping them to adjust their relations on an honourable and mutually beneficial footing. Every thing in this direction is to be welcomed and we are sure that the efforts of these and other publicists of the same type will not be without effect. We must confess, however, that none of these books produce in our minds the impression, of absolute detachment which some recent books by English writers on Ireland, Egypt and even Russia have done. Our English friends are either apologising for us, or are trying to strike out a balance on the most approved principles of Accountancy between our virtues and our weaknesses with a view to get an exact and "scientific" idea of how much Great Britain might yield and how much she should withhold of her political control in the interests of India and of England. It is not quite correct to describe Mr. Hoyland as an apologist, because his main ground is that Britain herself has to revise her ideas in the light of a fuller knowledge of Indian character and conditions. Nevertheless, one cannot help feeling that he is more than a little blind to our faults and more than a little kind to our virtues. This is inevitable in men like Mr. Hoyland, Mr. C. F. Andrews and the few others of this group who view the Indian problem from a penitential chair. Mr. Wilson's little book with its "Foreword" by Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and its dedication to Pandit Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is painfully suggestive of the proverbial attempt to sit between two stools, with the proverbial result of finding a seat in neither. Mr. Wilson's true role in this country is that of the voice in the wilderness proclaiming to his countrymen "Repent ye, for Swaraj is at hand. Prepare ye the way for it and make its paths straight."

**Mr. Bevan's Book:**—Mr. Edwyn Bevan's book is named "Thoughts On Indian Discontents." The author's "Thoughts" reduce themselves to and are, indeed, variations of the single "Thought" that Indians have no reason to be discontented as their grievances such as they are more or less of their own making. The following is perhaps the most typical as it is evidently meant as the most conclusive argument in the book. "It is not true to say," writes Mr. Bevan "that a nation cannot make spiritual contribution to the world

under foreign rule. The greatest spiritual contribution which the people of Israel made to the world was through Jesus Christ. And that contribution was made when the Jews were a subject people under a Government as ungentle as Rome. I do not see that there is any hindrance today from the Government to Indians expressing their genius in religion and thought and literature and art." And Mr. Bevan goes on to point to Gandhi, Tagore, Ramanuja (the mathematical prodigy and not the Visishtadvaita philosopher) and Srinivasa Sastri, as typical products of the British bureaucracy. As the author expects the world to take this argument seriously—we can hardly think that Mr. Bevan is capable of writing with his tongue in his cheek—let us briefly point out some of its implications. If it means anything, it means not only that the Roman despotism was no bar to the message and mission of Jesus Christ, but that it was the essential condition of that message and mission. It follows that the flogging and crucifixion too were necessary to the expression of Israel's spiritual genius through Jesus Christ, and that the British Government of India will best help India to spiritual expression by hanging Gandhi, Tagore and Sastri. The matter does not end there. Mr. Bevan has to explain the rise of Gautama Buddha who was the noblest expression of India's religious genius twenty-five centuries ago under conditions wholly the reverse of those which existed in Palastine at the time of Jesus Christ. He will also have to explain how India produced Shankara, Ramanuja (the Vaishnava apostle) and her numerous saints and sages, when there was no British rule in the land. Further the success or failure of a political system must be judged in India by the same standards as in Great Britain or France or the United States. We cannot say that Mr. Bevan's present book is a wholesome contribution to current English literature on Indian subjects.

**Beauty Competitions:**—Newspapers in their anxiety to increase their circulations in order to attract advertisers get up all sorts of competitions. One of these is what is known as "Beauty Competitions." Women, and sometimes men, are invited to send their photographs and a committee of three or four persons is appointed to judge which of the faces in the pictures is the most beautiful. Sometimes, the competition is limited to the limbs only, and particularly legs. The judges' decision is final and the face or leg which most approves itself to them is awarded a prize. The absurdity of this device for collecting coppers or nickels is obvious, but competition among newspapers is so keen that the proprietors are unable to distinguish between what is legitimate and what is illegitimate as a means of pushing up their sales. The dangerous demoralisation of "beauty competitions," was strikingly illustrated in a case which occurred recently in England and which has called forth comments in the Press. A London shop girl, naturally of a shy and retiring disposition, had her photograph submitted without her knowledge by her mother to one of these competitions. She secured the prize and that was her ruin. She became a victim to what is called "Narcissism" and became obsessed by ideas of self-adulation. But being too poor to buy clothes artistic enough to set off her

advertised beauty, she started stealing clothes, and when she was found out and arrested, one hundred and eighteen stolen dresses were found in her residence. The unfortunate girl was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for stealing. A writer in the *New Statesman* commenting on the case observes: "Most of us have always disliked beauty competitions, and we shall not like them any better now that one of them has resulted in an unfortunate girl being sent to prison—unnecessarily, it seems to me, for this is surely a case in which imprisonment can effect no cure."

**The Shipping Conference:**—The failure of the Conference summoned by the Government of India to consider the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine, which met last week under the presidency of the Vicery was a foregone conclusion. It was not expected that the European interests would be agreeable to an amicable settlement. The Conference was not open to the public but in a statement issued later it was said that owing to "fundamental differences" no agreement could be reached. The responsibility now rests with the Government of India to see justice done to the Indian claims of the coastal trade. Mr. Haji's Bill stands no chance of becoming law at present as the ranks of the nationalists in the Assembly have been depleted by the resignation of members in obedience to the Congress mandate.

**The Late Maulana Mazharul Haq:**—In the death of Maulana Mazharul Haq the country has sustained an irreparable loss. By nature and temperament a scholar and philosopher, Mr. Mazharul Haq did not shrink from leadership when the call of his country came. He was a staunch believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and worked towards that end inspite of bitter opposition. He contributed not a little to the awakening of the political consciousness of the men of his community in Behar. We publish elsewhere an interesting sketch of his life which throws light on his many qualities of head and heart.

**Training College Education Week:**—An Education Week is to be celebrated under the auspices of the Secondary Training College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, from 18th to 25th instant. The Honorable Maulavi Raffiuddin Ahmed, Bat-at-law, Minister of Education, will preside at the inauguration ceremony (4-30 p.m. Saturday 18th instant) and declare open an Exhibition of Teachers' Aids. From the 20th to the 25th instant Demonstration lessons will be given between 8-30 to 10 a.m. Public lectures on Modern developments in Education will be delivered between 6 and 7 p.m. everyday. The College practice lessons will be open to all from 12-30 to 4-30 p. m., and the Exhibition will be kept open till 6 p. m. during these days. All interested in education are cordially invited.

#### MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Reminders have been sent to subscribers whose subscriptions have fallen into arrear, and to those whose subscriptions are due for the current year. Those Subscribers who are in arrears are requested to remit the amounts due without delay.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 11, 1930.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

The rapid growth of the Women's Movement in this country since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms is conclusive proof, if proof were needed, of the well-established inter-relation between political and social progress. The late Mr. Montagu, who was a far-seeing statesman, hoped, intended and expected that his reforms would give much-needed stimulus to social reform. So did the late Mr. A. O. Hume, the father of the Indian National Congress who defended the prominence given to political reform on the ground that it was needed to infuse sufficient confidence in themselves in the people to encourage them to undertake social reforms. He added, in an interview which will be found in one of the early volumes of the *Reformer*, that he himself was by heredity a social reformer rather than a politician. Under the reformed constitution women were enfranchised and found their way into the Legislatures and Local and Municipal boards. This awakened in them aspirations for education and public service. Then, there were a number of measures in the Legislatures which led to wide-spread public discussion on social problems. The movement of thought thus created led to several women's meetings and associations which culminated in the founding of the All-India Women's Conference.

The fourth All-India Women's Conference will meet in Bombay on the 20th instant under the presidentship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. This is the first time that a lady not belonging to a ruling family has been chosen for the honour. The first Conference which met in Poona in 1927 was presided over by Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda. The second Conference which was held in Delhi had Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal for president and was opened by Her Excellency Lady Irwin. The third met last year at Patna and had the Rani of Mandi in the presidential chair. Bombay, however, is a modern city with none of the medieval traditions of Poona, Delhi and Patna. The aristocracy of Bombay is an aristocracy of commerce and culture. It is, therefore, appropriate that for the fourth Conference which meets here, Lady Dorab, the cultured and widely-travelled wife of the present head of the honoured house of Tata, should have undertaken to organize the Conference and to welcome the delegates as Chairman of the Reception Committee; and that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a harmonious blending of the ancient Indian tradition with the modern aspirations of India's womanhood, should preside and guide its deliberations. The Conference has completed

only three years, but in that short time, it has had a rather luxuriant growth. This is due to a considerable measure to the zeal and energy of the accomplished Organising Secretary, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. It is also due to the cordial sympathy and support which it has received from the first from the highest official circles in British India and from the ruling houses in Indian states. Behind all these there is the awakened consciousness of the women of India seeking for expression in the national life. Nevertheless, the rapid growth of the Conference is a matter not only for congratulation but also for reflection. It is the fashion for some enthusiastic women orators to inveigh bitterly against men for opposing the movement. As a matter of fact, however, the movement as such has encountered very little opposition even from the reactionary politicians who raised a hue and cry over the Sarda Marriage Act. These men are quite willing that women should have the franchise, should sit in Legislative Assemblies and Municipal and Local Boards, should hold offices and enter the professions. But with a strange absence of consistency they are opposed to the reform of the social customs which prevent women from developing their full personalities. Perhaps, they count upon the continuance of the old customs to render inoperative the freedom which they concede in respect of political and civic life. If so, they are certainly right. It is absolutely out of the question that in a society in which child marriage and the purdah largely prevail there should arise, except as rare exceptions, women fit to be leaders in social and national life.

The emancipation of women from cramping social customs is, therefore, the first essential to fit them for active co-operation with men in the larger life of the country. The Conference began as an educational Conference but it has wisely included social questions within its purview since last year. Education and social reform are the two fundamental needs of Indian women at the present time. Political and municipal franchise and seats in the Legislatures and Local self-government bodies, will, as shown at the outset, be of help and we should like to see a larger number of well qualified Indian women on these bodies. But the primary problems concerning Indian women are educational and social. What is the education that women need, which can best qualify them to take an equal place with men in national life? Is it enough to provide them with a type of education specifically directed to make them good wives and mothers? Would this kind of education suffice to enlarge their present outlook which is limited to their family and at most to their caste or community? Are Indian women content with the ideal



of Sita and Savitri or do they want to graft upon it an ideal of public service in keeping with the spirit of the present time? If the latter, can it be done and, if yes, how? Does the ideal of marriage which produced the ancient Sitas suffice the present generations or their descendants? If not, in what respects do they wish to have it changed? What is the attitude of the educated women of this country to the subject of divorce? Do they think that the modern movement of birth-control is desirable and would be of benefit to Indian Society? These are some of the important questions which require to be considered by the Indian women's movement, and we hope the Bombay Conference will give a clear lead on them.

#### THE FRANKFORT PEACE CONFERENCE.

A determined effort is being made by international thinkers to rid the world of war. It has been rightly felt that this can best be achieved by bringing together representatives of the world's living religions to discuss the ways and means of promoting peace. An organisation consisting of delegates from various nations was created in Geneva to which is entrusted the task of organising this new movement and taking steps for convening the world Peace Conference. The Executive Committee of the World Conference for International Peace through Religion, as the preparatory organisation is called, held its second meeting in Frankfort, Germany, the proceedings of which are embodied in a report. A foreword to the report gives the method that will be adopted at the proposed Peace Conference in these words: "At the Conference each religion will be asked to state its teachings on peace; what it is doing to inculcate these teachings among its followers; how far it can go in uniting in a common crusade to establish international relationships among its followers; how far it can go in uniting in a common crusade to establish international relationships on a peace footing and to outlaw war. The conference will create a great world sentiment in behalf of the things for which vital religion stands." A conference with the object stated above can do a great deal to promote peace and good will among mankind. The fundamental teaching of all religions is the same, namely, the supremacy of moral and spiritual over material means and once this is grasped the recognition of world brotherhood is an easy next step which will herald the era of peace.

The noteworthy feature of the proceedings is the report by the General Secretary, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, of his eastern tour undertaken on behalf of the Committee. The first place in the East which Dr. Atkinson visited was India where he found much sympathy and support for the peace movement. The Viceroy with whom he had an interview suggested that the World Peace Conference should be held in India. The East is the cradle of all the important religions in the world

and no country embraces within its fold almost all the religions as India does. The Executive Committee will do well to accept the suggestion and make India the venue of the first Peace Conference.

Dr. Atkinson has set down in the report as the result of his extensive tour in India, China and Japan the dominating factors that are evident in the life of the people of East. With an insight very rarely found in Western travellers in the East, he has taken the true measure of the new life throbbing in the veins of the Eastern nations. "First of all," says Dr. Atkinson, "is the determination of the people to have a larger voice in the control of their own affairs. The era of white domination over the rest of the world is drawing to a close. "The White Man's Burden" has proven to be in most cases, the weight of a White man carried on the shoulders of the colored races." What is patent to the onlooker often escapes the attention of the actors in the drama. The other factors mentioned are the youth movement in India and China, the impact of Western standards of living on the thought and life of the people, the awakening among the masses and the women's movement. Referring to the last, Mr. Atkinson observes: "Were I to give in categorical form the important movements throughout the East and indicate their importance by their position in the categorical scale, I should put the forward movement among the women as very near the top. No people ever rises higher than the position of its women. Just as long as half of the human race is condemned to an inferior position, so long the race will remain below one-half the position it might occupy. The changed status of women and the new attitude is noticeable in India, China, Japan, and throughout the entire East. It is to this great improvement of the conditions of the women, for the women, and largely by the women, that some sages, and otherwise, wise men, look with suspicion and disfavour, and even with fear, because of what is taking place in the home. No one, seeing the situation, who has any sense of moral and social values, will fail to see the almost infinite possibilities of good in this revolution that is taking place."

From the conclusions arrived at by the Committee, it is evident that much spare work has to be done before the conference can be convened. As a preliminary it has been suggested that arrangements should be made to send deputations to the various countries for establishing friendships and points of contact and it should also be arranged so that these visitors will be received by various religions and will have the opportunity to speak in the Universities and Colleges, The International Fellowship Association which has been doing much valuable work in promoting better understanding among people of different religions in Bombay and other parts can contribute a good deal to the movement. Indeed, it will be a happy consummation when the church, the Synagogue, the mosque and the temple unite together to proclaim the message of peace.

**BOMBAY ANDHRAS IN CONFERENCE.\***

Social Reform is a much misunderstood phrase ; it is a much misused phrase also. Rebellion against restraint of custom is all that has often been denoted by this expression in our country. It is inevitable in the initial stages. It is inevitable in a subject race which has no real power to lay out social programmes and carry them out. With greater freedom in political life we are fortunately on the way to constructive Social Reform. Undigested spiritualism unrelated to social life on account of our political conditions had also helped to dwarf social endeavour and restrict the scope of Social Reform. That again has been corrected by a cosmic spiritual outlook, thanks to the great liberal movements beginning with Raja Ram Mohan and Swami Dayananda and coming down to Tilak, Shradhananda and Gandhi and Tagore through a succession of great names. We are now on the threshold of a New Yuga and its great beginnings. Let us glory in it and go forward.

**RESPECT FOR HUMANITY.**

The bedrock of all modern reform is respect for humanity. No man is inferior in the eye of society, which is but a manifestation of Godhead. From the pages of the Bible the West has attempted to bring this down to every day life through its democracy and from the pages of our Vedanta we have begun to apply it in life. The first manifestation of that life is our great movement for the removal of untouchability. Vedanta in one hand and untouchability in the other ! It is unthinkable. The learned slave of the dark ages that had to bow his head before ignorant tyrants might have reconciled himself to it but the free man, the fearless thinker, the real scion of the great rishis can no more tolerate it. The curse of bondage must disappear if Vedanta has to be lived. The inspired seer that Gandhi is, he has achieved and yet he shall achieve through all of us.

**CASTE, CLASS DISTINCTION.**

The next question that arises in this application of human relationships is the question of caste as it exists to-day in the orthodox mind with immemorial heredity as its pivot, with barriers between caste and caste, subcaste and subcaste, irremovable except by death, with intolerable restrictions of *Panthidosha* and *Dristhidosha* has already vanished in part and it is bound to vanish much further. Where a common standard is established, where a common cause has to be served, India has learnt to abolish caste. The great National Congress and similar annual recurring functions, the permanent institutions attached thereto, many a school and many a college have all practically abolished caste. The new order is not still fully evolved but it is idle to believe caste, orthodox caste, is now alive. Brothers and sisters, press forward in true companionship in everyday life with your equals and

\* Extracts from the Presidential address of Mr. G. Harisaravattam Rao, M.A., M.L.C., at the Second Provincial Andhra Social Conference held in Bombay on the 21st December 1929.

the problem of caste will settle itself. Let not caste intervene in achieving common good and there the solution lies. Caste does not require to be attacked, it requires to be ignored.

**WOMEN, THEIR PLACE IN SOCIETY.**

Newer and more important problems stare us in the face to day. The woman's movement is afoot and many a man is puzzled where it leads us to. The demand for a law of divorce recently made by the Women's Conference in Madras has set men on tenter hooks where thousands of marriages of babes are being rushed, just to escape the Sarda act, by cowards who dare not face the jails, where, thanks to our degenerate education pauper graduates of Universities abandon their innocent wives yet in the earlier teens because their fathers do not satisfy the lust of the sons-in-law for lucre, where orthodox men of sixty marry girls of ten or twelve with all the pomp and pageantry of religious observance blighting the whole future of their existence, where sastris, acharyas and purohits play a profitable trade in their own children and others' children for matrimonial purposes, it is no wonder woman has rebelled and asked for a law of divorce. It may cause consternation in the hearts of sinners but it causes no consternation in my mind. I have more faith in my mothers and sisters. This land is not a land that did not know divorce. In the time of Chandragupta divorce was allowed. It never could take root in India. I am sure the Indian woman has never transgressed her natural limits. She has been the queen, she has been the warrior, she has been the poet, she has been the scientist, but she has never divested herself of her rightful place as the mother and the housewife. She has never allowed the simple, disciplined, spiritual life of India to slip from her grasp. Let man correct himself. Let him realize the significance of spiritual marriage ; let him apply to himself the standards of judgment that woman has stood so well and so splendidly for centuries, let him rise from the grovelling feeling of his own particular rights and conveniences, let him once more rise to the stature of his ancient forefathers in that great spiritual outlook, which is our heritage and correct his relationship with his *Ardhangi* and he will discover that India still produces the great Sitas, Damayanthis, Savitris, Sakuntalas, Ahalyas and Lakshmbais.

**MAIN PURPOSE.**

The whole fault with us is that we are not making efficient men and efficient women capable of sacrifice and service. The talk of reform is easy but the grit to carry it out is difficult to get. Let us train men and women to do and die. We must determine to cease producing weak children and weaker mothers. We must determine to stop the ever growing emasculation of our boys and girls by early and proper attention to their physical well being and mental outlook on life. We must determine to stop life's waste in our country by cleansing

ourselves of extravagant, unpunctual and irregular habits. We must determine to hound out the evils of drink and other sinful habits and stop the great drain of human energy that they involve. We must determine that we look upon our lives not as opportunities given to us for self-gratification and self aggrandisement but as opportunities bestowed upon us for incessantly building up the edifice of the world in which we subsist for ever, either as our own progeny, or as reincarnated beings. In one word we must do all that is necessary to make our nation efficient and cheerful.

#### LABOUR LIFE.

One aspect of life that concerns you along with our masses in this city is the problem of "Labour Life." Most of our brethren here, I presume, are labourers. I have had occasion to visit Kamathipura and come into contact with the great work our friends are doing there for cultural purposes. But I must say that a great deal more has yet to be done. In a similar manner our brethren are scattered, labouring under difficult circumstances in many a place in this province like Poona, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat, I am glad that there are a large number of Andhra organisations. I am told in this City there are four of them; the Telugu Mahajan Sabha, the Bombay Andhra Association, the Bombay Provincial Andhra Mahasabha and the Bombay Andhra Nilayam, the last a reading room and library. The Poona City has an Andhra Association. The other places have not much of an organisation while there is no question that these associations are all doing their best, there certainly is a need for the Andhra brethren in this Province to come together into a united effort for Social Service. Housing schemes for our labour-population is a crying need. To initiate such schemes, to take interest in such schemes where they are initiated by others, to press the claims of Andhras where such claims exist and get justice done—all require the patient attention of a central organisation. Again the sanitary conditions under which our brethren live are most often any thing but desirable. To rouse a real civic sense in our brethren, to co-operate with other communities in schemes of health and sanitary propoganda and carefully get the advantage thereof for our community is equally a task in which a central guiding agency is a necessity.

#### TELUGU AND THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

Your special problem, I know, is the problem of the recognition of our common mother tongue. I have no desire to be separatist. I would urge on you the necessity to feel one with your neighbour in a land where they are a majority and we are a minority, but I would certainly plead, where our population is a considerable compact body we should have facilities for an early grounding in our own mother tongue and at the topmost reaches in the University for a special optional application to it. Why our Universities should decline to encourage our own languages like Telugu which is reputed to

be the most musical in India, admittedly the very best in Southern India, is really what I am not able to understand. To my mind the Bombay University which has to deal primarily with Marathi, must have taken care to include Telugu in its courses of study because I am sure Marathi would greatly gain by research in Telugu. I hold the relationship between Maharashtrian and the Andhra, even with regard to language, is very much closer than his relationship with other groups probably with the exception of Canarese. On the high authority of Lokamanya Tilak and from my own personal knowledge I am able to state, without fear of contradiction, that the Marathi and the Telugu are very near cousins. May I hope that the Bombay University will take note of it and the Andhra University though still very young will exert its influence, the former to give and the latter to get a place for Telugu in the Bombay University.

#### THE PROPOSED ASHRAM AT SAT TAL

##### A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

(BY REV. E. STANLEY JONES, SITAPUR).

The purpose and spirit of the proposed Ashram might be stated as follows:—

1. To yoke the Christian spirit and the Indian spirit in the service of Christ and India.
2. To endeavour to produce a type of Christianity more in touch with the soul of India and more aflame with the love of Christ.
3. In order to fulfil the above aims we propose to have a group of specially invited Indians and Europeans who shall, in group meditation and devotion and study, endeavour to think through the problems of the relationship of our Gospel to the other faiths of the world and especially of India, and of the relationship of our lives and work to the future of India.
  - (a) In addition to this group of the specially invited we will welcome those who care to join us from time to time.
4. This group will live in Indian style, eat Indian food and wear Indian dress. As we hope to have Hindus join us the food will be vegetarian. This group will share the same bungalow and out-cottage. No distinctions will be made. We hope to break down all barriers.
5. As one of the chief marks of the Indian spirit is simplicity this group will live in simplicity, have few or no servants; work with their hands in the bungalow and in the surrounding gardens and serve each other generally.
6. We shall endeavour to learn sympathetically the languages, culture and religions of India in order to have a more sympathetic approach to the people. At the same time we shall endeavour to hold a passionate devotion to the mind and purpose and person of Christ. We hope to make the Indian spirit creative in art, in music and in Christian thinking.

7. Out of this group-thinking we shall endeavour to produce a literature which shall interpret our Gospel to India and to the rest of the world.

8. As we propose, for the present, to have the Ashram run from April to July, inclusive, it will be composed of those who are engaged in other work in India. We hope they will carry back a new spirit into their local situations. We will endeavour thereby to create new centers of understanding of India and a passionate devotion to Jesus Christ in various parts of the country.

9. As the Ashram will be a part-of-the-year Ashram there will be no question of salaries or allowances. Each one will, as far as possible, contribute to the cost of food and incidentals.

10. As the location is in a hill-station we hope to have missionaries and Christian workers and laymen come to us for spiritual recuperation and to get into closer touch with the soul of India. If there is not room in the Ashram proper there are twelve bungalows connected with the Sat Tal Estate which can be rented. These bungalows are furnished and will be suitable for families or groups of single individuals. The average rental for a bungalow for a family is about Rs. 50.

11. We expect to have with us Hindus and Moslems and men of other faiths who will join us for periods of sympathetic study of the Christian faith. We also hope to have those who have recently begun the Christian way of life to join us to learn it more perfectly and to become established.

12. Later on when the Ashram has found its soul we may establish a school in connection with it, but for the present we will have no provision for the children. They can be accommodated in the surrounding rented bungalows with their families. The central Ashram bungalow, which has fourteen rooms, will be occupied by men. Behind this bungalow and connected with the Ashram is a small bungalow of three suits which might be occupied by married couples without children. Ladies, single and married, can be accommodated in the rented cottages not connected with the Ashram. Those living outside the Ashram proper may partake of the activities and life of the Ashram.

13. The Ashram will be Christian but will know nothing of denominational lines. In our worship we shall endeavour to take that which will best express the Christian spirit. At the same time we hope the worship will express the finest of the Indian spirit. We trust that prayer will be the very breath of the Ashram.

14. The central group, which will be specially invited, will be in number from ten to thirty. They will be invited on the basis of their sympathy toward the aims of the Ashram and their ability to contribute to the fulfilment of those aims. While we state the aims to be the above we will endeavour to face the situation with an open mind, ready to respond to new leadings as 'it seems good to the Holy Spirit and to us.'

#### GENERAL INFORMATION.

The Sat Tal Estate has recently been acquired from Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Evans who have run it as a Hill-station resort. It is composed of 400 acres, mostly of wooded land. It has a beautiful lake (Panna) which belongs to the Estate and it borders on two Government lakes. It is filled with wild-life and the Government forests surround it. It is thus self-contained. There can be no encroachments upon it. Its peace and quiet are assured.

The Ashram will be located on the ridge known as Midlakes. There will be other activities centering in Sat Tal such as Student Camps, Teachers Institutes, etc., for it is the purpose of the Committee of Management of the Sat Tal Estate to make the place a Christian centre. But the Ashram, located on the central but isolated ridge, will have a life of its own. The rest of the cottages will be rented to those who may, or may not have any connection or interest in the life of the Ashram.

Sat Tal is 4,800 feet above sea level, has a post office of its own, is two and a half miles from Bhim Tal where supplies can be had, is three miles from the Motor Road at Bhawali, ten miles by bridle path from Kathgodam, the rail head, and ten miles from Naini Tal. It is therefore one of the most accessible of hill-stations.

To get to Sat Tal one should purchase his ticket to Kathgodam on the R. and K. Ry. From there motor buses run to Bhawali, which is on the main road to Ranikhet and Almora. The bus fare from Kathgodam to Bhawali is from one to two rupees. From Bhawali to Sat Tal, a distance of three miles, luggage can be sent by coolie and one can walk or obtain a dandy or pony. Another way is to have luggage sent straight from Kathgodam to Sat Tal by coolie and one can walk or get a bandy or pony for the ten miles up the hill. The first mentioned way is preferable.

Enquiries for the rental of cottages not connected with the Ashram can be made from Rev. T. C. Badley, 37 Cantt. Road, Lucknow until March 1st, after that from Rev. E. M. Moffatt, Mission, Sitapur, U. P. Enquiries about the Ashram are to be made from Rev. E. Standley Jones, Sitapur, U. P. *Please note that approval of stay at the Ashram should be secured before coming.*

**Drowning Boy Saved :—**A very admirable act of bravery was performed by Captain Jagannath, a Congress volunteer. The boy, aged eight years, who is the son of Seth Bharosamal of Benares, was walking on the Ravi bridge when, afraid of being run over by a motor car, he swung to the right and slipped into the river from a height of about forty feet. Jagannath, who happened to be on the bridge doing his usual round of duty, saw the boy falling, jumped into the river at once and caught the boy who had become unconscious. He was brought back on the camp and regained consciousness after an hour. Seth Bharosamal, who was accompanying the boy thanked Captain Jagannath and offered him a reward of Rs. 1,000. The volunteer declined the money with thanks as he said he had only performed his duty.

### THE LATE Mr. MAZHARUL HAQ.

Maulana Masharul Haq passed away at his village residence Faridpur on the 2nd instant. For the following interesting sketch of his life we are indebted to the *Searchlight*, Patna.

Maulana Haq's education began in his fifth year. From his very early days he was of studious habits and the love of books which he acquired early in life never left him till his last moments. He read all kinds of books, light and serious, but his chief hobby was history, particularly Islamic history, and Philosophy. He succeeded in going to England in spite of opposition. He returned to India after having been called to the Bar.

In 1908 Mr. Haq organised a branch of the Muslim League, with the sole object of making his co-religionists come out of their shell and take part in the political life of the province and in this he completely succeeded. He with some of his Hindu friends organised the Behar Provincial Conference, the first session of which was held at Bankipore in April 1908 with Sir Ali Imam as its President. The association of these two Musalman leaders had the most salutary effect upon the fortunes of the conference. All the Musalmans of light and leading and influence joined it in a body and Bihar presented a unique spectacle, in the whole of India, of Hindus and Musalmans working shoulder to shoulder in complete harmony, inspired by common ideals and aspirations. He was twice elected to the old Imperial Council and his work there was always inspired by a high sense of patriotism and sturdy independence. He was chairman of the Bankipore session of the Indian National Congress and in that capacity he delivered a remarkable address which was so widely appreciated throughout the country. We need hardly here dwell upon the prominent part that he played in the Cawnpore Mosque affair. It was mainly due to his efforts that a satisfactory settlement was brought about and he won the esteem and regard of all his co-religionists.

In the great famine of 1897, Maulana Haq acted as secretary of the charitable Famine Relief Fund of the district, and did yeoman service in that connection. He began to take interest in Municipal affairs also.

But these activities of his early years fade into insignificance before the valuable contribution that he made to the political activities of the country. A man of very large and wide outlook, Maulana Haq's sturdy independence, fearlessness, courage of conviction and his sense of intense patriotism were apparent. Maulana Haq was responsible for the starting of the All-India Muslim League. The unfortunate and regrettable controversy that raged about the special and mixed electorates in connection with the Minto-Morley Reform, again put him on his mettle. He stood out prominently in the controversy and opposed the unreasonable demands of the Muslim League extremists for special electorates throughout, most

manfully and courageously. He was attacked and abused by the bulk of the Muslim Press in India. Contumely, ridicule and abuse were poured upon him, but they did not in the least affect his patriotism. He fought and fought hard unmindful of all the consequences. He was one of the greatest apostles of Hindu-Muslim Unity, and always preached and practised it, both in public and private. He always stood the severest test in this connection and never allowed himself to waver in the least in his unflinching faith in Hindu-Muslim Unity.

And in 1920, Maulana Haq was not a whit behind in responding to the call of the country. He readily gave up his lucrative practice at the Bar and threw himself heart and soul into the Non-co-operation movement. He hesitated not in the least to give a go by to the fashionable life of luxury, ease and comfort to which he was accustomed and embracing all at once a life of poverty. He founded the local Sadakat Ashram from where he started a weekly paper called "The Motherland." It was while editing this paper that he offended the Jail authorities by exposing some of their misdeeds in connection with the treatment of political prisoners, for which he had to suffer incarceration for three months. Later on he removed to his village home at Faridpur where he lived a retired life till his death. But even in his retirement he was a source of considerable inspiration to many a worker in the field of politics. He was practically elected president of the Gauhati Session of the Congress, and it was only because he refused to come out of his seclusion that Sjt. Srinivas Iyengar was elected. He acted for three years as Chairman of the Saran District Board as well. In his old age Maulana Haq suffered a great shock in the death by accident of his son whom he loved so passionately. From this shock he never recovered completely, but found a great consolation in the study of philosophy, and spiritualism which was his chief hobby during this period. In his noble, intelligent and cultured wife he found a great support in his trials and tribulations. To her and members of the bereaved family we offer our heartfelt condolence. A distinguished Indian, a great Beharee, a staunch patriot and one of the greatest apostles of Hindu-Muslim Unity has passed away.

### CHRISTA SEVA SANGH.

The Rev. W. S. A. Robertson writes in the *Indian Witness* :—

In Poona recently there has come into being a Christian Ashram where the simple Indian life is lived by a group of Indians and Westerners together. There are some sixteen in all. The life of prayer and devotion is given the first place here. Through *Bhakti* they seek that union with God which the saints and seers have longed for. They seek to follow, too, the pathways of *Dnyan* and *Karma*. *Dnyan* is interpreted as sacred study. There is in the ashram a very good library and an endeavour is

made to have ever increasingly here the atmosphere of real scholarship. By *Karma* is understood loving service of all kinds; particularly for those in distress and poverty. From the Ashram various forms of Christian activity radiates. There is the visiting of the hospitals, the prison, the leper asylum and some social work and preaching of the Gospel in villages near by.

The members of the Ashram are bound together in a community. This is called "Christa Seva Sangh" (the Society of the Servants of Christ). The Ashram in Poona has been built only eighteen months; but the "Sangh" has existed for some seven years, although in earlier days it had no fixed abode. Father Winslow, who was once an S. P. G. Missionary in Ahmadnagar, gathered around him a group of young Indians living a simple life in which prayer was put first. They lived a wandering life in the villages, seeking to make known the love of Christ. Later, with the strong approval of the Bishop of Bombay, they came to feel the desirability of a permanent home; and it was thought that the most suitable place for this was Poona, where they could come freely into contact with educated people. So the Poona Ashram of "Christa Seva Sangh" has sprung up.

The "Sangh" has a special devotion to St. Francis, the little poor man of Assisi, through whose "friars" in the thirteenth century new spiritual life was brought to Italy and indeed to the whole of Europe. So just as St. Francis founded a Brotherhood, a Sisterhood, and a Third Order for those following the ordinary callings in life who would normally be married, there are within the family of the "Sangh" the same three Orders. The First Order is for men who will give up all money and other possessions, living in celibacy for the Kingdom of God's sake. The Second Order is for women who feel called by God to live their life under similar conditions. There is as yet no Sisterhood in Poona but there are several women, both Indian and English, who are hoping to join the "Sangh," and it is expected that later on there will be an Ashram for them close to the Ashram for the Brothers. Then the Tertiaries have already begun; and there are more men and women anxious to be enrolled. There is a special call for *Grihasthas* (householders) who will live their life fully consecrated to God. For them his will would seem to be the avoidance of luxury, the spreading among men of the spirit of brotherhood, and the making known of Christ and his love. In the Ashram live Brothers who are members of the First Order. They have no money of their own, they share a common purse. For all their needs they rely on the gifts of friends, both Indian and English. They live in as great simplicity as possible, following Indian ways. It is their custom to eat no meat, to take their meals on the ground and most of the Brothers do not have beds to sleep in. No servants are kept except a cook. No Brother has yet turned up with the vocation of a *claf* (?). There is plenty

of work to do in the cleaning of the Brothers' cells, in the care of the library and chapel and in looking after the garden. There is in the Ashram the spirit of the happy family. There is always much gaiety and laughter, for the Brothers seek to catch something of the happy spirit of St. Francis, and indeed one of the notes of the "Sangh" is *joy*.

Much time each day is given to reading and study. Lectures are given by those Brothers who are qualified to teach. The Ashram is in a very real sense a place of training. Later some of the Brothers may go out and engage in active work in other places but many of them are now young and inexperienced. Therefore it is of vital importance that the most should be made of those first years in the Ashram. The period of probation for a Brother is a long one. It is many years before he can become a full member of the "Sangh." And for him in the first days as a *Brahmachari* the training of the mind through reading and study is essential. But of course, even more essential is the learning of the ways of prayer. Therefore, in the Ashram normally many hours a day are spent in silence and the day is punctuated by times of corporate worship. At sun-rise in the open air is the morning *sandhya*, an offering of singing and meditation. Similarly at the end of the day at sunset, as the light fades and stars begin to appear, the Brothers gather together for the evening *sandhya*. The songs of Narain Vaman Tilak are their treasury of devotion at these times, sung sitting on the ground in the Indian fashion as often as possible to the accompaniment of Indian instruments.

It is the great hope of the Brothers to do something towards the clothing of Christianity in Indian dress. They look upon it as an appalling tragedy that in this land, full of religious devotion, Christ has been so often presented in such a Western way that he cannot be readily understood and loved by the people. Similarly, too, the Brothers regard the Western divisions among Christians as a hindrance to the spread of God's Kingdom in India. They long for the healing of those divisions and continually pray and work for unity.

The "Sangh" does not confine its vision of work to the Ashram. The Brothers have founded in Poona near by, a hostel for students where those who attend colleges may live in the atmosphere of a Christian household. Two Brothers are set apart to be in charge of this hostel. It started a year ago and has now eighteen students in it. Indeed it is as full as it possibly can be and there is a waiting list. There are Muslim and Hindu students living together and dining together with the Christians. It is the hope of the Brothers that by reading the Gospels with them, by personal talks and through the influence of friendship they may lead these young men to know Christ.

Some times the Brothers dream dreams of the future. They hope that the day will come when the "Sangh" will have a piece of work in the villages. They wish that this should aim at the

complete uplift of the people. Such work would include teaching, medical assistance, instruction in hygiene and improved agricultural methods. Perhaps one day the "Sangh" will count among its Brothers a doctor Brother and some nursing sisters. Then, too, there is the hope that there will be started in a few years' time an Ashram in Ceylon. Several educated Singalese clergy and laymen are hoping to join it. Hence it is desired that there should be made a special study of Buddhism in relation to Christianity. One day, too, in the more distant future there may be a house of "Christa Seva Sangh" in Northern India which would seek to make an approach towards Islam. The Lord has done great things for them already and it is for this reason that the Brothers dare to expect great things from him in the days to come.

#### INDIA AND THE DRINK TRADE.

The following interview with Rev. J. F. Edwards of Bombay, appeared in the *Methodist Recorder*, U. S. A.

First-hand information concerning the social and moral problems which affect the work of missionary evangelisation is of interest and importance to Methodists everywhere, and for that reason, I caught the Rev. J. F. Edwards of Bombay, "on the wing," to gain some information of the missionary attitude to possible political developments in India. Mr. Edwards, who is on furlough in this country, has just completed twenty-one years' work in India, during the latter half of which he has been Editor of a joint missionary weekly paper for our own Missionary Society and five others, and reviser of the Marathi Bible. But of special interest at the moment is the fact that Mr. Edwards has forwarded to the India Statutory Commission, now in session under the presidency of Sir John Simon, the only memorial for all India on India's trade in drink and opium—a memorial which has been accepted by Indian leaders as setting forth their point-of-view with accuracy, and which at the same time incorporates a summary of the official statistics on the subject. This memorial, by the way, is now being reprinted as a pamphlet by the Joint Overseas Temperance and Social Welfare Committee of our Church, and can be obtained from the Central Buildings, Westminster (price 6d.).

I asked what led him to intervene by submitting a memorial on the Indian Temperance Question to the Simon Commission.

Mr. Edwards answered: "When the Simon Commission was in India it was boycotted so widely that even progressive reformers and constructive politicians would not meet the Commission, either to give evidence or to make any requests. It was in such an impasse that distinguished Indians and missionaries urged me, as Missionary Editor, to draft the memorial which I forwarded to the Commission. I need not remind you that since three out of every four of King George's subjects live in India, this question should be carefully weighed by

the people of Britain. For with 90 per cent. of India's 320 million people illiterate, 66 per cent. of them in serious poverty, and 100 millions without any medical facilities, liquor and opium cannot but retard India's national and religious development. This is fully realised by Hindu and Muslim leaders who are united in their opposition to the liquor trade. Hence the alienating and estranging influence of this trade on the relations between Britain and India."

"Is the liquor traffic in India on the increase?" I asked.

"The position, briefly, is this" said Mr. Edwards. "In some Indian Provinces the consumption of what is called Indian country liquor shows a decrease; but over against this there is a startling increase spread over all India in the consumption of foreign liquor and beer. While the number of drinkshops has decreased from 83,000 in 1901-1 to 45,000 in 1926-27, the total revenue from these shops rose from 6 crores of rupees to 24 crores, which means that a mere reduction of shops is not preventing the consolidation of the liquor trade. More serious still is the increase in the figures for foreign liquor, 1,297,611 gallons of foreign liquor being imported in 1904-5, and five times that quantity, 6,207,343 gallons, in 1927-28. The average proportion of public revenue derived from liquor and drugs in the Provincial Governments of India is about 25 per cent.; the proportion derived from this source of India's total tax-revenue, from both Central and Provincial Governments, is stated by the Taxation Inquiry Committee to be 18 per cent. last year's total being about fifteen million pounds, against two million pounds fifty years ago." Since India's scientists and statesmen denounce this revenue as "tainted money," a moral issue is raised which justifies the Christian missionary in stepping into the arena.

"In this connection," continued Mr. Edwards, "I would like to draw attention to the following sentence in my pamphlet, *Liquor and Opium in India*: Anything short of Dominion Status would mean that some special provision would need to be inserted in the new Constitution to ensure that India should not be foiled of her desire to keep out foreign liquor."

"You hold, then, that the Indian Temperance question is a strong argument in favour of granting Dominion Status for India?" I queried.

"Yes, emphatically," came the reply. "It will mean that if the liquor traffic is continued in India, especially the traffic in foreign liquor which is doing most harm, then that will be India's own act, and Britain will be largely absolved from responsibility for the continuance of such a shocking state of things as the foreign liquor traffic involves, with no less than 1,320,000 gallons of foreign spirit (half from the United Kingdom) being unloaded each year on India."

"Are you confident India will abolish the liquor traffic if it gets power to do so?" I inquired.

To this Mr. Edwards gave a cautious reply; "Someone has wisely said that concerning India we should observe the past, study the present, but never prophesy. "Recorder" readers may draw their own conclusions from two recent expressions of Indian opinion. The Municipality of Taran-Taran in the Amritsar District of the Punjab last year decided to avail itself of the powers of the new Punjab Local Option Act. Out of 2,000 voters, 1,600 voted, and not a single voter favoured the liquor shop. Changanacherry, in the Travancore State, recently had a similar opportunity, when 90 per cent. of the Municipal voters voted for closing liquor shops in the town. I believe equally remarkable results would follow a universal Local Option Act for India."

"I take it, then, that on the whole you believe Dominion Status is a practicable solution for the problem of India's future?"

"On the whole, yes," was Mr. Edwards' guarded reply; "I believe a round-table conference on the subject between Government, Indian politicians and Indian Princes, on the agreed basis of Dominion Status, would reach a solution of the innumerable problems involved. In holding this belief I am encouraged by the manifest growth of the true democratic spirit in the Indian Church, by the increasing influence of Indian Christian leaders throughout the country, and by the steady dominance of the spirit of constructive reform under the leadership of educated Indian men and women of all social grades."

Mr. Edwards has made plans for returning to India. He sails on the Berengaria, which leaves Southampton for New York on December 4. He proposes to visit Japan and China to glean ideas from the Churches there on the important matter of training indigenous leaders of the Christian Church.

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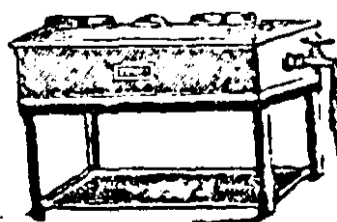
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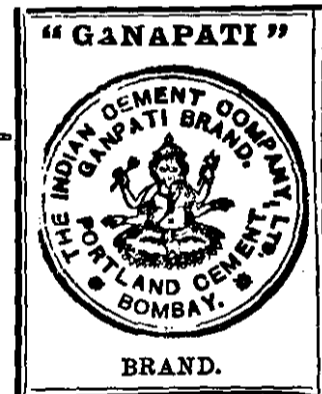
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No. 20

*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Women's Conference :—**The Women's Education Conference of which the fourth session will be held in this city from Monday next is an organised effort at improvement of the conditions of women for women and by women themselves. Critics have not been wanting, who can not imagine why women should organise themselves separately. But the wearer alone knows where the shoe pinches and the thousand and one problems which affect women are best dealt with by women themselves. The foundation laid by social reformers, men of vision and thought, has been so secure and productive of such good results that we have to-day women leaders who can continue the work by building upon it. The conference has rightly given the first place in the programme of its work to women's education. The general illiteracy prevailing among women, which has been time and again pointed out in educational reports is the source of their backwardness in the country. Time was when girls' education was considered a costly and unprofitable luxury but now it is conceded that education is the birthright of every girl as much as every boy. It is high time that the conference awakened the public conscience and the sense of duty of the state to enforce compulsory primary education for girls, irrespective of community or creed. It is essential to bring this about that the conference should, through its constituencies establish contacts with villages which are steeped in ignorance. In elementary and secondary stages the question of differentiation in the curricula for studies for boys and girls does not arise. It is in higher stages that it is insisted that the nature of education for women should fit them for the domestic duties which they will be called upon to perform as wives and mothers. On this ground alone a different curriculum for women is not justified. Already there is a wide divergence between the mental outlook of men and women, owing to the almost total neglect of women's education in the past. Our aim in women's education should be

to bridge the gulf and not make it wider. The sharing by men and women of the same labours, necessitating a common culture and therefore common habits of thought and interests will be the very means of filling this undesirable hiatus. For this purpose the courses of studies for men and women should be the same. This is not to say that adequate provision for cultural studies should not be insisted on for both sexes in education.

**Programme Of Women's Conference :—**The programme before the fourth All India Women's Conference is a lengthy one extending over five days. Except on Monday, when the Conference opens in the evening, the sessions will all be held in the mornings, and afternoons will be devoted to visits to schools, social work and industrial centres, hospitals and maternity homes and excursions to places of interest. The programme also includes Radio talks, lantern lectures, a public concert and entertainments. Thus the organisers of the All-India Women's Conference have made their programme attractive by a judicious combination of business and pleasure. There will not only be speeches and resolutions but practical demonstration of what have been done by women.

**Sir Purshotamdas' Munificence :—**The excellent building scheme initiated by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas in his own district of Surat four years ago has been an unqualified success in the spread of primary education in the rural area. The number of schools that have taken advantage of the scheme rose from 5 in the first year, to 59 at the present day, including 9 schools which are under construction. These buildings constructed under the scheme are authoritatively stated to be built on the latest hygienic principles. They provide plenty of accommodation and furnish every convenience and comfort to the pupils receiving instruction in them. It must be a pleasure to the pupils to receive instruction in such wholesome surroundings. "The Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas Village School Building Scheme" as it is called, has done much to teach the value of self-help and stimulate interest in education among the rural population of Surat. One of the essential conditions of the scheme is that the villagers should contribute not less than one third of the cost of the buildings and also provide sites for them. The actual supervision of the work of construction is also entrusted to their care. Another important feature of the scheme is that its benefits are by no means confined to any particular class or creed. Four schools for Mahomedans, two for depressed classes and four girls'

schools are enough to convince one of the universality of the scheme. Only last week the Governor of Bombay performed the opening ceremony of an Urdu School at Pardi and paid a well-deserved tribute to Sir Purshotamdas for his generosity and public spirit.

**The Social Conference :—**We publish elsewhere the constitution of the National Social Conference as adopted at the 42nd Session held at Lahore. From a perusal of the contents it seems to us that the institution has limited its activities and powers by framing this, and that it has now become more of an All-India organisation for social service than a conference of the various social workers all over the country. The constitution which is similar to that of the Congress provides for provincial conferences and committees which will be responsible to the All-India committee. No one can go as a delegate to the All-India Conference unless he is elected by an organisation recognised by the Provincial Committees or is a member of the All-India Committee. We think that the attempt at "centralising" reform work was not necessary as already it exists to a greater measure than in any other sphere. If, however, this constitution is able to co-ordinate the social work carried on within each province, much will have been achieved. The provision that past presidents of the National Conference will be members of the All-India Committee will increase the number of that body by at least twenty. The number of members in the Committee will be roughly eighty and the rule that one-fifth of this will be necessary for a quorum will prevent it from meeting more often than the one occasion required by the constitution. As its object is mainly to co-ordinate the work of the provincial committees this is to be welcomed as the committee can only lay down general rules for the guidance of the provincial bodies. We wish the Conference every success in the new stage it has entered.

**Anti Untouchability Bill in C. P. :—**We take the following from the *Hitavada*, Nagpur :—"In the list of business for the ensuing session of the C. P. Legislative Council there is a short Bill for the introduction of which Mr. Gavai, M.L.C., will seek the permission of the Council. The object of the Bill is nearly the same as that of Mr. Jayakar's Bill in the Legislative Assembly *viz.*, the extending of the free use of all places of public utility constructed or maintained partly or wholly out of public funds such as wells, tanks, rest-houses and the like to all classes of people irrespective of caste prejudices in the matter. It will be recalled in this connection that in 1921 a resolution was moved in the C. P. Council by Mr. Nandagaoli, one of the representatives of the depressed classes, recommending the extension of the use of all public places to the members of the depressed classes, without let or hindrance. Owing mainly to the attitude of strict neutrality which Government took up at the time, the resolution was defeated, 10 voting for and 23 against the motion." The resignation of the Swarajists in the Council reduces the supporters of the Bill, but we hope Mr. Gavai's efforts will meet with success.

**Women's Education And Work In Behar And Orissa :—**We print elsewhere a lengthy

report of the work done by the women of Behar and Orissa for the education and uplift of their sisters. During the four years that the Bihar and Orissa Women's Council has been in existence, it has initiated and has been carrying on a comprehensive programme of work. One of the demands they have put forth is that women should be nominated in large numbers to municipalities and local boards to promote primary education for girls. Miss S. B. Das one of the three lady members in the Senate of the University of Patna made a forceful speech drawing the attention of the Government to the backwardness of women's education in the province and appealing to them to take immediate steps to open Intermediate classes to provide higher education for women. With all these activities, the women of Bihar and Orissa have shed the epithet "backward" which was used to describe them in the past.

**The East African Question: Pundit Hirdayanath Kunzru** who led the East African Indian Deputation to England and who returned to India last week declared that there is a change for the better in the East African situation from the Indian point of view. He stated in his interview to the press :—"The three main questions in which Indians are interested are those relating to the closer union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, the official majority in the Kenya Legislative Council and a common electoral roll for all races. The report of Sir Samuel Wilson goes against Indians on all these points and proposes a constitution which if accepted by the British Government will make unofficial European influence dominant not merely in Kenya but generally speaking throughout East Africa. It paves the way as far as is practicable for a dominion of East Africa controlled by the white settlers. As the proceedings of the Mandate Commission show it has aroused considerable feeling in international circles. I have good reasons for believing that it has been strongly opposed by both the Government of India and the India Office. The situation has improved in other ways also. The Cabinet, it appears, is realising the gravity of the problem more and more and is studying the question more fully. The postponement of any decision till the reopening of Parliament, which appears to me to be partly the result of the strong line taken by the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India and the representations made on behalf of the East African Indians will give his Majesty's Government more time to grasp the imperial significance of the East African question. Mr. Wedgwood Benn has taken the deepest interest in it. He understands the Indian point of view as well as any Indian and it will be no exaggeration to say that he will watch sleeplessly over Indian interests in East Africa. He will try to the utmost of his power to secure justice for Indians."

**The Sarda Act :—**We understand that the Marathi translation of the Sarda Act is in very ambiguous language and has given rise to grave misinterpretations. As a result of this there is a danger of many people being driven to perpetrate the very evil which the Act seeks to destroy. We hope the authorities will move at once to set things right.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 18, 1930.

## "JESUS OR CHRISTIANITY."\*

Such is the arresting title of a remarkable book by Mr. Kirby Page, Editor of the well-known American review of what may be called applied religion "The World Tomorrow". Mr. Page was in India a short time back and to those who had the good fortune to meet him, the book has an added personal interest. Mr. Page's book in its method strongly reminds one of Miss Katherine Mayo's "Mother India." But its motive is wholly different from that of Miss Mayo. He warns the reader at the outset and, indeed, by his sub-title for the book that it is neither a history of Christianity nor an interpretation of Western civilization, and that it is merely "a study in contrasts." He explains that, since he has primarily written for ministers and lay members of the churches, he has been far more critical of organized Christianity than if he had been writing for non-Christians. "This is also the reason," he writes, "why I have devoted so little space to an enumeration of the glorious achievements of the churches. *The reader must, therefore, constantly remember that this presentation by no means constitutes the whole story.*" Again, at the end he repeats this warning with even more emphasis. "*It is not whole story,*" he repeats. "It is merely an examination of certain attitudes and practices on the part of Christians which constitute conspicuous violations of the spirit and teaching of Jesus. My purpose is to shed light on the question as to why Christianity has not been more successful in uprooting giant evils and why it is so often paralyzed in times of crisis." Mr. Page is an implicit believer not only in the excellence but also the practicability of the teachings of Jesus Christ. His purpose is to help to extend the application of these principles in American life and not to discredit Christianity and the American people in the eyes of other nations. This is what makes the difference between his book and Miss Mayo's.

We have ourselves constantly drawn a distinction between the teachings of Christ and Christianity. But not being Christians ourselves, we can only do so in a general, tentative way. Mr. Page, however, does not labour under the disability. He sees things from the inside and can speak from experience. Whenever the patent inconsistency between the practices of Christian nations and their profession of allegiance to Christ, was pointed out, the answer was that

many Christians are not truly Christians but Christians only in name. The same explanation, however, has been assumed by our European Christian critics to be unavailable to Hindus, Mussalmans and Buddhists. We have never been able to understand, why Mr. Kirby Page, however, shows that this plea is not tenable in face of the fact that not merely lay Christians but clergymen and religious leaders are likewise infected by ideas and addicted to practices which are opposed to the teachings of Jesus. The most conspicuous instance of this is their attitude towards war. It has always been a puzzle to us why our Christian missionary friends who regard the institutions of *devadasis* as the crowning infamy of Hinduism, are so tolerant, to say the least of it, towards War. Arjun, the generalissimo of the Pandava Armies in Mahabharata war, threw down his arms and refused to fight at the last moment because he foresaw the evil consequences even if victory fell to his side. Prominent among these, and that which most distressed him, was the break-up of family life and the corruption of sexual morality which he anticipated as an inevitable result. If the Christian clergy did not foresee this, they should, indeed, be far less keensighted than was Arjun some three thousand years ago. If they did foresee it, and yet blessed the banners, they cannot disown responsibility for the wide-spread sexual demoralisation that has followed the War. We can quote numerous authorities in confirmation of this fact, if necessary. We have had with us for some time past a remarkable collection of essays by authors of exceptional competence, under the title "Sex in Civilization" published by Messrs. Allen and Unwin, London, which we have not yet been able to notice as it is a book which requires close and careful study. Almost every one of the writers starts with the statement or assumption that the War had revolutionised ideas of sexual morality. We shall deal in more detail with the subject when we review the book. Our point, here, is that if the institution of *devadasis* damns Hinduism beyond reprieve, the close association of the Christian church with what Mr. Kirby Page calls "the War System," must damn Christianity equally irretrievably. He leaves no loop-hole of escape by the usual plea that war exists in spite of Christianity, as he quotes eminent Christian Divines defending and justifying War as sanctioned by Christianity and even by Jesus Christ. "The available evidence is irrefutable," he writes. "Many Christian ecclesiastics and institutions are still upholding and blessing the war system although it is well known that modern war is caused by conflicting economic and political interests and that men, women and children, guilty or innocent, are slaughtered indiscriminately."

\* Published by Messrs. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., New York. Price



What is the value of a book of this kind to us who are not Christian ministers or lay members of churches, for whom it is specially written? Its greatest value lies in the first and last chapters where the author describes what Jesus Christ's religion is and how it is quite practicable of application to national life and to international relations. These are of the most interest and value to non-Christian readers. Of less but of none the less practical interest are the detailed exposure of the entanglement of the Churches with dark places of modern civilization. The worst evil of foreign domination is that it fosters and, indeed, depends for its existence on, a constant sense of inferiority in the subject people. This it does unconsciously, even if it does not intend to do so consciously. This tendency of foreign domination is assisted in the modern world by Christian Missions who rely for making converts on persuading the people among whom they work that they are the greatest sinners in the world, and that they (the missionaries) have come from a sinless land to save them from the perdition to which they are otherwise doomed. The Christian Missionary is thus, consciously or unconsciously, an auxiliary of European domination over Asiatic races. That is why nationalism among these races instinctively feels the presence of the missions as a serious menace to itself. Mr. Kirby Page's book shows that West and East, Asia and America, are more or less tarred with the same brush, have more or less the same crying evils, have more or less the same social problems, and are more or less in need of the same stringent application of the religious truths common to all religions in order to raise them in the scale of humanity. It is a feeling which brings us nearer to brotherhood and that is the service which Mr. Kirby Page's book does to non-Christians.

**Hindu Temple in New York:**—New York is to have a Hindu temple the first, it is said, to be erected in the New world. The temple is to be part of the India Society's building on the site of a house formerly owned by a wealthy American toothpaste manufacturer at Riverside Drive. The centre will have an auditorium, library, art galleries, travel and lecture bureaus, a restaurant and studio apartments where Hindu customs and traditions may be observed in the midst of the pressure of the Western world. The sponsors include Professor Edwin Seligman, Oswald Garrison Villard, Professor John Dewey, Dr. John Haynes Holmes and other distinguished Americans, in addition to Hindus. The Society was founded by Hari G. Govil, a Hindu who went, as a poor immigrant, to that country ten years ago. Mr. Govil's original purpose in going to America was to learn the efficient and hustling ways of the West so that he might carry their influence to his own people. Residence here, however, convinced him, he says, that the East, perhaps, had more to offer the West than the West had to give the East. So he has remained to interpret India to America. Hindus he says, find difficulty in maintaining the life of the spirit in New York, but they can't do it, and the India centre will help.

### SOCIAL WORK AND THE CITY.

Dr. Manshardt whose name is well-known to our readers as the writer of the series of short and suggestive articles which appeared last year in the *Reformer* under the heading "That Men May All Be Brothers," has arranged for a series of lectures at the American Marathi Mission, Neighbourhood House, on "Building a better Bombay." The first lecture on "the Municipality and the City" was given by Mr. A. R. Dalal, the Municipal Commissioner; the second on "Journalism and the City" by Mr. Boulton of the *Times of India*; the third on "Communal problem in the City" by Mr. M. R. Jayakar. Mr. K. Natarajan delivered the fourth of the series on Wednesday the 16th January on "Social Work and the city" of which the following is a summary:—

Neighbourhood House is founded as a centre of influence based on the injunction, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." A neighbour in the ordinary sense is the person who lives next to you but the sense in which Jesus Christ used it is different. Mr. Kirby Page in his latest book "Jesus or Christianity" says that Jesus meant by neighbour everyone who stood in need of assistance. An even better interpretation is that of the Vedanta as Paul Deussen explained it in the following passage in a lecture delivered in Bombay nearly thirty years ago:—

"The Gospels fix quite correctly as the highest law of Morality: 'Love your neighbour as yourselves.' But why should I do so, since by the order of nature I feel pain and pleasure only in myself, not in my neighbour? The answer is not in the Bible (this venerable book being not yet quite free of Semitic realism), but it is in the Veda, in the great formula *Tat Teem Asi*, which gives in three words metaphysics and morals together. You shall love your neighbour as yourselves, because you are your neighbour, and mere illusion makes you believe that your neighbour is something different from yourselves. Or in the words of the *Bhagavad-gita*: he who knows himself in everything and everything in himself will not injure himself by himself, *Na Hinasti Atmana Atmanam*. This is the sum and tenor of all morality."

On this interpretation, "loving your neighbour" and serving him is to your own interest as much as to his. This also is the teaching of the New Psychology which seeks to explain altruism as a sublimation of the self-regarding instincts of the individual. So far as to the "why" of Social Service.

Now "what" is social service. In a sense every one is doing social service though he may not be aware of it. Every thought and act of an individual has its reaction on other individuals and the Society at large. The careless throwing of a burning cigarette end has often led to disastrous fires. In the same way a wise word spoken thousands of years ago has been a solace and inspiration to

millions through ages. Even the poorest beggar has his social value and a great one. Wordsworth devoted a poem to explain the importance of the beggar to society. The following lines occur in his "Old Cumberland Beggar:—

" But deem not this man useless.....  
 .....While from door to door,  
 This old Man creeps, the villager in him  
 Behold a record which together binds  
 Past deeds and offices of charity,  
 Else unremembered, and so keeps alive  
 The kindly mood in hearts which lapse of years,  
 And that half-wisdom half-experience gives  
 Make slow to feel, and by sure steps resign  
 To selfishness and cold oblivious cares.  
 Among the farms and solitary huts.  
 Hamlets and thinly-scattered villages,  
 Where the aged Beggar takes his rounds,  
 The mild necessity of use compels  
 To acts of love ; and habit does the work  
 Of reason ; yet prepares that after-joy  
 Which reason cherishes. And thus the soul,  
 By that sweet taste of pleasure unpursued,  
 Doth find herself insensibly disposed  
 To virtue and true goodness. "

Social Service therefore is an expression of respect for human personality as such irrespective of the accidents of life. A society which is organised on the principle of respect for human personality will be the ideal society but unfortunately there is no such ideal society anywhere in the world and it is the object of social service to make society more and more expressive of this principle. It is obvious that in such service the even distribution of the necessities and the amenities of life is of the first importance. The individual social worker or private social organisation can only indirectly help in this important sphere. The bulk of it must be done by the State, Municipal and other authorities, and the Social Worker must see that these authorities are kept up to the mark. Among the necessities and amenities of life which should be sufficiently available to all citizens are air, water, food, clothing, elementary education for his children, decent and sanitary housing and opportunities for self culture. The adequate provision of these will of itself solve many a social problem. It is the deprivation of these that largely lead to anti-social conduct. The city of Bombay, the improvement of which was the purpose of these lectures, is one of the worst socially organised communities in the world. A population of one million three hundred thousand is cooped up in half of an island whose area is about twenty three square miles. Two-thirds of this population is male and only one-third is female. The housing conditions are most deplorable, nearly two-thirds of the population inhabiting one room tenements where 43 per cent. of the total deaths of the city occur and 82 per cent. of the deaths of infants in this city. Prof. Patrick Geddes used to say of the Development Department Chawls that it was not housing but ware-housing the people

and the Professor got into hot waters with the Authorities for his outspokenness. Professor Geddes laid it down as an axiom that no chawl in Bombay should be permitted of a height which a pregnant woman with a pot of water cannot comfortably ascend. It is this kind of thinking in which social work is kept constantly in touch with human need that has to be fostered particularly in our Municipal Councillors, Legislators and Members of Government. Patrick Geddes said that he prophesied several years before the Great War that the manner in which the workers were housed in Berlin was bound to produce a nervous condition in them leading to a revolution. In Bombay however whenever we encounter trouble we are ready to ascribe it to Bolshevism, Communism or any other cause instead of the real condition of the people which makes them a ready prey to subversive propaganda. We prevent an epidemic of Cholera by purifying our water supply and not by prosecuting the carriers of bacilli and sending them to jail. This great department of social work is not within the sphere of private initiative. In a city like Bombay, Social service workers are like the ambulance corps of an army whose duty it is to look after the wounded without any voice whatever in the policy which declares war or the strategy which precipitates a battle, it may be under the most unfavourable conditions. A mad statesman might have provoked a war or a drunken general might have launched the battle but the social worker must uncomplainingly set himself to the Sisyphean task of acting as stretcher bearers. On the whole the individual social worker or social organisation can better serve the community by imparting knowledge than by giving material relief. In other words they must help the people to help themselves. The method of Gautama Buddha who put a bereaved mother in the way of realising that death was universal and therefore to be endured with patience, although perhaps, he might have, if he chose, called the dead child back to life and thus could have immediately relieved her anguish, has a profound lesson for the social worker. There are certain qualities which every social worker should possess: Sound health, cheerful temperament, a habit of looking at the bright side of things, sympathy—i. e. the power of looking at the other side of things,—the power of hope in the face of constant and repeated failures, and knowledge without which all the other qualities may not be of much value. A good general education is necessary and particularly a study of psychology in its latest extension to the subconscious. Finally the social worker should know that progress must come by slow degrees by patient and unwearied effort, and sudden progress by revolution is the great illusion that he or she must guard against.

Competition for the Aga Khan Prize:—Man Mohan Singh, a young Indian student of the Bristol University, took off from Croydon on the 4th January on an attempt to win the Aga Khan's £ 500 prize, but owing to mishap had to abandon the flight for the present.

## INTER-COMMUNAL AMITY.

## MR. JAYAKAR'S LECTURE.

"Compromises do not solve the communal problem. It is essential to make a scientific study of the question which now exists the world over. Nations and individuals who have made a special study of the question, have discovered very recently that common interests, common impulses, common attributes and common avocations alone can solve the feeling" said Mr. Jayakar, M. L. A., speaking on the 8th instant at Nagapada House, Bombay. The subject of the lecture was "Communal problems in the city," in the "Building A Better City" series which was, the other day, inaugurated by Sir Frederick Sykes. Justice Mirza presided.

Mr. Jayakar first dealt with the situation in Bombay, but later dwelt on the communal problem as a world question. He emphasised that common interests alone would provide a permanent solution.

Referring to Bombay's past, the speaker said it had the reputation, like Alexandria of olden days, of being a cosmopolitan city. It was the microcosm of India where lived Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Sikhs, Jews and Christians. In his younger days, there existed harmony and friendliness amongst the Bombay citizens. The Parsees used to appoint Deccanis as executors of their wills. The Muslims used to consult Hindu friends even on questions of marriage. He regretted that times had changed and each community was nourishing self-consciousness. The Montford reforms were undoubtedly responsible for this self-consciousness among the different communities which were trying to increase their strength by organisation of themselves. That naturally resulted in the formation of classes.

The speaker next stated that such classes were not being formed only in India, but all over the world. There was not a Hindu-Muslim squabble in England, but there was something else. Even America, which claimed to be an advanced nation, was not free from communal diseases, but the last named nation was seriously making a scientific study of the question. Societies and associations had been started and schools were trying to find out what was at the bottom of the cruel disease. As a result of the studies, a few had found out solutions.

Research schools had discovered that the child's mind must be protected from infection. Generally the communal feeling entered into the child when in a sub-conscious state and reached a virulent form at a later age.

Mr. Jayakar quoted the example of an American school where there was a quarrel between the town side and country side boys. The headmaster of that institution found that the feeling originated from the parent. Hence, he arranged functions where the parents were invited to take part. He was careful to put the townside parents and the country-side parents together and arrange common social functions often. In 25 years' time the feeling disappeared.

The speaker concluded that it was the duty of the Bombay Schools Committee to try such methods

to remove the communal feeling from the future generation. It was for India to take lessons from such research studies and experiment.

The Chairman, Justice Mirza, endorsed the speaker's suggestions.

## WOMEN'S WORK IN BIHAR.

The Honorary Secretary, Miss S. B. Das of the Bihar and Orisa Council of Women presented the following report at the Biennial Conference held last month :—

Our Council came into existence in April 26th 1925. It is a body representing all communities European, Anglo-Indian, Behari, Bengali, and Oriya. The aims and objects of the Council of women are those of all the other women's Council, that is social service and the promotion of sympathy and purpose among women of all communities and to develop the civic sense of women. These aims can be best carried out by encouraging and co-ordinating such forms of social works as already exist for the betterment of social condition. In places like Bombay and Calcutta there were many groups of women working for the public good in many ways. In B. and O. apart from the workers in the mission and the hospitals there were almost no groups of this kind, when our council was started. The fact that there were no existing societies to affiliate to the council of women had made the initial work of the council rather different from the work actually carried on by sister councils in other provinces. It has been necessary in the beginning to find out those who were interested in a subject and then to take steps to form them into a working group, which it is hoped, would later develop into a separate society which could carry on its own work.

I am glad to say that within the last four years, the work of the women's council has become a strong factor in our public life. Some of the movements specially for the uplift of women and children of our province owe their inception to our council which have carried on organised propaganda or participated in public meetings and in many other ways helped to educate public opinion in vital matters.

The work of our council has steadily developed under the presidentship of Lady Stephenson who is one with us as a woman in our aims and for the welfare of the women of our province.

At our last annual general meeting which was held in 25th November our management committee was formed with nine ladies from the European and nine from the Indian communities. And thus for the first time it is truly representative of all communities. Lady Stephenson is its president and the secretaryship has passed through the hand of Mrs. Macpherson to Miss Das and Mrs. H. D. Chatterjee has been elected Jt. Secretary.

Our Council has at present four branches, namely Patna, Ranchi, Cuttack, and Jamshedpur. Patna is our headquarters. The total roll of membership

is about three hundred. All our branches are doing good and useful work.

The Council of Women carry on the work by means of the representatives who are called Conveners of the sub-committees. We have the following sub-committees, viz., Education, Jail visiting work, Hospital visiting and Ladies work party. Women's education is very backward in our province. Education sub-committee deals with matters concerning the education of girls and women. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention that four of our members are the Fellows of the Patna University and one of them Miss Das is a member of the Syndicate. Music has been introduced in our university curriculum through the activity of one of the members Miss Das, who is a fellow. As there is no I. A. classes in the capital of our province, one of our members Miss Das who is a Fellow of the University moved a resolution regarding the I. A. classes to be started at Patna at the last annual senate meeting which was unanimously carried and three special scholarships of Rs. 25 each for our girls to prosecute studies in the I. A. classes have been created. One of our members (Miss Das) is also a member on the Secondary Board of Education and she is an elected member on the University Examination Delegacy and also a Municipal Commissioner and is on the primary education committee. Thus you will see that though our province is backward in women's education yet we are proud to say that we are able to voice the aspiration of women for the education of our daughters from primary to university stage before the competent authorities. This is a great step forward for us women of to day. Our Council helps the women of our province in their just aspirations.

As the control of the primary education is entirely in the hands of the Municipalities and the District Boards, and as no portion of the education grant is earmarked for the girl's primary education and as also these Local bodies are composed only of men except one woman (Miss Das) in the whole province, the girl's primary education has been much neglected in the past. Therefore an important resolution was moved by Miss Das at the annual general meeting regarding the recommendation to Government to nominate competent and able women as members on Municipalities and District Boards. This resolution was seconded and supported by Mrs. H. D. Chatterjee and Miss Hasra B. L. and was passed unanimously by the Council and a copy of it has been sent to Government by our committee, for favourable consideration.

Our Council is interested in women's welfare work and social activities and helped them wherever necessary. When after the expiry of three years' service Miss Das was not re-appointed as Hon. magistrate on the ground that owing to a number of junior officers who were under training, there were not sufficient cases to go round, our Council took up

this matter with diffidence, and was successful in having her re-appointed. And she has shown to the authorities that there is sufficient work for women magistrate by disposing of 537 cases of I. P. C. and various other acts in last eleven months.

Ladies work parties have been organised and proved successful in our branches. Mrs. Gokhale is the convener of the work party. Garments, bandages, pillow-cases, sheets, flannel kurtas, cotton kurtas, mufflers, woollen vests, etc, etc are done by the work party. And these are sent to the child welfare centres, Duchess of York hospital, leper Asylum, Blind School and Convent where, they are greatly appreciated.

The members of the hospital sub-committee regularly visited throughout the year. The visits seem to be much appreciated both by the women and children and specially by patients who were long bedridden in the hospital.

*Jail-work*—The management committee of our council felt that the interest of the female prisoners in both the larger and the smaller jails would be furthered, if there were regular lady visitors who would be in a position, not only to represent their needs, but also in some measure to exercise an educative influence. The proposal was brought before the Government and met with full sympathy. Miss Dass who was appointed by the Government as a non-official visitor to the Bankipore Jail is the president of the jail-visiting sub-committee and has been successful in having lady non-official visitors appointed in all of the 13 districts and central jails of this province. Our jail visitors take great interest in their works and many improvements have been carried out at their suggestions. A memorandum was sent up by our council to the Government regarding the condition of women prisoners suggesting certain improvements—much needed in the amenities of jail life for female prisoners. The memorandum is still under consideration of Government.

Child welfare work has progressed in a measure beyond our expectation. Lady Stephenson has taken great interest in this work. The Patna City Municipality has given land for the child welfare work on a lease of ninety nine years free of rent. Raja Devakinandan Prasad Sing of Monghyr built a new centre at a cost of Rs. 20,000 and called it Lady Stephenson's centre. An endowment fund was raised in Lady Stephenson's name which amounts to Rs. 62,754. A child welfare fete was kindly organised by Lady Stephenson last year at the Government House and realised about Rs. 50000, which is included in Rs. 62,764. The child welfare work was originally started by this council and was managed by its sub-committee. It has progressed so much that it is soon going to be entrusted to a society and will be affiliated to our council.

Our Council has also started the work of prevention of cruelty to animals. Through the Council's

activities this work has turned into a society, the S.P.C.A. And this society is affiliated to our Council. The late Maharaja of Darbhanga gave a donation of Rs. 5,000 to Lady Stephenson to spend for any public work and she gave this sum of money for the erection of a shade at the railway station for animals for drinking water and also promised to pay an annual donation of Rs. 2000 to the society.

The blind school is another affiliated society to our Council. Owing to the Council's interest in this society it is now shortly going to have a building of its own, and receives considerable help and support from the Council which are greatly appreciated by the committee of the school.

During the year under report many interesting lectures have been organised by the Council and they were greatly appreciated, and attended by our members. A popular activity of women's Council has been the three social gatherings. The Council of women welcomed Lady Irwin at the Sinha Institute Hall where an address was presented. A Purdah party was given by Lady Stephenson when Lady Simon was here in the last cold weather. Lady Stephenson entertained the members of the Council at a tea at the annual general meeting. The social gatherings were a great success and well attended by Purdah ladies.

The Girl Guide is affiliated to our society and the Girl Guide helps us in our social gatherings in looking after these gatherings which are strictly Purdah. It is impossible to give in a brief report all about the activities of our branches and so I shall not deal with them in my report.

We have a liason officer for our lone members. We felt the need of linking them up and of giving them more fully the benefits of co-operation in the Council though isolated in mofussil stations. The number of the members are increasing and we have to-day 40 lone members. Our Liaison officers get into touch with our lone members and make them feel that they have their place in a great sisterhood of womanhood with whom they can co-operate in social service.

#### BIHAR WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

Miss S. B. Das who is a member of the Senate of the Patna University put in a plea for the rapid spread of girls' education in the Province.

Miss Das moved "that the senate recommend to Government that in view of the strong recommendation of the Hartog Committee on the subject of development and encouragement to be given to women's education, and also in view of the fact, that women's education in this Province is in a very backward condition, immediate steps should be taken to start at Patna the capital of the Province I. A. classes to be attached to the Girls' High School at Bankipur".

The following speech was made by her in the Senate on the occasion:—

I rise to address this illustrious assembly on a subject, that is of the greatest importance to our province. It is a matter of great pride to me, to do what should have been done long ago by the more learned, the more eloquent, and the more patriotic of the Senate, but if they have failed to understand or having understood have failed to discharge their duty, I am not prepared to neglect my duty and wink at their failure.

The condition of women's education in Behar and Orissa arouses serious misgivings in me, regarding the future of our province. Nine years ago, we fondly hoped that very soon we would be able to hold our heads high and march hand in hand with the advanced provinces in India and take our legitimate share in the assembly of our educated women. And since education became a transferred subject, it inspired a conviction in me that the education of our girls would receive better attention than it had done till 1920. But never was disillusionment more complete or more tragic. The Government have done nothing for the higher education of girls in this province, with the result that we can not keep pace, not only with the advanced countries but even with the other provinces of India. The Government give an excuse, that there is no appreciable demand for girls' higher education in this province, so why waste money for mere girls? It may be true to a certain extent. When Government is encouraging the boys' education, is it not the duty of Government, to encourage girls' education in this province even when their number is small?? It is high time, we realised that the future of the province depends upon the character and the personality of the mother of Behar and Orissa. What sad specimens of humanity will be the children of illiterate or ill-educated mothers? Test of civilization is treatment it gives to women. Judged by this we are perilously near barbarians. It is amusing to consider some figures. In the year 1927-28, nearly one crore and eighty lacs rupees were spent on boy's education while only 12 lacs were spent on girl's education! This is sufficient to condemn the powers that be. Since the existing Bankipur Girls' School has been raised to high school what provision, I ask, is made for the higher education of these girls? If none, what is the reason of this sex distinction in matters educational? I confess, I cannot conceive any. Did Government think that education is only the privilege of one sex? But surely the women equally have got the right of education. And neither one sex nor the other can advance by itself without the strain on the social and national system and injury to itself. Hartog Committee's opinion is that in the interest of the advance of the Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion. Will our Government do that? In these days of self-assertion, in these times of activity, in these days of progress, it is

simply suicidal for us women to be deprived of higher education. Government, ought to know that we women exist in this province, and we must have better consideration now from the hands of Government, since in the past our education has been totally neglected. I appeal to this august assembly, to demand from Government to open I. A. classes immediately in the Bankipur Girls' High School which is in the heart of the province. The sum of money wanted for this purpose, is so insignificant, that I have no doubt, that no opposition will be offered from the opposite sex, whose duty, as I said in the beginning would have been to see that the women of this province have had their legitimate share in the higher education. It is estimated that a sum of less than Rs. 6000 a year would suffice for the education of I. A. classes here. Surely no man could or would object to a grant of such a small amount for women's higher education in this capital. Failure to grant so great a boon at so small a cost will, I am afraid, be detrimental to the interests of the country in general and this province in particular. With these few words, I beg to move my resolution.

### CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

#### OBJECTS.

I.—The objects of the Indian National Social Conference are the promotion of the social well-being of the people of all classes in India, irrespective of caste, creed or race, and the general elevation of their social standards. These objects are to be attained by developing social conscience; by upholding the principle of justice and liberty in social relations, and by reforming social institutions of the country according to the needs and conditions of the times.

#### SESSIONS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

II.—The Indian National Social Conference shall ordinarily meet once every year at such time and place as may have been decided upon at its previous Session or such other place as may be determined by the All-India Social Conference Committee hereinafter referred to.

#### COMPONENT PARTS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

III.—The Indian National Social Conference Organisation shall consist of the following:—

1. The Indian National Social Conference.
2. The All-India Committee of the Indian National Social Conference (here in after called the All-India Social Conference Committee).
3. Provincial Social Conferences.
4. Provincial Committees of the Indian National Social Conference (here in after called the Provincial Social Conference Committee.)
5. The Reception Committee of the Indian National Social Conference,

6. Such other organisations inside or outside India working for the social welfare of India as may from time to time be recognised either by the Provincial Social Conference Committees or the All-India Social Conference Committee.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

IV.—No person shall be eligible for the membership of any of the organisations referred to in article III unless he or she has attained the age of 18 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the objects of the Social Conference (as laid down in this Constitution).

#### PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEES.

V.—The following shall be constituted as provinces for the purposes of the Indian National Social Conference.

*Provinces.*—(1) Ajmere Merwara (2) Andhra, (3) Assam, (4) Behar, (5) Bengal including City of Calcutta, and Surma-Valley, (6) Berar, (7) Burma, (8) Central Provinces, (Hindi), (9) Central Provinces (Maharathi), (10) City of Bombay, (11) Delhi, (12) Gujrat, (13) Karnatak, (14) Kerala, (15) Maharashtra, (16) Punjab, (17) N. W. F. Province, (18) Sind, (19) Tamil Nadu, (20) United Provinces (21) Utkal.

Provided that the All-India Social Conference Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular provinces or constitute them into separate provinces.

#### PROVINCIAL ORGANISATIONS.

VI.—There shall be a Provincial Social Conference Committee in and for each of the Provinces named in Article V:—

(a) Each Provincial Social Conference Committee shall co-ordinate the activities of and co-operate with the various social reform and welfare organisations in the Province and carry on propaganda work for furthering the cause of the Conference. Each Provincial Social Conference Committee shall have the power to frame rules for the conduct of its business not inconsistent with this Constitution or any rules made by the All-India Social Conference Committee.

(b) Each Provincial Social Conference Committee shall consist of not less than nine persons elected annually at the Provincial Social Conference or, if no such Conference is held, at the time of the Session of the Indian National Social Conference by the delegates from that province present at the Indian National Social Conference. Provided, that if the number of such delegates be less than six the Provincial Social Conference Committee will be elected by the office bearers of the All-India Social Conference Committee and the delegates from that province present at the Indian National Social Conference.

(c) Each Provincial Social Conference Committee shall submit an annual report of the work done in the Province to the All-India Social Conference Committee thirty clear days before the date of the holding of the annual Session of the Indian National Social Conference.

(d) Each Provincial Social Conference Committee shall pay an affiliation fee of ten rupees to the All-India Social Conference Committee.

(e) Each Provincial Social Conference Committee returning two members or less to the All-India Social Conference Committee shall pay an annual contribution of twenty-five rupees and those returning more than two members, fifty rupees to the All-India Social Conference Committee.

#### ELECTORATES AND DELEGATES.

VII.—All social reform and social welfare organisations in the provinces recognised by the Provincial Social Conference Committees shall be entitled to send delegates to the Indian National Social Conference.

The members of the All-India Social Conference Committee shall be regarded as delegates to the Indian National Social Conference. Each Provincial Social Conference Committee shall also be entitled to send their own delegates.

#### DELEGATE'S FEE.

VIII.—Every delegate to the Indian National Social Conference shall pay a fee of Rs. 2 to the Reception Committee of the Indian National Social Conference.

#### VOTING AT CONFERENCE.

IX.—Delegates alone shall take part in the deliberations of the Indian National Social Conference. They alone will have the power of voting.

#### RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

X.—The Provincial Social Conference Committee of the Province in which the Indian National Social Conference is to be held, shall organise a Reception Committee for the Indian National Social Conference at least four months before the meeting of the Indian National Social Conference and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Social Conference Committee. The minimum fee for membership of the Reception Committee shall be five rupees.

XI.—The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its members.

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

XII.—It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee, (1) to collect funds for the expenses of the Conference, (2) to elect the President of the Conference in the manner set forth in the following article, (3) to make all necessary arrangements for reception and accommodation of delegates, (4) to print and publish the report of the All-India Social Conference Committee, (*vide* article XIX), (5) to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to a general meeting of the Reception Committee who shall make over half of the surplus, if any, to the All-India Social Conference Committee and the other half to the Provincial Social Conference Committee, within four months of the session of the Conference.

#### ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

XIII.—The Reception Committee shall, four months before the session of the Indian National

Social Conference, ask the Provincial Conference Committees to nominate not more than three persons for the Presidentship of the Indian National Social Conference. The Provincial Social Conference Committees shall send in their nominations within two weeks after receiving this intimation, and the Reception Committee shall circulate all the names to the various Provincial Conference Committees with a request that they shall vote for one of those persons to be elected President. The person receiving a majority of such votes shall be elected President. Provided that if the name proves unacceptable to the Reception Committee, it shall refer the matter to the All-India Social Conference Committee with its own recommendation and the decision made by the All-India Social Conference Committee shall be final. Such decision shall be communicated to the Reception Committee six weeks before the session of the Conference.

The President of a special or extra-ordinary session of the Indian National Social Conference shall be elected by the All-India Social Conference Committee.

#### AUDIT.

XIV.—The accounts and expenditure of the Reception Committee, and of the All-India Social Conference Committee and the Provincial Social Conference Committees shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the respective Committees.

#### ALL-INDIA SOCIAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

XV.—The All-India Social Conference Committee shall consist of the President, two Secretaries, the Treasurer, all the past Presidents of the Indian National Social Conference and other elected representatives of each Provincial Social Conference Committee affiliated to the All-India Social Conference Committee.

Every member of the All-India Social Conference Committee shall pay a minimum annual subscription of three rupees.

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE ALL-INDIA SOCIAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

XVI.—The functions of the All-India Social Conference Committee shall be to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Conference from year to year; to co-ordinate the activities of the provincial committees; and to deal with all matters that may arise during the year. For this purpose the All-India Social Conference Committee shall have the power to frame rules not inconsistent with this constitution.

XVII.—The President of the Indian National Social Conference shall be the Chairman of the All-India Social Conference Committee.

XVIII.—(a) The quorum of the All-India Social Conference Committee shall be one-fifth of the total membership of the Committee.

(b) The All-India Social Conference Committee shall meet at least once before the Session of the Conference, to discuss and adopt the Annual Report submitted by the Secretaries, and to transact other necessary business.

FUNCTIONS OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE ALL INDIA  
SOCIAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

XIX.—The All-India Social Conference Committee shall have two Secretaries, one of whom shall belong to the Province to which the President of the Session belongs.

The Secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the All-India Social Conference Committee and shall prepare an account of the work done during the year on the basis of the reports of the Provincial Social Conference Committees referred to in Article 6 (c). This report along with a statement of accounts of the funds which may come into their hands, shall be considered by the All-India Social Conference Committee at a meeting to be held before the session of the Conference for the year.

The Reception Committee shall publish this report along with the report of the proceedings of the Conference (Vide Article XII).

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

XX.—The following shall form the Subjects Committee of the Indian National Social Conference :—

1. All members of the All-India Social Conference Committee.
2. The Chairman and the General Secretary of the Reception Committee.
3. Representatives of delegates to the Indian National Social Conference as given below (vide Appendix A.)

Provided that when people of an Indian State join the Conference as a part of a province or by itself its representation shall be fixed by the All-India Social Conference Committee.

(b) The Reception Committee shall be entitled to elect not more than ten of its members to the Subjects Committee in addition to the Chairman and the Secretaries.

XXI.—The Subjects Committee shall meet from time to time during the Conference as the occasion may require. At such meetings the President shall preside, and the Reception Committee shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing session of the Conference, including resolutions.

XXII.—Resolutions to be moved at the Conference, must be approved of by the Subjects Committee. Provided that a resolution, which has not been approved of by the Subjects Committee, may be moved if a requisition to that effect signed by twenty-five delegates is submitted to the President before the beginning of the meeting in which it is proposed to be moved.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Colour Again :—The students of Glasgow, writes the *Hindu*, deserve to be congratulated on the well-merited snub they have administered to the proprietor of the City Dance Hall. They had, it would appear, reserved the Hall for their use, but the proprietor refused to admit coloured students, an insult which was promptly resented by their white fellow-students who refused to

use the Hall even though its owner held out to them the inducement of a reduced fee. This striking gesture on the part of the students of Glasgow is welcome, showing as it does that they are happily free from the most odious form of snobbery, that which exalts race and colour. Clearly they are not in the authentic line of empire builders—such, at any rate, will be the doleful verdict of the proprietor of the Glasgow Dance Hall and his ilk. But the world has had enough of empire builders.

Simon Commission Report :—A report of the Indian Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, which will make recommendations for reforms in the constitution of India is expected to be ready for publication in the early part of March.

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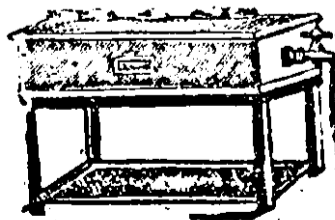
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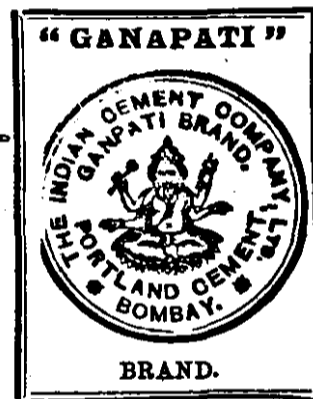
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1930

No. 21

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**The Arya Samaj Marriage Bill:**—After some discussion in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Muktar Singh's Bill to validate marriages performed according to Arya Samaj rites was ordered to be circulated for opinion to the public. Mr. Muktar Singh wanted the Bill to be referred immediately to a Select Committee but this was opposed by some Mahomedan members, on the ground that the Bill sought to legalise marriages between Aryas and non-Aryas, including non-Hindus, and was, therefore, an infringement of Mahomedan law. This nowadays has become a stock argument for Mahomedan communally-elected members against any proposal of social reform. The Government favoured circulation for other reasons and they were supported by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. We have not seen the Bill and we think it important that it should not be allowed to pass without scrutiny. The Indian Legislature has committed one unfortunate blunder in putting its stamp on the custom of Anand marriages among Sikhs, without attaching to them the condition of monogamy which has always before and since been attached to every marriage recognised by the Indian Legislature. If the Arya marriage is legalised without the condition, it would in practice be a charter to every Hindu to take a second, third or fourth wife in as many different communities, by the simple process of calling himself an Arya for the time being. This is happening often in the Brahma Samaj where a couple become Brahmos a fortnight before their marriage and forget all about it the day after the solemn ceremony. In fact, if we may say so without hurting feelings, such marriages recall what used to be known as Gretna Green marriages. In one or two cases within our knowledge, the Anand and Brahma marriages have been abused by persons with Hindu wives living marrying second wives whom they otherwise could not have married either under the Hindu or the Civil Law of Marriage. Arya marriages in the Punjab may be a well-recognised rite, but outside that province, such marriages, though sometimes contracted, have no such status.

**Lord Irwin In Baroda:**—During the visit of the Viceroy and Lady Irwin to the Baroda State, Lord Irwin paid a fitting tribute to the enlightened rule of His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwad who has shown by practical example that the progress of a state depends not only on its administration but on the development of nation building departments also. In education the State is easily ahead of British India, having adopted the system of free and compulsory education several years ago. But the most remarkable feature in the education policy of the State as Lord Irwin remarked was the provision of 200 schools for the so-called depressed classes. Lord Irwin also paid a high tribute to the cultured Maharani of Baroda for the progress of women's education and the constant interest Her Highness displayed in the welfare of women in the State. We would add that Her Highness' interest in Indian women's uplift is not only confined to her State but extends all over the country as shown by the brilliant lead she gave as the president of the first All-India Women's Conference.

**Education And The City:**—The fifth of the series of lectures arranged by Dr. Clifford Manshardt of Nagpada Neighbourhood House fame on "Building A Better City" was delivered by Principal Mckenzie of the Willson College on Wednesday last. "Education And The City" formed the subject of the lecture. Principal Mckenzie said that nature, environment and the cinema were the most powerful influences that contributed to the shaping of the life of the young and that the cinema for good or evil had come to stay because it had an educative value. Mr. Mckenzie then dwelt on the elements which were "dis-educative" and he added that it was impossible to talk of education without drawing attention to the fact that there were unsavoury elements—slum dwellings, filth and disease—which tended to stifle the spiritual life of the individual. The lecturer, proceeded to discuss education as carried on in school or college. It must not be forgotten, he said, that it was comparatively in modern times that these institutions had come into such importance. There was a time when a man might fill a high, honourable and useful place in society without being able to read and write, indeed when these were almost worthy of a gentleman Charlemagne considered to be accomplishments unworthy of a gentleman. Charlemagne was illiterate. The great Akbar could neither read nor write. But they had somehow or other received an education that fitted them for their position. "Indeed," said the lecturer, "it would be a very narrow conception of education by which they could be classed as uneducated."

men." Education in ancient India was that given by a *guru* who initiated his little band into the mysteries of the spirit. The peasants and the artisans were, in those days, largely outside the intellectual movement connected with the schools, but nevertheless they received their own important kind of education. The lecturer dwelt at some length upon the system of education to be adopted in India, now that the country had come into contact with the culture of the West. The great advances that had been made in knowledge, particularly in the science, invention and discovery, combined with the acceleration of travel and communication, had destroyed the Indian's tidy plans of the universe. The key to the situation in the opinion of the lecturer lay in the teacher.

**Purdah And Afghanistan:**—A correspondent of the *Times of India* writes from Peshawar: "According to the Kabul correspondent of the newspaper the 'Frontier Advocate,' King Nadir Khan has granted complete liberty to Muslim women to come out of the seclusion of purdah and in consequence of this, the correspondent avers that the ladies of the Royal harem may now be seen rushing to and fro and in and out of the streets of Kabul in their motor cars without any veil or pretence at it." A year has barely passed since Amanullah sought among other reforms to abolish purdah. The difference between Amanullah's method and that of Nadir Khan is obvious. There is no penalty attached to wearing the purdah under the new regime of reforms and it does not affect the orthodox except in so far as the sight of ladies moving freely without purdah may be offensive to them. We have no doubt that this will be not without effect here and that it will strengthen the anti-purdah movement here. The following is further evidence of the fact that Amanullah's ideals will endure in Afghanistan. We learn "that most of the Afghan students, who were forced to give up their studies last year and return home on account of lack of support from Bachcha-e-Saqqa and who have already gone through the major portion of their studies have been reselected by Nadir Khan's Government to complete their education. They will shortly be leaving Kabul for their respective universities in Europe." This is a welcome move as considerable harm would be caused to the State by leaving the young students in Afghanistan without completing their foreign education. King Nadir Khan has given ample proof that under his regime progressive ideas will be advanced even more surely than under the previous reform period.

**"It Was The Maharajah"**.—Mr. Lewis Mumford writes in a recent issue of the *New Republic*: "On glancing over my article on Patrick Geddes, in *The New Republic* for October 30, I note a reference to the 'now deposed Nizam of Hyderabad.' This is a dreadful howler, and an insult to the Nizam into the bargain: I meant, of course, the 'now deposed Maharajah of Indore.' Why I should have slipped in the wrong title no conscious part of me is aware." The *New Republic* is a well informed American paper which numbers among its contributors some of the younger members of the British Labour party as well as writers like Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe and Mr. C. F. Andrews on Indian affairs.

It is surprising that such an error should have escaped their notice. As for Mr. Mumford, we do not expect that everyone who has heard of Prof. Geddes knows India and we congratulate him on being the first to find out his mistake. On the whole we are glad of the mistake for though H. H. the Nizam will have suffered a temporary set-back in the United States the correction will bring forcibly to the minds of many Americans including Mr. Mumford the fact that the Nizam of Hyderabad is not the same individual as the Indore ex-Maharajah. It is perhaps to avoid such slips that some of our Indian rulers make it a point to show themselves every now and then in Europe or America.

**Buddhism In France:**—We take the following remarks on the Buddhist Society in France called "Les Amis de Bouddhisme" from the *British Buddhist*: "Miss G. Constant Lounabery and her co-workers are to be congratulated upon the success of their efforts to organise an association for the purpose of working in the interest of the cause of Buddhism in France. "Les Amis de Bouddhisme" is now a properly constituted society. Besides disseminating the teachings of the Buddha by means of lectures and the publication of literature, the Society aims at bringing about, through the medium of the Buddhist religion, a better understanding between the peoples of the West and the East. This is a very laudable object and is fraught with great possibilities for the general welfare of humanity. In France the study of Buddhism has, so far, been confined to the elite of intellectual life. Some eminent French scholars have gone deep into the philosophy of life found in Buddhism. Men like Anatole France have showered unstinted praise upon the Buddha Dhamma. In one of his essays the great French author and philosopher says that Buddhism is the most beautiful and the most rational teaching that has ever been presented to mankind. But Buddhism in France has never gone beyond the portals of academic study. If the "Les Amis de Bouddhisme" is to attain its objects it will have to take into consideration the fundamental fact that Buddhism is a religion for humanity."

**The Women's Conference:**—We publish in this issue the report of the opening ceremony and the proceedings of the educational section of the 4th All-India Women's Conference held at Bombay from January 20 to 24. The proceedings of the social section, Mrs. Naidu's speech at the opening of the Pahlad Mills creche and Mr. Jayakar's speech on Women's Rights of Inheritance delivered before the delegates of the Conference will be printed next week.

**Prohibition:**—We take the following from the *Servant of India*: "We are convinced that Prohibition must be ultimately carried out whatever the sacrifices that people will have to make. In this connection it may be noted that the import duty on liquors collected in Bombay Port has decreased owing to the higher licence fees in pursuance of the new Excise policy. If this is so the result will be welcomed by Prohibitionists as a side proof of the success of the policy of putting obstacles in the path of the seller. If the policy of rationing country liquor were to lead to an increase in the consumption of foreign liquors the result is hardly one on which the champions of Prohibition can congratulate themselves."

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 25, 1930.

## ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

The fourth All-India Women's Conference which was the great event of the week in Bombay, was a tremendous success, reflecting great credit on the organisers. There were nearly 300 delegates from all parts of the country. Lady Dorab Tata in her address as Chairman of the Reception Committee regretted that the conditions in Bombay made a common camp difficult. The idea is well worth bearing in mind and being given effect to wherever possible. Lahore where the next Conference is to meet is not so lacking in open spaces as Bombay, and a beginning may will be made there. The most valuable part of such Conferences is the occasions which they provide for people from different parts of the country to meet together, not only in the formal proceedings of the public sessions, nor even the exchange of ideas at closer quarters in Committees, but in the ordinary amenities of daily life, in moments of relaxation, when they can mix freely and form friendships. Though a camp of this kind could not be set up, the arrangements for the accommodation, transport and entertainment of the delegates, were excellent. The only complaint that came to our ears, and that was as much a compliment as a complaint, is that the programme for the delegates' entertainment and instruction was so crowded as to leave hardly time for rest and relaxation in the intervals. Most of the delegates belonged to the younger generations, but there were some among them who though equally if not more youthful in spirit, were not so young physically, and the effort to keep up with the programme, must have been rather a strain on them. Most men when they get on in years, accept the fact and regulate their activities in accordance with it. This seems not so easy in the case of women who defy time to quench their ardour for the uplift of themselves and their sisters. The programme of future Conferences may well be arranged with this fact in view.

The Conference work actually commenced on Friday last when Lady Irwin presided over the first general meeting of the All-India Women's Education Fund started by the Conference. This Fund which already amounts to about Rs. 80,000 is registered as a separate body, with separate office-bearers, a link with the Conference being the clause in the Articles of Association which provides that the Fund should consider the suggestions of the Conference in formulating its scheme of work. We do not know

what the amount is which the Fund wishes or expects to raise, but it should be several crores if it is intended to cover even a small part of the vast empty spaces of women's education which want filling. We appreciate the excellence of the object, but we should like to be assured that it is not intended to establish a Women's Education Service, like the Women's Medical Service, outside the influence either of the regular Government departments or of Indian opinion, as a special enclave under the control of a mainly foreign agency. The opening Session of the Fourth All-India Women's Conference was held in the University Convocation Hall on Monday evening. The great Hall was literally packed with women of all creeds and castes, and the whole vast audience followed the addresses, which were in English, with close interest and attention, being enabled to do so, notwithstanding the poor acoustic properties of the Hall, by the installation of a loud speaker on the platform. Indian audiences nowadays do not remember that English is a foreign language until some intense nationalist calls loud attention to the fact. That at a great Women's Conference, it should have been tacitly and unquestionably agreed upon as the common medium, is conclusive proof that the English language is now the indisputable *lingua franca* of India and is to be regarded as the most important of Indian vernaculars. Lady Sykes opened the Conference with a short speech in which she indicated briefly the great scope of the Conference. Lady Tata as Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in an address which set forth clearly the important questions of public interest which have a direct bearing on the Women's movement. Lady Tata has travelled much and with her eyes open. She has thought much about the social problems of the country and has clear-cut views on many of them, such as the removal of untouchability, education of girls, and social purity. Of all important movements affecting women in different parts of the country, she keeps herself well-informed as shown by her appreciative references to Mrs. P. K. Roy's Gokhale Memorial School in Calcutta and Mrs. Paul Appaswami's similar institution in Madras. Her address may be regarded as embodying the considered views on the principal social problems of the day from the Indian woman's point of view. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's presidential address delivered extempore, rose to the very highest flights of oratory. But behind the glowing periods there were searching phrases which went to the very core of the women's movement and formulated the tests by which it would be judged by India and the world at large. We must reserve further comments on it for the next issue owing to the limits of the space left for this article.



## THE 4th ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

### THE BOMBAY SESSION.

The 4th All-India Women's Educational and Social Conference commenced its Bombay Sessions on Monday the 20th instant when Lady Sykes declared the Conference open. Long before the appointed time the University Convocation Hall was filled with the delegates and visitors. There must have been barely twenty men present on the occasion. A very small section of the audience, about 25 were in purdah. The proceedings commenced with an opening song sung by the pupils of Mr. Deodhar School of Music. Lady Sykes then delivered her address declaring the Conference open.

#### LADY SYKES' OPENING ADDRESS.

This is the Fourth Annual Session of the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform. Our object in meeting is to discuss the many urgent and pressing problems connected with the education of women in this country of ours.

We meet at a time of crisis in the history of India. India is on the eve of political and social changes of far-reaching and momentous significance, and none can foretell what the upshot may be. It is almost superfluous to dwell upon the enormous importance of the question of Women's Education at this grave juncture. Political reform, unless accompanied, step by step, by social reform, is of little real service in a country's uplift; indeed, I may go so far as to say that political advancement *minus* the corresponding social advancement is a contradiction in terms. Let us take for example the subject of Nation-building, on which the future of India so largely depends. The defective physique of the rising generation has caused educationists deep concern, but no real progress in remedying this is possible, so long as there persists, behind the *purdah*, a body of conservative and reactionary opinion, which is responsible for a high rate of infant mortality, apathy in taking precautions against malaria and other preventable epidemic diseases, neglect of sanitation, and social evils like child-marriage and the dowry system. The East is waking up from the sleep of centuries. We see what education has done for women in Turkey. Upon our shoulders lies the grave responsibility of seeing that India does not fail to rise to the occasion.

I do not pretend that the battle can be won without a struggle. No battle worth the winning ever is. In England, Girton College, the first University College for Women, was opened less than sixty years ago, and it was not until Englishwomen had won their spurs in the Great War of 1914-18 that they finally attained their goal. It is not sufficient to meet at Annual Conferences and pass resolutions. That is the least part of our duty. The real spade-work begins when we return home,

and endeavour to influence those around us, and in our own households put into practice what we preach in public.

Signs of progress—almost startling progress—are not wanting. Last year was signalized by the passing of what may easily prove to be the most momentous piece of legislation affecting the status of Indian women since Lord Bentinck's famous regulation abolishing *Suttee* which, by a curious coincidence, became law exactly a century ago. I refer of course to the Sarda Bill. But the part played by the All-India Women's Conference in the passing of that measure has left us with a clear duty; and those of us who believe in it—and I am sure there are many, both within this Conference and outside it—must now devote ourselves to the task of convincing others, of educating them to accept and welcome it, remembering that legislation, unless it is backed by public opinion, is of small avail.

India has many pressing problems to solve as regards female education. Some of them she shares with the rest of the civilized world; others are peculiar to herself. Are we, for instance, to have separate universities for women, with their own curricula, or should Indian women, as in the West, attend the same universities as men? Again, if we accept the latter alternative, do we advocate separate colleges for women, as at Oxford and Cambridge, or do we prefer co-education such as prevails in America? Then there is the perennial question of English *versus* the vernaculars as the medium of education for Indian women.

One disquieting fact which I derive from the quinquennial report on education in India is that while the number of girls receiving education in the lower classes is fairly satisfactory, the numbers dwindle in the higher classes in a most alarming manner, so that the percentage of girls who remain at school after the age of 12 is infinitesimal. It is, surely, a calamitous thing to take a girl away from school just as her education begins to enter upon its most fruitful stage. I spoke just now of the necessity of educating public opinion. We must try and educate the Indian public into dropping the old prejudice against independent careers for women. They must come to see that there is nothing derogatory in an Indian girl taking up teaching or nursing or business as a profession, as her sisters do in the West. Otherwise higher education for women becomes almost objectless. But above all, we must beware of the common but fatal mistake of confusing education with passing the Matriculation examination, or winning diplomas or degrees. I expect many of you have come across a delightful book, *Socrates in an Indian Village*. It tells the story of the efforts of a devoted couple to educate a

rural district in the Punjab. The campaign was carried out with the aid of gramophones, loud-speakers and magic lantern-slides. The subjects included infant-welfare, sanitation, hygiene, cookery and first-aid. The results attained were surprising. Here, surely, lies educational work enough at our very doors of far-reaching importance to national welfare.

We have, then, much to accomplish. But we can receive inspiration from the glorious past of India herself. I was reading the other day the life of the great Indian Emperor Harsha, who lived in the 7th century A.D., when Europe was still plunged in the darkness of the Middle Ages. The historian recounts how, at the lectures given before the court upon the Buddhist religion, the King's widowed sister sat by his side, and took a prominent part in the abstruse theological discussions which followed. In this India of ours, which gave birth to administrators and warriors among her women like Ahalya Bai Holkar of Indore and the Rani of Jhansi, and in our own days to rulers such as Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, who has taken such an active part in directing and leading our movement, we have, surely, no reason for despair. "Lift up your hearts." Let us go forth to our labours with what the poet calls—

"One equal temper of heroic hearts,  
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

Imbued with these ideals we cannot, I think, fail in the attainment of our goal.

I have now great pleasure in declaring this Conference open.

#### LADY TATA'S WELCOME ADDRESS.

It is my privilege and pleasing duty to welcome you all, delegates and visitors, to this the Fourth Session of the All-India Women's Educational and Social Conference. The Conference when it started four years ago was known as the Women's Educational Conference. But it became increasingly clear that the education of women was a good deal dependent on their social condition. It was, therefore, wisely decided at last year's conference held at Patna to add the word "Social" to the name of our conference. As a matter of fact, even at the first Conference presided over by Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda a large part of the proceedings related to the social position of women. The addition, therefore, only makes explicit what was implicit in the original name and objects of this conference.

In extending to you all who have come from so many distant parts of India a warm and cordial welcome on behalf of the women of Bombay I may add that we are proud and happy to have you in our midst. We wish we could have included in our welcome Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and also Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda but unfortunately we are deprived of that

privilege owing to His Excellency the Viceroy's visit to Baroda at the present moment.

We have endeavoured to do our best in making all arrangements for your comfort during your all too short stay in Bombay while this Conference lasts but I fear we may not have succeeded in giving you all the comforts of your own homes and for this I crave your indulgence and forbearance. We have had a much larger number of delegates to arrange for than at any previous Conference and as there were no facilities in Bombay to establish one large camp where you could have all stayed together we have been obliged to arrange for you all in different houses and hotels where I trust you will not suffer any other discomforts except those of distance and transport which we have endeavoured to overcome as best we can.

If I may be allowed to do so I should like to say a few words about the various activities of the Conference during the past year. This Conference is, I feel sure, destined to play a great part in the regeneration and renaissance of the great Indian Nation by its wide and far-reaching influence upon all the women from every part of India. The very fact that there are already 32 Constituencies, including several Native States, linked up under its guidance speaks for itself. This Women's Conference was the first body to initiate the idea of fixing the age of marriage by legislation, and at its very first Session at Poona passed a resolution to that effect—the result was the drafting of the Sarda Bill which has now become Law. (Applause). The Women's Conference sent a deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy which led to the appointment by Government of Mrs. Nehru on the Age of Consent Committee. (Applause). We all know how ably she worked on that Committee and it was owing to her work on it and the propaganda carried on by the Conference that we have now the satisfaction of seeing the Sarda Bill passed into an Act. (Applause).

#### THE SARDA ACT.

The past year will ever be memorable in the history of British India as the year in which the Sarda Marriage Act prescribing a minimum age of Marriage was passed by the Legislature. The measure has received the assent of the Governor-General and will come into force on the 1st of April next. Great efforts have been and are being made by the opponents of the Act to prevent its passing into law and since its enactment, to have it amended if not repealed. There is talk too of passive resistance in order to defeat the objects of the Act. I feel sure that all these attempts to thwart the course of a very necessary reform, will meet, as they deserve to do, with complete failure. The women of India will not tolerate any longer the system of child marriage (Loud Applause) with all its numerous evil consequences which are too well-known to need detailed mention here. What surprises me, as it has surprised many others in India and outside India, most, is the opposition set

up against the Act by a certain section of our Mahomedan countrymen. Islam does not prescribe child marriages; and it came as a surprise to most people when the Age of Consent Committee reported that child marriages were prevalent among Mussalmans in some parts of India and were not confined to Hindus only, as was commonly supposed. That being the case, it was clearly the duty of the Legislature to protect Mussalman children as well as children of other communities from the physical and moral evils of child marriage. I am glad that enlightened Mahomedans, including ladies like Lady Hydari of Hyderabad have spoken out against this unreasoning opposition and I earnestly trust that their voices will prevail and that the opponents of the Act will accept it in the best interests of the mothers of the future generations of the great Mahomedan community in India. (Applause). I should be failing in my duty if, on this occasion, I do not express, on behalf of the womanhood of India, our deep gratitude to the Government of India (Applause) for their strong and whole-hearted support of Mr. Sarda's Bill, but for which, in view particularly of the deadset made against it by orthodox Hindu and Mussalman members, it might in all probability have not become law. (Hear, hear).

Since last year the Conference has widened its scope to include social matters as well. It took up the question of the revision of Inheritance Laws and the abolition of Purdah and Polygamy as the chief items of work for the year. The result is that the following Bills are now pending before the Assembly. Mr. Sarda's Bill to give the widow a share in the husband's property—Mr. Jayaker's Bill to make better provision for certain heirs under Hindu Law, especially the women heirs. Also a Bill for the removal of certain existing disabilities with regard to adoption. Also one more bill of his to further amend the Civil Marriage Act of 1872 to facilitate intercommunal marriages.

The Conference interests itself in the welfare of women in Industries and Factories, and co-operates with all Educational Agencies and bodies for putting forward reforms and new schemes for bettering and widening educational facilities.

There are a few more points I should like to touch upon. The first is the need of women in our Legislature. (Applause).

#### THE NEED OF WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATURE.

The absence of women members in the Legislative Assembly was felt as a great drawback by the Supporters of the Sarda Bill, as women could have voiced the feelings of their sisters with greater directness and force than men to whom, nevertheless, our warmest acknowledgments are due for their bold and courageous stand for the Bill. There are several other social measures either before or awaiting introduction in the Legislature, and I earnestly hope that Government will realise the importance of having women members to assist in their discussion. I may, in passing, refer to the

omission of the Government of Bombay to nominate even a single woman to the local Legislative Council. Bombay has been the pioneer in women's education and social reform, and we have a large number of educated and public-spirited women engaged in different spheres of social work. But while many other Provinces have women members in their Legislative Council—in Madras a woman occupies the responsible position of Vice-President of the Council—it is surprising that in Bombay, we have none. May we not hope that His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, with the kind guidance of Lady Sykes (Applause) who is deeply interested in social questions, will take the earliest opportunity of remedying this glaring anomaly?

Then there are the subjects of Child Marriage, Education, the Pardah System, Social Purity, Prohibition and Untouchability.

#### CHILD MARRIAGE AND EDUCATION.

The enactment of the Sarda Act is calculated to remove the most serious obstacle in the way of women's education in our country. Child marriage left our girls without the opportunity of education, and the postponement of marriage till at least their fourteenth year, ensures them at least sufficient time to complete their primary education. This is much, but this is not enough. Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda, whose interest in women's education is well-known and who has practically shown it by endowing a fund for scholarships to girl students, told me not long ago that the Act could not of itself be of much benefit in this direction, unless we establish schools in sufficiently large numbers to enable all girls of school-going age to be educated, and that it may be positively dangerous if owing to the absence of adequate educational facilities the girls are obliged to spend their time without any serious interest to occupy their minds. I entirely agree with Her Highness and I would earnestly urge on our Education Ministers as well as on Municipal and Local Boards to do all in their power—even at some sacrifice—to provide the necessary institutions for the education of our girls. A tremendous responsibility rests on them in order to provide social progress, on which depends political and industrial progress, with an enduring foundation in an educated and emancipated womanhood. Equally important and even more necessary is the provision of trained women teachers and training colleges for women. (Cheers).

#### COURSES OF STUDY FOR WOMEN.

While on the subject of education for women, I would like to express my strong belief that primary and secondary courses for women should be especially adapted to meet the requirements of the large majority who are destined to become wives and mothers and the guiding spirits of their homes and children. (Applause). In this connection I should like to mention the Gokhale Memorial High School for girls conducted by Mrs. P. K. Ray in Calcutta, which I recently visited, and Mrs. Appasamy's School in Madras which, I

believe, is conducted much on the same lines, as examples which may be followed in other places. There should, of course, be no barrier in the way of women who wish to embark upon professional or public careers following the ordinary courses of study in Colleges and Universities as at present. In these institutions the practice in Bombay for a long time has been co-education, and it has proved eminently successful (Applause). Conditions may be different in other parts of the country, but in this Presidency co-education in colleges has become a cherished tradition and I see no reason to depart from it.

#### THE WOMEN'S EDUCATION FUND.

This Conference has not been content merely with passing resolutions on women's education. It has been instrumental in starting the All-India Women's Education Fund Association which aims at helping forward women's education in the most practical way by providing funds. This Association, I need hardly say, cannot relieve Government and Municipal and Local Bodies of their responsibility. It can only supplement them, and that too, to a limited extent. As Mrs. Huidekoper points out in her report, individual members of the Conference can only have a voice in the Counsels of the Fund Association by becoming members of it and I cordially endorse her appeal to our members to join the Fund Association in large numbers so that we may have an influential voice in shaping its policy.

#### THE PURDAH SYSTEM.

Another conspicuous example of the close bearing of a social institution on the education of women is afforded by the purdah system. There are a hundred reasons why Burma, Bombay and Madras, Baroda, Mysore and Travancore have the largest proportion of literate women in the Indian Empire. But the most important of them, to my mind, is that women in these Provinces are largely free from the hindrance of the *Purdah*. This point can be further enforced by the fact that even in these Provinces the proportion of literate women and female children in Schools among Purdah communities is less than that among non-purdah communities. It cannot be denied, therefore, that the *Purdah* is detrimental to women's education and, from the purely educational point of view, the sooner it is considerably relaxed, if not totally abolished, the better will it be for the progress of the women of this country. For, remember, that we are all members of one another, to use the words of St. Paul, and what adversely affects one section of the population affects us all in the same way. (Applause). There are other arguments against the Purdah, such as the greater tendency to diseases like consumption of women in Purdah, which are too well-known to need mention here. But I would call the attention particularly of men who naturally all wish to see their women bright and cheerful and healthy and happy in their homes when they return after a hard day's work, to Mastapha Kemal Pasha's striking observation in

the course of his campaign against the veil in Turkey, that contrary to the general belief, the faces and figures of women brought up behind the veil are the reverse of bright and cheerful and beautiful. And this may well be the fact, judging from our experience that the fairest and most perfect flowers are those which blossom in full view of the sun and sky, while those which are hidden from these by large trees or buildings, generally have a withered and crumpled appearance. As the researches of Sir Jagadish Bose have shown, the behaviour of plant life is closely akin to that of human life, and the analogy which I have used is, therefore, not inappropriate. We all know that there are many women of extraordinary beauty of mind and body among our friends who observe the Purdah, and can recall the famous names of Empress Nur Jehan and Mumtaz Mahal who were among the most beautiful women in history. But, remember, that such women belong as a rule to the wealthy and well-to-do families in which the rigours of the purdah are neutralised by the ample open spaces and varied opportunities of artistic and social activities open to them in their homes. In the case of the working classes, too, the effect of the Purdah is largely counteracted by the stern necessities of life. (Applause). It is upon the women of the middle classes that the institution bears hardest, and the middle classes are the back-bone of every society. (Applause). For all these reasons, the abolition of the Purdah is essential to women's progress and I rejoice to see the noble example set by educated Hindu and Mussalman women of high social position such as H. H. the Maharani of Baroda and H. H. the Begum Mother of Bhopal in discarding the Purdah on public occasions (Applause). Great credit is due to H. H. the Begum Mother of Bhopal for changing her life-long habit of observing the strictest Purdah at this advanced age and she has my deep admiration for taking such a courageous and wise step. It is only when the ladies of the highest families and the wives of Ruling Princes will show the way that the women of the middle classes will have the courage to do likewise and come out of Purdah, and thereby gain immeasurably in health and beauty. (Applause).

#### SOCIAL PURITY MOVEMENTS.

I should like to express my gratification at the efforts that are being made to abolish the pernicious and degrading practice of the dedication of women as *devadasis* (cheers), and to deal with commercialised prostitution which has been increasing to an alarming extent particularly in cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon. The Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore led the way to the rest of India in putting a stop to the service of *devadasis* in temples, thus depriving the profession of its stamp of religion. An Act has been passed by the Madras Legislative Council, at the instance of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, whom by the way we are sorry not to see here to-day, prohibiting the dedication of girls, and

a similar Bill, I understand, is before the Bombay Legislative Council, which I trust will be passed without opposition. As regards brothels there is one law I should like to see passed here in Bombay, and wherever else such conditions exist; and that is that the woman brothel keeper should be equally penalised with the man, (Hear, hear) and not be permitted to run a brothel any more than a man may be permitted to do so. (Applause) As regards Prostitution, laws have been passed in several provinces. But it is one thing to pass a law and another thing to enforce it. Unless there is a strong public opinion behind the law, it is liable to become more or less a dead letter or, what is worse, become an instrument of persecution, blackmail and other evils. Now, the very fact of the existence and the increase of prostitution shows that the moral standard of the community leaves much to be desired (Applause). If men did not encourage it the evil would die a natural death. But we, women, are also responsible for the existence of this social curse in as much as we do not sufficiently exert our moral influence to create a healthy public opinion against the patrons of vice. If we did we could surely help much more than at present in eradicating the evil.

#### PROHIBITION.

Another movement which is closely associated with women's well-being is that known as Prohibition. The question of Temperance has always been associated with Social Purity. And rightly so, as it is the palpable fact that the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs is inseparably associated with loose morals. The adoption of Prohibition in the United States has greatly benefitted women and children, and it is due largely to the Women's vote that President Hoover succeeded in being elected to the Presidency against his powerful rival who was opposed to Prohibition. Drink is the cause of great misery in India also, and it is well-known that most of the increase in wages which the mill-workers secured during the War and after, went directly into the liquor shops. I have no doubt that the introduction of Prohibition will be a great benefit to the country's industries as well as to family life, and I am sure that the women of India are whole-heartedly with the Prohibition reformers of the country. (Prolonged Applause).

#### REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

I have always felt very strongly on the questions of Caste and Untouchability. So long as these are allowed to exist in any community no social progress is possible. I, therefore, welcome on the grounds of humanity the growing public opinion, particularly among caste Hindus, against the sin and crime of regarding the untouchables as outside the pale of civilisation. I should like to add that the word "untouchable" is a very objectionable one and we should all try to use a better one. Several temples which have been hitherto closed have within the last few months been thrown open in various parts

of the country to these castes, and there is an influential movement to do away with the last relics of this most regrettable custom. A Bill has been drafted by Mr. M. B. Jayakar for introduction in the Legislative Assembly to relieve the "Untouchables" of their disabilities, and I am sure I am expressing the wish of all women present here in hoping that it will become law at an early date. (Hear, hear).

I now wish to express our very grateful thanks to all those who have helped and assisted the Reception Committee in many different ways to enable us to show hospitality to about 260 delegates who have come to this Conference. Our thanks are specially due to all the hosts and hostesses—about 35 in all—for so kindly putting up a large number of the delegates as their guests, to the University Authorities for very kindly giving us the use of this beautiful and spacious Hall and the whole of the ground floor in the South Wing for our use during the week of the Conference free of charge, (Applause) to all the donors for their kind contributions which have enabled us to carry out our programme of hospitality—without whose help we could not have done it,—to Mr. Sultan Chinoy for allowing us the use of 2 of his buses for the whole time free of charge and also for other kindnesses, to Messrs. Pratt & Co., and Mr. Cursetjee Limji, each for the use of 1 bus for 1 day free of charge, to the Bombay B. E. S. T. Co. for giving their buses at a greatly reduced rate and to those kind friends who have lent us their motor cars for the use of the delegates, to the P. & O. Company for giving us the free use of their launch for the excursion to the Elephanta Caves, to Scout Organiser Mr. Kulkarni and Guide Organiser Mrs. Malandker and all those Scout Masters, Guiders, Rangers and Rovers who have given their services most willingly and efficiently for all these days at much sacrifice of time and trouble. (Applause). We have also to thank the Taj Mahal Hotel particularly for taking a large number of our delegates at a very nominal rate, (Applause) and the Apollo Hotel for taking some of our delegates at a reduced rate.

In conclusion I wish you all a very successful conference and hope that your deliberations may be fruitful of many necessary and uplifting reforms which will raise the status of Indian womanhood in every direction.

#### ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

Mrs. Fais Tyabji in proposing Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to the chair said that she had great pleasure in placing before them the resolution. Mrs. Naidu represented the highest type of Indian Womanhood and was a person of international reputation. Though she has expressed herself mainly in the English language and has mastered it she is as thoroughly Indian as the least sophisticated. The Women's Conference has to contend against several difficulties and it is essential that they had proper

guidance. First, they had to take themselves seriously and make others take them seriously. Secondly, they must be Indian in their aspirations and avoid the danger of becoming westernised. Again the prevalent idea that woman will lose her womanliness if she enters public life has to be refuted and the president is a living example of the absurdity of these ideas. Mrs. Naidu therefore is the ideal choice for the presidentship.

Miss Lazarus of Mysore seconded the resolution and said that Mrs. Naidu needed no commendation and that in honouring her the speakers were honouring themselves and thus shining in reflected light. Mrs. Naidu was regarded by the South as one of them for she was born in the South and had spent the greater part of her life there. But as women were disputing the point they would agree to say that she belonged to both of them. By her poems and her eloquence she had gained renown in foreign countries and thus done much to restore our self-respect and our pride in our ancient culture and civilisation. She is moreover, a most illustrious example that women are no longer under tutelage. The speaker believed that Mrs. Naidu was born in India in response to a call and that she was an Indian not by accident. At present when many are groping for the light, there could be no better guiding star than Sarojini Naidu. The resolution was passed with acclamations. Mrs. Naidu then called upon the organising Secretary to read the Report of the activities of the Conference during the past year.

#### MRS. CHATTOPADHYAYA'S REPORT.

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya in reading the report said that the Conference provided a wide and open platform for women to advocate their views and state their grievances. Its object was to draw women out from their seclusion, to rouse their interest and to create in them a due sense of their responsibility. In the year under review they had had their report printed in English and several vernaculars and hoped to issue it in more languages in future. Last year the Conference found it necessary to widen its scope so as to include other questions. As life is indivisible so are its aspects and the two sections into which the Conference had been divided existed merely for the sake of convenience and to facilitate organised work. The first section, educational, was mainly concerned with children in the primary stage. The Standing Committee of the Conference had spared no pains to advance the cause of primary education and its continual efforts had resulted in more schools being started all over the country. In addition to this they had succeeded in improving the conditions of existing schools and had introduced physical training in some of them. At three consecutive sittings the Conference had advanced the ideals underlying the Sarda Bill and had advocated the fixing of an even higher age. At the first Conference at Poona the idea of fixing a marriage age was first put forward and it was pointed out that it would

be useless to raise the age of consent if there was no marriage age; and in spite of opposition from the orthodox who were opposed to "anti-religious" legislation and from the cautious who feared the advisability of legislating on such a question they had achieved success in so short a time. The Conference regarded the Sarda Act as a personal triumph which they had achieved in the short space of a year and a half and they would not rest till they had fixed the marriage age at 16 for girls and 21 for boys as advocated at the Poona Conference. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi was to be congratulated on her Devadasi Bill and her work in the Madras Council.

The Social section, continued Mrs. Chattopadhyaya, dealt with the problems of women's rights. They were conducting a propoganda against the enforced seclusion of women. They would like to see in the near future women as assistant registrars of co-operative societies as there is at present in the Punjab. The employment of women as sanitary inspectors was being seriously considered in Behar and Orissa. The first effort they had made in the matter of labour was with reference to the Labour Commission. Though they were not successful in getting women as members of the Commission still they had some measure of success as the Commission took women assessors in each province to help them to understand the problems of the women in the mills. It was now decided that in future programmes of the Conference visits to mill areas were to be introduced. Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru of Delhi was managing the section which concerned itself with the grievances of women passengers on the railway. Continuing Mrs. Chattopadhyaya drew the attention of the audience to the fact that kitchen drudgery took up too large a part of the Indian women's time. Though the modern woman had imbibed new ideas and expanded her outlook the fact that there was no simplification of kitchen work gave her no opportunity to enlarge her field of activity. This problem could only be solved by the increasing use of labour-saving devices. The Conference was also anxious to see the employment of women in the Secretariats and the Legislatures in large numbers. Much work had been done outside India in the various international women's conferences that had been held during the year. At the International World Congress of Women at Berlin, the Indian delegates moved an amendment that the age of marriage should be 16 for girls and 18 for boys whereas the original resolution recommended 16 for both on the grounds of sex equality. The amendment was carried though it met with some opposition particularly from the British delegates. This came as a revelation to most of the other delegates who had believed that Indian opinion was indifferent if not opposed to reform. Women in India were increasingly realising that the time had come for them to join in the general national regeneration.

## MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

### FELLOWSHIP OF HUMANITY.

Mrs. Naidu delivered her presidential address extempore. She said that after the three eloquent speakers who had preceded her there was nothing left for her to say. Lady Sykes had struck the right keynote of the ideas of women's emancipation. Lady Tata practical always, had covered the whole ground of the possible activities of the women of today, and in the report the Secretary had given in detail the concrete achievements of the Conference. When so many educational experts and social reformers had spoken before her what was left for her—a mere visionary, a dreamer and a poet, except to restate in other phraseology the identical things that had been put forward so ably by other speakers.

She did not think that at any time was it her function to go into the details of life or life's manifold activities. Her special function and the function of men and women like her was to kindle, to guard and to cherish the ideals that made possible the achievements of humanity. She would therefore try to deal with the larger human issues that transcend race, creed and culture and become part of the great human contribution to progress.

### REAWAKENING OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD.

Lady Sykes had reminded them that they were on the threshold of a great political and social evolution and if anything was prophetic of that great evolution it was the re-awakening of the womanhood of India to a sense of its long lost responsibilities and duties.

Proceeding Mrs. Naidu alluded to the fact that whereas the first three sessions of the Conference were presided over by women of Royal rank when they were held in historic cities like Poona, Patna and Delhi, it was but fitting that in a cosmopolitan city like Bombay where all ranks were one and where all cultures were freely associated with one another they had risen from royalty to democracy and had chosen her, a mere servant of the nation as their president. She was proud of the honour they had done to her not because such honour was new to her as she had had the honour of being elected president of the greatest political organisation of this country but because she regarded this women's conference as the greatest representative gathering of Indian womanhood.

She added that while the Indian National Congress was only a national institution the women's conference might justly pride itself as being the greatest international movement in India. Every one who was willing to acknowledge her life's debt to this great land, no matter what her religion, creed or race was eligible to be a member of the Conference.

### IN DEFENCE OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD

The purpose for which the conference existed, Mrs. Naidu continued, was not merely to pass more

and more resolutions for educational or social reforms but they stood for something more profound, more intimate, more enduring in human values. The charge had been made against Indian womanhood that their genius had been one of isolation and exclusion and passive resignation in the hands of destiny, that they were bound by mere traditions and were unable to get beyond the fetters of dead conventions and ideas. She thought that the conference was the triumph and vindication of her assertion that the genius of Indian womanhood included everything and was all comprehensive. The whole history of Indian culture was creative and it was able to transmute even the hostility of their enemies. That conference was the proof of the indivisible quality of fellowship of all women.

All the circumstances of their national struggle must temporarily make them seem to be aggressively, almost exclusively nationalist in their attitude towards life but she was a nationalist by compulsion and by the tragedy of her country. She was first and last a human being and she did not recognise divisions of humanity merely because of race or geographical barriers. Men made wars and created political and economic divisions for selfish interests and created combinations and groups of friendship and hostility. But all these were temporary shifts and the purpose of womanhood in the nation's or the world's life was to do away with these temporary barriers. They were evangelists of peace, working for the attainment of the common rights of humanity, seeking to stop exploitation of one nation by another.

Mrs. Naidu emphatically declared that she was not a feminist and would never be one. The demand for granting preferential treatment to women was an admission of their inferiority and there was no need for such a thing in India as the women of this country were always by the side of men both in the political councils and in the fields of battle.

### CO-EDUCATION.

Mrs. Naidu strongly advocated co-education as the best possible means of creating the best form of co-operation and comradeship between the two sexes.

Referring to the part women could play in the great political struggle Mrs. Naidu said that in their struggle for freedom there was bound to be moments of bitterness, sorrow and mutual conflict. A conference like theirs could do a great deal to diminish such bitterness and add a sweetening touch in the struggle, recognising the fact that patriotism and nationalism were not the only things. There was something they should work for and that was the common bond of fellowship of humanity, which transcended race, colour and creed barriers. (Applause).

The Ranee of Sangli then proposing a vote of thanks to Lady Sykes, said that they were fortunate in having Lady Sykes to open their Conference. Lady Sykes and the popular Governor of Bombay

had shown great interest in progressive movements in the Presidency. Mrs. D. N. Sirur in seconding the resolution, said that she had great pleasure in doing so. She said that among Indians it was customary to name their daughters after rivers and the place where two rivers met was sacred. Lady Sykes representing the West and Mrs. Naidu representing the East meeting together on the platform of the Conference symbolised the unity that characterised the Conference.

The proceedings terminated with the singing of "Vande Mataram."

The Conference then adjourned to Tuesday.

#### MESSAGES AND REPORTS.

##### CONFIDENCE IN MRS. NAIDU'S LEADERSHIP.

The All-India Women's Conference re-assembled in the University Convocation Hall on Tuesday the 21st. The proceedings were mainly devoted to the reading of reports by sectional Secretaries and the Secretaries of the various constituencies.

At the outset Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya read messages from absent delegates wishing the Conference success. Sumati Lalit Kumari of Mandi regretted her inability to attend the Conference and expressed the hope that under the distinguished guidance of Mrs. Naidu the Indian women would progress rapidly. Miss Bary Power, member of the Royal Commission on Labour had sent the following message:—Enough public opinion and practical help of women increasingly needed in connection with India's growing industries. All-India Women's Conference is an invaluable movement to this end. Knowing the part played by women Inspectors in other countries your resolution asking for similar appointments in industrial provinces should assist to obtain some help for women and child-workers in this country.

The following resolution of condolence was then moved from the chair and passed unanimously, the entire audience standing:—This Conference wishes to express its deep sense of sorrow at the sad demise of Mr. Mazarul Huq, Mr. D. M. Chiplunkar and Mr. Gokarnath Misra who rendered meritorious service in the cause of Women's Education and social reform and places on record its sincere condolence and sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

A statement was then made by Mrs. Huidekoper, Chairman of the Standing Committee, regarding the action taken by this Committee in considering all the resolutions sent in by constituent conferences and acting as a Subjects Committee with regard to them and for which she desired the formal confirmation of the Conference. This was done. As Educational Secretary, Mrs. Huidekoper then gave a report on the year's working which had closely followed the schemes mapped out by the Patna Conference, the idea being the investigation of the education of children under eight.

Mrs. Nehru, Social Secretary, in placing her report before the meeting, mentioned that 1929 was the first year the All-India Women's Conference worked for social reform, and they considered it their greatest achievement that the Sarda Child Marriage Restraint Act should have been passed into law. The scheme of work planned for the year included the prevention of child marriage, the abolition of the enforced seclusion of the *pardah*, equal rights of inheritance, prevention of polygamy, the prevention of unequal marriages and the prevention of enforced widowhood. As social conditions in the various provinces differed so widely, each province worked out its own scheme. The two questions, child marriage prevention and equal inheritance, were taken up thoroughly, but that of the abolition of the *pardah* was not so popular. Mrs. Nehru next read a report of work done with regard to social reform, in several constituencies and institutions that had come into being as a result of their endeavour. She concluded that the atmosphere they had created and the interest awakened in social reform in general and women's rights in particular, though not tangible, was yet felt by all. She also stated that two sub-committees were to be appointed by the Conference on Indigenous Industries and Labour. This widening of the sphere means an undertaking of activities covering the whole field of life.

In making a statement concerning the finances of the All-India Women's Conference, Mrs. Sen, treasurer, announced that the balance-sheet would be put before the delegates in due course, but she felt she must say a few words about finance, which, in organisations like this, was a most potential factor. Difficulties had been experienced last year on account of lack of funds for annual working expenses, and it was only the personal devotion, co-operation and self-sacrifice of the officers that made it possible to carry on. Mrs. Sen appealed on behalf of the Conference to all who had woman's uplift at heart to help and support the A. I. W. C. by giving practical assistance in the way of donations.

Following on the reports of the treasurer and the educational and social secretaries came reports from the constituencies of the work they had done to further women's education in their particular corners of India during the past year. Andhra, the Central Provinces, Baroda, Ajmer, Merwara, Oudh, East Bengal, Madras, Tamil Nadu, Utkal, Bombay, Hyderabad Deccan, Delhi, Sind, Mysore, Karnatak, Bihar, Alibag, and East and Central Punjab gave a report of work well begun and done. It was interesting to find that a strict *pardah* lady, a delegate from the Punjab, was helping on the educational emancipation of her sisters.

##### VISITS TO INSTITUTIONS.

The afternoon was devoted to visits to several institutions in the city. The first of these was to the Seva Mandir, where Miss Manibai Kara and a devoted band of helpers have begun and are successfully carrying on a creche, a nursery school and



children's clinic for the youth of the mill labourers in the district. In addition to this there is an educational class for married girls between the age of 14 and 18, a sewing and health talk class, a play centre, and gatherings for women. The next institution visited was the Victoria Memorial School for the Blind, where several practical demonstrations were given of the methods adopted to make the inmates useful units of humanity. There were also on view numerous models illustrating the means by which instruction was given in geography. The third visit on Tuesday afternoon was paid to the Sir Ratan Tata Industrial Institute, which caters solely for the poor and middle class Parsi girl who has to earn her own living. Each single section of this institution provides a girl with her livelihood. The last visit was to the Seva Sadan, where so much is done to educate and train girls of all creeds. There is also here a home for the homeless.

Later in the afternoon there was an "At Home" at Government House.

The concert arranged by the All-Women's Conference at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall on Tuesday proved to be an admirable blending of the art and music of the East with that of the West. Many of the delegates contributed to the programme and an exceptionally large audience enjoyed itself thoroughly.

#### EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.

A number of resolutions relating to women's education were passed at Wednesday's sitting of the All-India Women's Conference.

At the outset of the day's proceedings, Mrs. Naidu (President) read the following message from the Maharanee of Baroda:—"Wish ever increasing success to this year's session and to intellectual, social and economic emancipation of women of India for which the Conference stands. Regret could not wire earlier, being busy with Viceregal visit."

#### NEW SYLLABUS FOR MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

The first resolution moved by Miss Bahadurji from Bombay read as follows:—"That this Conference is of opinion that whereas it is the intention of the University of Bombay very shortly to draw up a new syllabus for the Matriculation Examination, the All-India Women's Conference should send a deputation of its members to the Bombay University authorities, offering the help of the Conference in drawing up a syllabus on the lines of its memorandum."

Miss Bahadurji said that in the preparation of the syllabus women should have as strong a voice as men as the course of instruction imparted was of equal interest and importance to girls as well as to boys. She regretted that there were not enough women in the University Senate to put forward the special educational needs of girls and hence the proposed deputation would be of great help in the framing of a better and more suitable syllabus.

Mrs. Ambegaokar (C. P. South), seconding the resolution, said that as women were more intimately acquainted with the problems of female education their views should be obtained in preparing the syllabus.

Miss Q. Sorabji, supporting the resolution, complained that there was no meaning in the talk of equality between men and women, if women were not allowed a hand in such vital matters as these.

The resolution was carried.

#### WANTED MORE BUILDINGS FOR GIRLS' SCHOOLS, PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN SUGGESTED.

Mrs. Huidekoper from Sind moved the following resolution:—

That, whereas in many parts of India the problem of obtaining suitable buildings for girls' Schools is becoming more and more acute, this Conference calls upon the All-India Women's Conference to consider.—(a) the advisability of launching a propaganda campaign in its many constituent areas in order that companies may be formed on the lines of the Girls' Public Day School Company in England whereby in that country a sufficiency of girls' High Schools was established and (b) the recommending of such a campaign to the All-India Women's Educational Fund Association as part of its work in the coming year.

The mover deplored that women's education was handicapped very seriously due to lack of buildings for girls' schools. Whenever they approached the Local Government they were told of financial stringency. For the same reason, the local bodies also did not do anything. She was now appealing to the public to remove this serious difficulty and thus help the cause of women's education.

Mrs. Desai and Miss Vincent spoke in support of the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Miss Feruze Din (Punjab) moved the next resolution:—"This Conference recommends to the University of Bombay and to such other Universities where such facilities do not exist (1) that Vernaculars should be allowed optionally with classical languages in the curricula at every stage in the University course and (2) that Domestic Science, optionally with physics, should be allowed in the First Year in the Arts Examination."

The resolution was seconded by Miss Khare and supported by Lady Nilkanth Ramanbhai and was passed.

#### WANTED A CENTRAL TRAINING COLLEGE.

There was some opposition to a proposal for the establishment of a Central Training College for Women; the resolution on this subject was moved by Miss Young and ran as follows:—

That immediate steps be taken to carry into effect the repeated resolution that a central college be founded to train graduates and matriculates in order to secure a higher standard of Kindergarten and Secondary Teachers and that the Fund Association be requested to allot money for founding and endowing such a college.

That this Conference recommends to the Fund Association that a Committee be formed at once to draw up plans for the establishment of a Teachers' Training College of a specialised Home Science character covering the complete life of a pupil, whether rural or urban, the courses of which should be on the lines of the Memorandum of the A. I. W. C.

#### TEACHING PROFESSION.

Miss Young said that the teaching profession had no prestige in India at present and that was because of the low standard of teachers. It was impossible for a decent girl to join the profession, as it was not recognised in the same way as the medical profession. When they were asking for compulsory primary education they should take care to provide properly qualified and trained teachers.

Mrs. Rustomjee Fareedonji (Hyderabad Deccan) seconding the resolution said that the All-India Women's Education Fund Association had adopted two resolutions and the governing body of the Association were arranging to appoint a Committee of experts to advise them on the subject. Lady Irwin, the President of the Association, was anxious to do something before leaving India and she wanted everyone present to help her in all possible manner in carrying out the proposal. First of all, she wanted ideas and suggestions from all interested in education giving the latest information regarding domestic science, hygiene and educational methods. Secondly, she wanted young women to go abroad and study educational systems and methods with a view to adopt for their own use what was suitable to them in India.

Mrs. Cousins from Madras strongly supported the resolution.

#### OPPOSITION TO PROPOSAL.

Opposition to the proposal was mainly two-sided. One was the difficulty about the medium of instruction in the College. Mrs. Maya Das advancing this view, held that they had in one breath asked for Vernacular as medium of instruction and in the next breath they were proposing to have a Central College with English as medium of instruction. She thought that if instruction was imparted in the Vernacular it would prevent difficulties to women coming from different Provinces. She, therefore opposed the proposal on practical grounds.

Some members opposed the idea of having a Central College but preferred to have such training colleges in different parts of the country.

Mrs. Fareedonji, replying to the objections, said that the College was for training teachers and not children. The object was to enable teachers from different parts of the country to receive training in the latest ideas and methods of education without having to go to England, America or Germany. After receiving the training they could go to their own Provinces and teach what they had learnt in their own Vernaculars.

The resolution on being put to the vote was carried by a large majority.

#### COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Mrs. Krishnavenamma moved the following resolution regarding compulsory primary education.

"This Conference is strongly in favour of compulsory primary education for girls as well as boys and requests all Local Governments and local bodies to take immediate steps to introduce compulsory education in urban, suburban and rural districts in such a way that in all district headquarters and towns the scheme is in full working order within five years and is universal in 20 years. This Conference is of opinion that this compulsory education should be made free in all schools provided by public authorities to all those unable to pay for it."

The mover said that unless they were able to carry education to the masses of the people all their efforts to improve women's lot will bear no fruit. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya in seconding the resolution said that compulsory education must be free as the bulk of the people were steeped in poverty and could not send their children to school at their own expense. The resolution was passed unanimously.

#### OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

The following other resolutions were passed at the Conference :—

"This Conference considers that the present course of training for Matriculate and non-Matriculate teachers is very unsatisfactory, and that the standard of examination should be raised, and better provision made for the actual training."

"This Conference recommends that the inspecting staff of girl's schools should consist of women only, and that a Deputy Directress of Public Instruction preferably an Indian, be appointed in every province."

"That in order to carry out compulsory primary education effectively this Conference is of opinion that more rural training centres should be opened where teachers drawn from rural areas should be trained under such conditions as they will meet in their work. These teachers should in every possible case, be of secondary grade, and the employment of teachers of lower grade should ultimately cease. Residential quarters for women teachers should be provided in all teaching centres; creches and nursery schools should be established near schools; only clean, dry, airy and well ventilated buildings with play grounds should be used for schools, school text books should be related to the psychology and environment of the child; more women should be trained as specialist teachers in domestic science; nutrition bureaus should be established in every Province where the much needed research work on the value of the food stuffs available in the Province should be carried out and where all information regarding suitable dietaries could be obtained."

"This Conference places on record its dissatisfaction with the policy of the Government of Bombay in reducing the number of students admitted to

the training colleges and strongly desires that their numbers should be increased. This Conference regards the standard accepted by the Government of 50 per cent. of trained teachers in primary schools as a very low one, and suggests to all Municipalities and Local Boards to engage only trained teachers."

As regards the resolution dealing with the appointment of a Deputy Directress of Public Instruction an amendment was brought forward that the Chief Inspectress of Schools should be considered as Deputy Directress of Public Instruction. This amendment being accepted by the proposer Mrs. Kashaker, was carried.

Mrs. Hamid Ali and Mrs. Chattopadhyaya were Treasurer and Organising Secretary respectively for the year 1930.

Close on two hundred ladies sat down to lunch at the Taj Mahal Hotel, where one more opportunity was given the delegates of meeting and exchanging views with their sisters from other parts of India. The delegates carried on an animated conversation.

#### PRABHAD MILLS CRECHE.

The afternoon was once again devoted to visits, and delegates made a choice of seeing the Cama and Allbless Hospital, which is run entirely by women for women with a Nursing Association for training nurses and where recently the hospital authorities threw open their doors to post-medical graduates to gain more practical experience; the Mahila Mandal at Parel or the Avabai Petit Orphanage, Bandra, both of which have industrial classes—the first for women of the mill area and the latter for Parsi girls; or the Prahlad Spinning and Weaving Mills. Here Mrs. Naidu performed the opening ceremony of the Prahlad Mills creche.

#### LADY IRWIN ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

The first general meeting of the All-India Women's Education Fund was held at the University Convocation Hall on Friday the 17th instant under the Presidency of Her Excellency Lady Irwin. Lady Tata in welcoming Her Excellency emphasised the importance of women's education and wished Lady Irwin every success in the noble work inaugurated by her. In the course of her presidential address Lady Irwin said:

"I must thank you very much for your kind welcome to me to-day. I feel that it is a happy augury for our work that the first meeting of our newly formed Association should be in this city. For even as it is here at the Gateway of India that the traveller from overseas first sets foot in this great country, so I hope that we too are standing here to-day at the Gateway of a new land of discovery and greater opportunity for women.

"It was in May of last year that we were able, with much thought and deliberation, finally to draft the Constitution of this Association, after the idea of raising a fund had first germinated at the meeting

of the A.I.W.C. in the previous year. We are met now, a small body of its first members, with a firm determination to carry out the objects to which we have set our hand. The splendid work which the A.I.W.C. has done and is doing in bringing people together for discussion and deliberation and in arousing interest and harnessing enthusiasm to the cause of women's education has started a new era in the sphere of women's endeavours to benefit her fellows.

"The great efforts that are made to come to the Conference from far and near, not only by those who are already taking an active part in the world affairs, but also by those who are in purdah, is a sufficient sign of the strong interest which women are taking in education, and must be a great encouragement to those enthusiasts who are working for this cause. Perhaps their enthusiasm and perseverance may have times of discouragement and disappointment in what they seem to achieve. But I feel convinced that historians of the future will discover cornerstones laid by forgotten hands, and that when the world's judgments come to be revised, we shall find that a high place among the host of benefactors to mankind will be given to those who worked so persistently for the expansion of women's education in earlier days.

#### "LIFE A GREAT SCHOOL."

"I am profoundly persuaded that the prosperity and development of India depend in a very marked degree on the education of women and the influence which they may bring upon the progress of their country. It has been truly said that on sound public opinion sound administration rests. That women's influence is very strong is a matter of no doubt, and a great responsibility must lie on their shoulders for the formation of public opinion and for the choice which will be taken by men and as well as women of right paths of development and progress.

"We cannot think too seriously or examine too carefully the lines on which women's education should develop. Life is a great school in which every human being throughout his allotted span is a student in the science of living. It is generally recognised that the first aim of education must be to lay firmly the foundations of character, judgment and discrimination, and those years (be they many or few) which a girl spends at school should be a preparation and training of her body and mind for the bigger education which will come to her later.

#### METHODS OF TEACHING.

"Let us never forget that it is impossible to deal with a child as though it were a machine, that girls differ from boys and equally that one girl may be totally different from her sister. The same lines of teaching which stimulate one child may suffocate or suppress another. For one the appropriate means of self-expression will be the direct training of the intellectual faculty, for another the same purpose will be achieved by instruction of a more

practical kind. Therefore let us be prepared to encourage a wide diversity of the type of school and the character of the curriculums. A girl's education should help her first and foremost to steer her course through life and to play the part which is allotted to her in the world, be it humble or be it great. Next to that, I would claim that it should cultivate her imagination and an appreciation of life and foster her interest in Beauty, Nature, and Books. If her school days can give her interests which will continue to be an unending occupation and joy, much will have been achieved towards making a happy home for her and her family.

#### TEST OF MEN'S EDUCATION.

"It has been well said that "the test of man's education is what he chooses to do when he is not obliged to do anything." I feel that this can equally be said, and just as truly, of a woman.

"I am afraid my hearers will say that I am speaking of things that are impossible to realise for many years to come and that I am setting too high an ideal, but I do feel strongly that we must have our final objects and purposes clearly in view from the beginning—even in the most elementary education, so that we may start the child with the right foundations upon which a sound structure may later be built when further opportunity arises.

"In approaching these problems it seems necessary to combine the virtues of two types; an idealism that impels us to follow our dreams and visions, and also a practical sense which will accurately measure the difficulties with which we have to deal. Thus only, with our feet set on solid ground keeping touch with the realities of our task shall we be able to build patiently and securely upon the material which we have yet all the while aflame with the inspiration of a great cause, marching forward to the land of our ultimate desire."

#### INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP.

Presenting the report for the year 1929, Mrs. Rustomji Fareedoonji said that as the outcome of a resolution passed at the second session of the All-India Women's Conference, the All-India Women's Education Fund had been started for the promotion of women's education. The fund developed into an association, and in response to a personal appeal from Her Excellency the sum of Rs. 20,000 was collected from the Ruling Princes of India. A statement of accounts submitted to the meeting showed that the subscription received amounted to over Rs. 95,000.

The adoption of the report and balance sheet was followed by the passing of the budget for 1930 and afterwards the question of the establishment of a Teachers' Training College was discussed. It was decided to refer this matter to a special committee for report.

A vote of thanks to Lady Irwin was charmingly proposed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who thanked Her Excellency for her co-operation in this great

work of women's education in India. She stressed once again her sentiments that in order to gain any measure of progress, Indian women could not be only Indian women hedged in by the narrow boundaries of caste, creed etc. They must become part of that great international fellowship to advance along the right lines. She conveyed the gratitude of Indian womanhood for Her Excellency's co-operation as a woman for the women.

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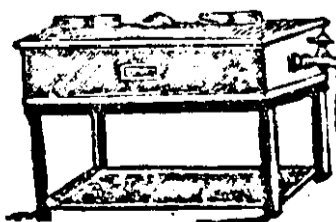
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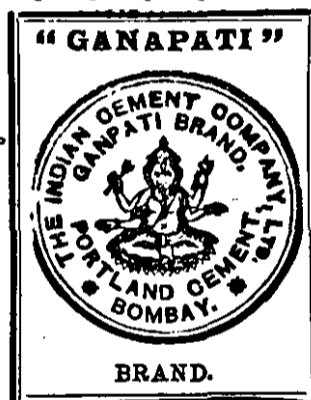
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Vol. XL.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1930

No. 22

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Mahatma Gandhi's New Offer:**—Mahatmaji has been impressed by the strength and unanimity of the opposition of many who hold him in the highest personal regard, to the Lahore Congress resolution on Independence and boycott of the Legislative Councils. Among the latest protests is one from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who says: "I would in deep earnestness reiterate my word of warning and entreaty to the leaders of the Congress to pause and consider the tremendous and almost terrible implications of their responsibility in regard to the vast masses of men, in whom they can so readily evoke great emotional response. It behoves them not to be easily content or misled into false security by the temporary endorsements of transitory enthusiasm, however genuine, but to transmute it into the substance of reality by mobilising, co-ordinating and disciplining all the forces in the nation into a permanent sanction and support to all proper and necessary policies and plans for the attainment of complete freedom." Some people are fond of taunting Mahatma Gandhi for making "Himalayan mistakes" but one who never makes great mistakes seldom does anything noteworthy. A mistake made in a disinterested way reflects no discredit on any one. Englishmen understand this but Indians do not and hence the nagging which paralyses initiative among us. This is by the way. Mahatma Gandhi having realised the disinterestedness of the opposition to the Lahore resolution has made a fresh offer to the Viceroy. Leaving constitutional questions aside, he asks that certain reforms which can be carried out even under the present constitution and which affect the vital interests of the people, should be immediately taken in hand, and says that, if this is done, "the Congress will heartily participate in any Conference where there is perfect freedom of expression and demands." This in no way derogates from the Congress resolution, while opening the door to further negotiation before it is put into effect. We are sure that Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn will appreciate the goodwill behind this offer and respond to it in the spirit in which it is made.

**The Reforms:**—Mahatma Gandhi's list of reforms consists of eleven items. They are:—

1. Total Prohibition, 2. Reduction of the ratio to 1 s. 4 d., 3. Reduction of the land revenue to at least 50 per cent. and making it subject to legislative control, 4. Abolition of the salt tax, 5. Reduction of the military expenditure to at least 50 per cent. to begin with, 6. Reduction of the salaries of the higher grade service to one half or less so as to suit the reduced revenue, 7. Protective tariff on foreign cloth, 8. The passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill, 9. Discharge of all political prisoners save those condemned for murder or the attempt thereof by the ordinary judicial tribunal, withdrawal of all political prosecutions, abrogation of Section 124A, the Regulation of 1818 and the like, a permission to all the Indian exiles to return, 10. Abolition of C. I. D. or its popular control, and 11. Issue of licenses to use fire arms for self-defence subject to popular control. The list does not exhaust all the requirements of the masses, but, says Mahatmaji, let the Viceroy satisfy these very simple but vital needs of India. "He will then hear no talk of civil disobedience, and the Congress will heartily participate in any Conference where there is perfect freedom of expression and demands." The several items in the list, to our mind, are of unequal importance and seem to have been put together with a view to reach maximum unity. We are greatly pleased to see Prohibition at the head of Mahatmaji's list. The intelligentsia of India, mainly belonging to the non-drinking castes, do not realise the immense peril to national existence which is involved in the drink and drug traffic. But their sense of safety is an illusion and if the evil is allowed to continue and to spread, no caste or class will be long exempt from it. We wholeheartedly support the demand for Prohibition and we regard the attitude of Government to it as the acid test of their sincerity in desiring to see this country rise morally and materially in the scale of nations. Of the other items of Mahatmaji's list, we support the reduction of the salt tax to such a nominal figure as practically to mean total abolition. A small skeleton staff will have to be maintained to see that the people get pure salt and that there is no speculation in this necessity of life. As for the rest, they relate to matters of administration, and require to be carefully gone into. Mahatmaji knows that the Viceroy cannot effect all these reforms by a stroke of his pen, and he only asks that his Excellency should "initiate" these reforms, that is to say, take steps to have them properly formulated and introduced in the appropriate ways for progressive consideration. We are sure that Lord Irwin as well as other political groups, will welcome Mahatmaji's gesture of conciliation as going a great way to ease the present tense situation.

**Baroda State And Divorce :—**We published about a year ago and commented upon the Baroda Hindu Divorce Bill which was published to elicit public opinion. A special session has now been called of the State Legislative Assembly to consider the Bill. The proposed measure has roused much criticism both in Baroda and outside. We take the following from the *Hindu* :—"The Bill is designed to apply to Hindus only but the definition of the word Hindu includes Jains, Buddhists and Sikhs. The Court shall have jurisdiction under the proposed Act only if the party praying for relief under this Act is the domiciled subject of the State at the time of the suit and in case of a suit for the dissolution of marriage only if the marriage has been solemnised in the State or the cause of action has been in the State. Another important provision made in the Bill permits a wife or husband to file a suit for judicial separation instead of asking for a dissolution of marriage on several other grounds in addition to any of the grounds specified for divorce. The property acquired by a wife or vesting in her from the date she obtains a decree of judicial separation shall be her own, the husband having no claims over it during her life time. On the other hand the husband is absolved from all liability in respect of acts committed by the wife from the date." Peculiar interest attaches to this Bill as it is a pioneer attempt to break through the Hindu conception of the inviolability of the marriage tie. In fact divorce is not quite acceptable to many even among social reformers and it is significant that it is not to be found among the social resolutions passed at the Women's Conference which we print elsewhere. Bearing in mind the fact that at several women's constituent conferences divorce was advocated and later became a subject of much controversy in the press, the only explanation to its not even being raised in the Conference is that those who drafted the resolutions felt the time was not yet ripe for the subject to be taken up. As we have pointed out before we hope when the Bill emerges from the Baroda Assembly it will provide adequate safeguards that it may not impose an even greater hardship on women. Further if divorce is to be of any use in ameliorating the conditions of unhappy wives it should be supported by the strict enforcement of the monogamous principle.

**The Madras Brothels Bill :—**Another stage has been reached in the Madras Brothels Bill and we hope that very soon it will come into force. The Select Committee on the Bill for the suppression of Brothels and Immoral Traffic have reported on the Bill recommended to them. The Bill, as now amended, will be taken up for consideration by the Council on Friday next. They state as follows: "In our previous report we considered that it should be obligatory upon the Local Government to provide rescue homes for the custody and detention of girls removed under this Act, and therefore made such amendments in the Bill as were deemed necessary to carry out this intention. As His Excellency the Governor has refused to grant sanction to the amendments, it has become necessary for us to delete the same. We have accordingly deleted clause 16 of the Bill as originally amended by us, and also the words "provided by the Local Government" in clause 6

(ii) and in clause 7 of the Bill. We have also removed the words "or otherwise" in clause 12 of the Bill, as we consider that these words introduce an element of indefiniteness into the offence and widen its scope unnecessarily. We have reduced the sentence provided for under clause 12 and we have made one or two other minor changes. The Bill as amended by us is attached. As the changes made by us are not of an important character, the Bill need not be republished in the *Gazette*." We do not think it an adequate excuse for the Committee to drop amendments on vital questions because of the Governor's act. Without adequate provision of rescue homes, such a measure loses much of its importance and the Madras reformers will be hard put to it to discover and provide for proper channels to which they could divert the energies of the rescued girls. We trust that though no legal provision has been made it does not mean that Madras Government will not take the initiative to provide rescue homes.

**The Hindu Mahasabha :—**From a message to the press from the Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha, it is clear that so far the person most favoured for the presidentship of the Mahasabha Session at Bezwada is Mr. M. R. Jayakar. Mr. Jayakar, as is well-known to our readers, has been one of the strongest advocates of Social Reform and has to his credit several reform bills in the Assembly. Moreover his position in politics makes his election to the presidentship all the more valuable at a time when the political problem has become acute. That Mr. Jayakar's name was put forward by several Provincial Sabhas clearly shows that the Hindu organisation realises the value of social legislation though some of its leaders may be doubtful of its expediency. We trust Mr. Jayakar will be unanimously elected to the presidentship and we look forward eagerly to the lead he will give not only to the Mahasabha but to the country, particularly on social problems this Easter.

**The Catholic Index :—**The *United Church Review* of Northern India has in its last issue taken strong exception in an editorial to a news item which we had extracted from the *Catholic Leader* in our issue of December 21, 1929. The first sentence of that news note should have read: "The Index of Prohibited Books issued last month, says the *Catholic Leader*, Madras, is the first book published by the new printing works of the Holy See in the Vatican City." By a misprint which we regret all the more since it has caused our North Indian contemporaries some anxiety, the word "by" was substituted for "says" and the credulous were led to think that "the first book published by the new printing works of the Holy See in the Vatican city" was issued in Madras! At the same time we hope the *United Church Review* will not take it amiss if we comment on one of the issues raised in its editorial. We are aware that in Christianity as in other religions there are several sects but it comes as a surprise to us that the editor of the organ of one of these should feel sorrow that the "average Non-Christian does not distinguish markedly between Protestant and Catholic." We do not know what are the various sects that

(Continued in the 2nd column of the Leader Page.)

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1930.

## MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU'S ADDRESS.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu delivered her presidential address at the fourth All-India Women's Conference extemporarily. It has not been taken down verbatim as the expert stenographer specially instructed to do it, gave up the attempt in sheer despair. Her eloquence is like a rushing torrent which sweeps all before it, herself not excepted. Browning in one of his poems speaks of "the hand upon my shoulder" at moments of inspiration. Mrs. Naidu when she speaks is like one possessed. The words seem to shoot out like burning lava from a volcano, but the thoughts behind them suggest the deep serenity of a lake amidst towering mountains. There is a school of biography just coming into prominence of which the "Life of Karl Marx" by Otto Ruble, (an excellent English translation of which by Eden and Cedar Paul, is published by George Allen and Unwin) is the most through-going example that we have seen. According to this school every life must be interpreted in the light of its inherited and acquired circumstances. The personal equation is almost everything.

Application of this theory to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is illuminating. In a speech which she made a day or two later presiding at a Vivekananda celebration, she referred to her first meeting the Swami as a small girl in her home with a flash-light picture of which she held her audience spell-bound. It was her father's picture in fact—a man of transcendent ideals seeking to live the truths he believed in. He might have applied to himself Francis Thompson's lines:

I hang, 'mid men my needless head,  
And my fruit is dreams, as theirs is bread:  
The goodly men and the sun-hazed sleeper  
Time shall reap, but after the reaper  
The world shall glean of me, me the sleeper.

Anyhow, to the dreamer Chattopadhyaya and the home-life he inspired, India owes Mrs. Sarojini Naidu whose position to day as a harmonising factor is without a parallel. The first Brahmin girl to marry against the immemorial tradition and the iron law of her caste a non-Brahmin, a Hindu steeped in the atmosphere of Islamic culture, an Indian to whom the English language is the natural and spontaneous medium of expression, she harmonises in herself some of the cardinal incompatibilities of modern India. No wonder, as she told the Women's Conference, she hates and despises the 'feminism' which would separate and antagonise woman against "our Comrade, Man." No wonder, she chafes at "Nationalism" though she recognises its temporary use, and feels in every fibre of her

the longing to embrace whole humanity in her hopes and endeavours. The opposition of some of the members of the Conference to the association of the wives of high officials struck her as an exhibition of "the inferiority complex" which has to be fought and overcome by every Indian. In fact, the problem of Swaraj is largely the psychological one of dealing with the White man as a human being and not as a super-man or as the devil incarnate. This is not a new discovery. The Cambridge Professor of History, Seeley, wrote fifty years ago that the day on which Indians felt it was shameful to assist the White man in maintaining his dominion, that day the imperialistic system would cease to exist.

The President of such a Conference has only to suggest broad principles and leave the details to be worked out by others in the subsequent proceedings. This is what Mrs. Sarojini Naidu did. How far the resolutions passed by the Conference on educational and social subjects conformed to, and are reconcilable with, the general ideas of her address, is a matter for careful consideration. The Conference is only a three-year infant, trying to distinguish its own personality from the world into which it has been so recently born. It is a common phenomenon noticeable in child life that its earliest efforts are directed to grasping at bright, coloured, shiny things, with sole regard to their sensory attraction. The Conference will take some time to find itself. At present, the onlooker cannot help perceiving a certain mixture of incongruous aims both in education and in social and national life. There are, besides the inevitable conflict between the ancient and the modern, the traditional and the rational, the convulsions of the Peace after the War in the Western world, the influence of which, like that of an invisible planet, causes aberrations in the normal evolution of Indian society. These have started cross-currents which create whirls and eddies, so that to the superficial observer, we seem to be plunging into the chaos of anarchy. But as the poet said of a similar period in the world's history a century ago

Well roars the storm to those who hear  
A deeper voice across the storm,  
Proclaiming social truth shall spread  
And justice; ev'n tho' thrice again  
The red fool fury of the Seine  
Should pile her barricades with Dead.

(Continued from the Notes page).

are united in the "United Church" but the editorial comments of its official organ seem to show that the Roman Catholic Church is not and is not likely to be one of them. As for ourselves we have too often expressed our faith in education, for our readers to believe us to be advocates of any arbitrary system of censorship of books,

### HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE.

An important lecture on Hindu women's rights of inheritance delivered by Mr. M. R. Jayakar, the champion of women's rights, formed part of the programme of the women's Conference last week. Mr. Jayakar said that the laws with regard to women's inheritance of property varied from time to time before the Aryans had come into contact with the indigenous races of the country. Aryan women shared rights to a far more preeminent degree than they did now. That was evident from the Sanskrit saying which had come down from Vedic times to this day, although perhaps not many people understood its meaning. When a father gave away his daughter in marriage, he said to the bride-groom: "I am giving away my daughter to you today in marriage, promise me that you will allow her to acquire property." The bridegroom then made the solemn oath in reply "Amen", meaning that he would do so. That state of things had existed for several centuries. Then came a stage, when Aryans began to spread themselves over the country. During this period a kind of premium came to be put upon sons as they were considered to be a fighting asset for the family.

The law then changed and for the purpose of inheritance women were divided into two classes. Those who came into the family and those who went out. The woman who came by marriage enjoyed all privileges and comforts in the joint family as long as her husband was alive. The moment, however, he died without leaving a son, her rights became contracted into mere maintenance. That was why it had been aptly said that if a Hindu male were really true to his wife, he should ask for partition of the property. The saying might sound harsh, but it was true. The moment the husband died, her share in the joint family property was determined on the basis of her requirements. Generally, as Hindu widows were expected to lead austere lives, the assessment of requirements never exceeded bare maintenance.

The position differed if the husband died after separation of the family. The widow, if she had no son, could enjoy the property during her life time. But she had only a life interest in it. The preference for the male over the female remained. She had only to preserve the property in order that on her death the fourteenth removed descendant of the fourteenth removed ancestor should come in possession of it.

Although such a person's existence was not known, he cropped up some times immediately after the husband's death. This anomaly existed because of the theory in Hindu law that a widow could not offer *pinda* to her husband, but only a male could, however removed he might be, in relationship.

In the Bombay Presidency the Hindu Law of inheritance was more favourable to women than in

other provinces. In Bombay women can be heirs to the family property. They are divided into two classes—those who come by marriage and those born in the family. The former, such as widows mothers and daughters-in-law have only a limited ownership of the property, whereas the latter can inherit property absolutely and on their death the property passes to their stridhan heirs.

Mr. Jayakar appealed to the audience to agitate for an amendment of the Hindu law of inheritance so as to include women heirs. He showed the way by indicating three points on which they should take their stand. (1) A widow in a joint family whose husband died without leaving a son should get the entire share of the husband and also the right to claim partition of that share, (2) If the widow's husband was living apart from the family and did not leave a son or a daughter, the widow should get the whole of the estate absolutely without the property reverting to distant kinsmen and (3) by whatever influence or from whatever source women acquired property, it should be regarded as their absolute property.

The lecture was followed with breathless interest by the audience, some of whom put intelligent questions to the lecturer at the conclusion. Mrs. Chattopadhyaya wanted to know if laws giving inheritance to women were passed whether they would have retrospective effect. Mrs. Hamid Ali wished to know why legislators and politicians did not think of passing common laws applicable for all women alike irrespective of caste or creed. Mr. Jayakar in reply said that he heartily approved of the ideal, but pointed out the unhappy position arising from the attitude of certain Mahomedans towards even an elementary measure of reform as the Child Marriage Restraint Act. Mrs. Patwardan asked why the Malabar women's rights of inheritance differed so fundamentally from those of other provinces, to which the lecturer pointed out that it was due to the prevalence of the matriarchal system.

### CHRISTIAN MISSION AND FOREIGN DOMINATION.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

From time to time I notice in the columns of your paper evidence of a great misconception which I regret very much to see. In your January 18th number, on page 324 you say, "This tendency of foreign domination is assisted in the modern world by Christian Missions who rely for making converts on persuading the people among whom they work that they (the missionaries) have come from a sinless land to save them from the predition to which they are otherwise doomed."

If you have gathered this impression from a former generation I would suggest that you try to get acquainted with the life, the teaching and the preaching of men and women who are to-day trying to present Christ to India. I am a missionary

myself. Sometimes people ask me to tell them something about America. I invariably say to them that I have not come to tell them about America or about myself, or any of the supposed wonders of our western civilisation, but that I have come to try to share with them in a spirit of love and brotherhood, the good things of Christ and His Gospel. That He and He alone holds out the promise of new life, victorious life over sin, here and now. That He alone offers true heart freedom which so many want these days. That He alone will give the true recognition of sin which will make a man hate it and his old sinful life and cry out for cleansing and redemption.

We simply do not come to preach America to you of India. We come not at all with the thought that you are more involved in sin than are vast numbers in our own country but because men here are sinful and in the need of a saviour just as they are in every country of the world, and Christ came to save us all. We have something in life which we know works. We know that the living Christ if honestly received and obeyed will give new life right here and now. We know from experience that He is doing it for us and a host of others like us. It is this blessed assurance that we want to share with men who are heart hungry and seeking release from bondage. So we would be ashamed to come and disturb India's simple and worthy people in the villages or the cities with stories of far-away grandeurs which we know are but for a day if they exist at all, and are very apt to be revealed as hollow. Like Paul, we are resolved to "know none other among you save Christ and Him crucified." This is our message and we try to express it in love and humility and to live genuine Christ-like lives ourselves. Can you believe this? It is true whether you can bring yourself to accept the fact or not. I hope you may have the happy experience of seeing this for yourself and thus avoid that old type of expression which smacks of musty archives as the older theology smacks of things outworn.

Fatehpar, U. P., }  
January 23, 1930. }

Yours, etc.,  
G. B. OGDEN.

#### ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE. OPENING OF PRAHLAD MILLS CRECHE.

Requesting Mrs. Naidu to declare the creche open, Rani Pratapgir Narsingirji said that she regarded it as a great privilege that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu should have spared time from her many public activities to attend the opening of the creche, and she and her husband appreciated also the presence of so many ladies from all parts of India. The Rani felt that every step taken to popularise creches was a measure of public welfare and, as such deserved the appreciation and support of Indian women. It fostered character and brought the human touch into the problem of Indian labour and made the employer and the employee partners in the same venture. But for the labour trouble in Bombay,

the function then being held at the Prahlad Mills might have taken place two years earlier, but she was glad that the female artisans were now able to enjoy an advantage which she considered to be one of the rights of women, and one which also made for harmonious progress of the cotton mill industry. There was only a small venture, but she looked upon it as the precursor of many other developments in industrial welfare, wherein Indian women will find their due place and opportunity for personal uplift. In asking Mrs. Naidu to perform the ceremony she paid a tribute to the zealous work of Mr. Osman Sobani and hoped that he would long be associated with a venture, which he had been able to establish as a personal success.

Mrs. Naidu expressed her joy at seeing the accomplishment of a long-cherished dream and also that this creche should have been opened in the presence of so many educationists from all parts of India. She felt that the All-India Women's Conference could not work only for the leisured classes, but in order to fulfil its true mission must increasingly associate itself with labouring womanhood.

Later in the evening the Bombay Presidency Women Graduates' Union and British University Women in India were "At Home" in the University gardens.

The programme of the All-India Women's Conference on Wednesday, 22nd instant, included two cinema lectures delivered in the evening by Dr. (Mrs.) Wilson and Madame Von Keller. Mrs. Wilson illustrated, with the aid of photographs taken by the Indian Research Fund Association, how overcrowding and want of sunshine brought about diseases.

Mrs. Wilson was of the opinion that those who framed schemes for the introduction of development of compulsory education ought to see that the schools were located in healthy surroundings and that the class-rooms were not over-crowded. In the course of her visits to schools in Northern India and particularly in the Punjab, she gathered the impression that public opinion had not strongly been expressed against over-crowding in schools. The lecturer said diseases like rickets developed mostly amongst women who lived in a close atmosphere and did not enjoy sun light.

Madame Von Keller of the Odenwald School in West Germany demonstrated to the audience how that school which was founded about 20 years ago trying to realise the motto "Become what thou art." That school stood for co-education and fellowship of boys and girls of different nationalities. She regretted that most educationists forced their ideas into the minds of young boys and girls without trying to bring out their latent faculties and develop them.

#### RESOLUTIONS

At the third session of the All-India Women's Conference on Thursday (23rd instant) morning the

whole time was devoted to the consideration of social reform resolutions, and of the sixteen set down for decision, only eight were disposed of. The two dealing with child marriage and inheritance attracted a great many speakers, who spoke with a zeal and eloquence that indicated how deeply Indian womanhood felt on these two points. Lady Sykes, spent over an hour listening to the speeches in support of the various resolutions and appeared keenly interested in the proceedings.

Miss Mithan Tata placed before the House the resolution dealing with the laws of inheritance and was followed by speakers in Gujarati and Marathi. Miss Ferozuddin spoke feelingly on this question in English. Without the economic independence of woman, she said, her emancipation could only be a dream.

Speaking on that part of the resolution which deals with Muslim women's rights in accordance with the laws laid down in the Quran and the current customary law as practised in some parts of India, Miss Ferozuddin emphasised that Muslim women, in desiring a rectification of the present state of affairs, were not humble suppliants for favours, but were demanding what was their right. She mentioned that shortly before she left for Bombay 500 Muslim women had met, made this demand and forwarded a copy of it to His Excellency the Viceroy and there was now in existence in the Punjab a Muslim Women's Rights Association. The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### SARDA ACT.

The child marriage question was sponsored by Mrs. Nehru, who spoke very ably on the need for Indian States' co-operation with British India and the passing of an Act similar to the Sarda Act, for the present position enabled an evasion of the law by child marriages not being penalised in Indian States. Speakers in all languages and including some from Indian States with one accord supported Mrs. Nehru's proposition, which was passed without a dissentient note.

Mrs. Shafi Tyabji and Miss Ferozuddin condemned in strong terms the opposition raised by Muslims against this Act and said that it did not in any manner violate the "Shariat" of Muslims. The latter declared that a marriage among Muslims was only an agreement and it was commonsense to understand that the agreement could not be entered into unless both the boy and the girl had attained majority.

The question of equal rights of guardianship of mother and father presented by Miss Tata, that of the existing disabilities in respect of adoption as proposed by Miss Patel and that put forward by Mrs. Abbas Tyabji regarding woman's responsibility to society in the undertaking of some form of social work were all successfully carried.

The resolution moved from the chair (Mrs. Sarojini Naidu) had an amendment put forward for its final clause, which after being formally proposed

by Miss Gedge, was added to the original resolution and passed. The proposition with its addendum read thus: This Conference supports all efforts that are being made in the country (a) to remove untouchability and supports Mr. Jayakar's "Bill to remove disabilities affecting the untouchable classes of Hindus" pending in the Assembly, (b) the evils of intemperance and (c) all efforts to suppress immoral traffic in women and children and in particular it supports the Madras Brothels Bill and the Prevention of Devadasi Dedication Bill, and is of opinion that women should be equally penalised with men in the keeping of brothels.

"Revolt against the Purdah," this was the advice which Mrs. Shaffi Tyabji offered to her Muslim sisters in moving a resolution condemning the enforced seclusion of women and entreating Hindus and Muslims to educate public opinion towards abolishing it. The mover said that the Quran did not enjoin them to veil their faces and characterised the custom as harmful and one which undermined their health. Several Muslim as well as Hindu women spoke in favour of the resolution which was unanimously passed.

#### VISIT TO RESCUE HOME.

The first visit of the delegates on Thursday afternoon was to the Rescue Home for Indian Women run by the Bombay Presidency Women's Council. Here the delegates and visitors arrived in large numbers and were conducted round the Home, in which they evinced a great interest. There are at present twenty women inmates, who cook and fend for themselves, rear poultry, grow their own vegetables and are cultivating a flower garden. In addition to this sewing is also taught, and with plenty of work and exercise they are quite happy. The next visit was paid to the Wadia Maternity Hospital, where the latest equipment for the alleviation of the sick has been installed. This hospital, a result of the generosity of the Wadia brothers, has been built solely for women of the labouring classes. From there the delegates went to a Municipal vocational training school, where handicrafts are being taught to Bombay's young generation. Then on to the New High School for Girls where there was an entertainment consisting of a one-act playlet and some dances given by the pupils.

An Educational and Industrial Exhibition was held in the South wing of the University Building during the first three sessions of the Conference showing some really good work done by various local institutions. There were also displayed several interesting educational text books.

#### CONCERT.

One of the most pleasant functions organised in connection with the fourth session of the Indian Women's Conference was the concert of Indian music and "Garba," which came off on Thursday evening in Sir Cowasji Hall. The concert and the

"Garba" were well appreciated by the representative gathering present and Prof. B. B. Deodhar of the Indian School of Music who was responsible for the excellent treat provided, received well merited praise.

The programme opened with a prayer recited by a bevy of young girls of the School of Indian Music. This was followed by the Indian Orchestra, which is of special importance since this form of music is a new departure in the realm of Indian music. Miss Shanta Amaladi's rendering of a 'Hori' was well received.

But the most spectacular item on the card was the "Garba Dance" conducted by the new Garba Mandal under the direction Mrs. Maniben Manji. The dancers in picturesque Indian village dress with pitchers on the heads looked extremely pretty on the stage, while the rhythmical representation accompanied by appropriate musical rendering was in keeping with the spirit of the village folk songs.

#### MR. K. H. VAKIL'S LECTURE.

The last item in the programme of the Women's Conference on Thursday was a lecture delivered by Mr. K. H. Vakil on "Some aspects of Indian Art," which was profusely illustrated with magic lantern slides. The speaker dwelt at length on the importance of environment in art and its intimate relation to life. The famous painting at Ajanta, the Mughal paintings, the Pahari and Rajasthani paintings, he said, were achieved by those who were in direct contact with the then environment. They were not the outcome of extraneous and imposed conventions. The study of Indian sculpture was more or less an enumeration of symbolic devices and iconographic details, and nowhere else was the vivid relation between art and life better depicted than in the examples of sculpture showing various dance poses which interpret the beauty of the Indian sari, the gentle life of village and temple and the worship of woman at dawn beside the sea. These the lecturer concluded, unfolded life as a picture of beauty, free, happy and tranquil with the luminous colourful audacity of the open air and the regenerative force of the unchanging elements.

#### CONCLUDING SESSION.

#### MRS. NAIDU'S MESSAGES.

"Be Marys not Marthas" was Mrs. Naidu's advice to those delegates who had met at the fourth All India women's Conference from all parts of this country. She implored them not to be so censorious. Human nature is liable to make mistakes and it was this triumph, this spirit that transmutes these mistakes into a living thing. Women delegates could transcend all the difficulties in their own provinces and it was this triumph, this spirit of dedication that was the lesson to be derived from this Conference. During the present sessions, said Mrs. Naidu, they had in their deliberations come down to the very bedrock of life in their consideration of the agricul-

turists and labourers. They were the custodians of the poor and they met in conference, not arrogant with their learning but as humble women who served their sisters. Theirs was the kinship of womanhood, a kinship with suffering woman, a fellowship of women with the common destiny of womanhood. Mrs. Naidu also made an appeal for donations towards the working expenses of the Conference.

In giving an outline of work planned for 1930 Mrs. Huidekoper, Educational Secretary, referred to the resolution passed at Patna regarding an investigation of the conditions in the education of the children under 8, which had never made any definite progress, and yet she had heard on all sides what urgent need there was for reform in this connection; she thereupon appealed to the delegates while endeavouring to surmount their own local difficulties with regard to various phases of education to bear in mind the work required by the Educational Secretary and also make investigations along those lines as well.

Mrs. Nehru, Social Secretary, made the same appeal for co-operation in those social reforms with which the Conference had associated itself. Both appeals were acclaimed by the House.

During the first session in the afternoon votes were taken for the officers for 1930 and the following ladies were elected:—Mrs. P. K. Sen (Chairman, Standing Committee), Mrs. Huidekoper (Educational Secretary) Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru (Social Secretary), while the vice-Presidents for the year were:—Mrs. Cousins, Lady Tata, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, M.L.C., Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Abbas Tyebji (Indian States) and Lady Abdul Kadir.

#### SOCIAL RESOLUTIONS.

In the course of the second and final session of the Conference, on Friday afternoon, the remaining social resolutions were dealt with there being, however, very little discussion on them. Five out of the eight resolutions were proposed by the Chair (Mrs. Sarojini Naidu)—dealing with unequal marriages, with the need for at least one woman magistrate to be present at each sitting of Juvenile Courts and the establishment of these courts in all provinces, a resolution that marriage should not be compulsory for girls, giving the support of the Conference to the further amending of the Special Marriage Act of 1872 and desiring the inclusion of women representatives well acquainted with Indian conditions in conferences and commissions appointed to deal with questions of the national welfare of India. The resolution on polygamy was proposed by Mrs. Asaf Ali, supported by two other Indian ladies and was carried unanimously. Of the two resolutions dealing with labour questions the first desired the appointment of an adequate number of Factory Inspectresses to look after the welfare and requirements of women and children employees in all industrial areas. This was ably put forward by Miss B. A. Engineer and supported by Miss Iris Wingate, both of Bombay. The second sponsored by Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya desired the



Standing Committee to inquire into the condition of women and children, employed in organised labour areas and also to inquire into the agricultural and indigenous industries of their area and to foster such industries. Both resolutions were passed.

THANKS TO LADY TATA.

Mrs. Cousins, on behalf of the delegates, thanked Bombay in general and Lady Tata and her Working Committee in particular for the programme planned for them, for the hospitality extended to them and for the warm welcome they had received. Lady Tata in reply said that Bombay was both proud and happy to have women from all parts of India as her guests. She and her Committee realised their shortcomings and had endeavoured to do their best, but they had been beset by difficulties when substitute delegates appeared who were of different castes and creeds from those for whom arrangements had been made.

In the evening Lady Tata was "At Home." There Monsieur Mirovitch's skilful music transported his listeners to realms of beauty unexplored. His recital included compositions of Chopin, Liszt and himself. The entertainment also contained two items of Indian music delightfully rendered by Professor Deodhar's School of Music.

In thanking the performers Lady Tata paid a tribute to the great musician who had wished to show his appreciation of the Conference by playing to its delegates. The thanks to Lady Tata was conveyed by Mrs. Naidu who referred to her as "the gracious lady who welcomed us and now bids us a warm farewell." Turning to M. Mirovitch she thanked him as an Indian woman on behalf of the women of India for the beauty he had unfolded to them that evening.

MR. JAYAKAR'S DEVADASI BILL.

The following is the text of the Bill (with statement of objects and reasons) relating to Devadasis, which Mr. M. R. Jayakar will introduce during the current session of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

The Bill seeks to prevent the dedication of women to service in Hindu temples in British India. The following is the preamble:—

*Preamble.*—Whereas the practice of dedicating women as Devadasis for services in Hindu temples exists in many Provinces in British India, and whereas such practice, however ancient and pure its origin, invariably serves at present as an initiation to a life of prostitution and results in such women adopting the profession of prostitution and,

Whereas steps have been taken in some Provinces to discontinue such practice and it is now desirable and expedient to terminate it wherever it exists in British India and,

Whereas the enfranchisement of lands held by such women on condition of service in temples will

be an effective step in terminating such practice, it is hereby enacted as follows:—

SCOPE AND TERMS.

1. (A) This Act may be called the Prevention of Dedication of Devadasis Act, 193 .

(B) It extends to the whole of British India.

(C) It shall come into force on the 1st day of .....193 .

2. In this Act, unless there is something repugnant in the subject or context,

(A) The expression "Devadasi" shall mean any Hindu unmarried woman, who is dedicated to service in a temple;

(B) The expression "Temple" shall mean any place of worship public or private.

3. The performance, within the precincts of a Hindu temple or outside, of any ceremony under whatever name or description, with reference to a Hindu woman, with or without her consent, intended or having the effect to dedicate her for service as a Devadasi in a Hindu temple, is hereby declared illegal and of no effect.

4. Subject to the provision of the laws by which she may be otherwise governed, a Devadasi may contract a marriage, and the same shall be regarded as valid, notwithstanding any law or custom declaring such marriage to be invalid by reason of her subjection to the ceremony mentioned in Section 3.

5. Whoever performs, or permits, takes part in, or abets the performance of any ceremony mentioned in Section 3, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine or with both.

6. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prevent any person from being liable, under Section 372 of the Indian Penal Code, or under any other law, to any other or higher punishment than is provided by this Act.

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF LANDS.

7. (A) Where the remuneration for any service to be rendered by a Devadasi in a temple consists, in whole or in part, of lands or assignments of the revenue of lands, granted or continued by the British Government, the Local Government, in whose territory such lands may be situate, shall enfranchise the said lands, for the condition of such service, and substitute an adequate quit rent therefor, under such rules as it may prescribe in this behalf, and such enfranchisement shall take effect from the date to be fixed as hereinafter provided;

(B) Where the remuneration for such service consists, in whole or in part, of lands or the produce of lands, not falling under Sub-section (A) the Local Government concerned shall direct the Collector of the District in which such lands are situate, to determine the amount of rent payable in respect of such lands. The Collector shall, thereupon,

after notice to the parties concerned, hold an enquiry and determine the amount of such rent.

(C) The Local Government shall prescribe rules, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, providing for the holding of such enquiry, the determination of the said rent, the payment of the costs of the proceedings and all other matters relating thereto. The said rules shall be published in the Local Government *Gazette* and within six months of such publication shall be submitted for the approval of the Legislative Council of the Province and will become operative on receiving such approval, with or without amendments.

(D) The order fixing the quit rent under Sub-section (A) or the rent under Sub-section (B) shall be communicated to the parties concerned and published in the Local Government *Gazette*, and subject to any appeal which the rules to be prescribed by the Local Government under Sub-section (C) may allow, the said order shall be final and shall not be liable to be contested in any court of law.

(E) The order fixing the quit rent or rent as aforesaid shall specify a date from which the order shall take effect, and the said lands shall be deemed to have been enfranchised from the condition of such service as and from the said date.

#### NEW RIGHTS FOR DEVADASIS

(F) From and after the said date,

A. The quit rent imposed under sub-section (A) shall be payable to the temple concerned, and subject to such payment, the Devadasi concerned shall hold the land as her own.

B. The assignment of revenue in respect of lands enfranchised under sub-section (A) or the rent fixed under sub-section (B) as the case may be, shall be payable to the Devadasi concerned during her life and after her death to the temple concerned.

(G) From and after the said date, no obligation to render such existence to the said temple shall be enforceable against the Devadasi concerned.

(H) No order passed under Sub-section (A) or (B) shall operate as a bar to the trial of any suitor or issue relating to the right to enjoy the land on which the quit rent or rent has been fixed as aforesaid.

#### STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

##### LEGISLATION IN SOME PROVINCES

In many Provinces in India exists practice of dedicating girls to Hindu temples for purposes of service to the idol. This is done in various ways, and under different names. The common notion, however, which influences the practice, is that the girl should become a "Servant of God" (Devadasi) at a young age, remain unmarried for life, and devote herself to the service of the idol. Doubts have been expressed by experts whether this practice has any sanction of Vedic Hinduism. Many ascribe it to an aboriginal origin. But, whatever its source or original purity, there is no doubt that, in recent times, the practice has degenerated mainly into a method of initiating young women to a life of immorality and prostitution, which, in many cases,

becomes compulsory by reason of the cruel custom that a girl so dedicated cannot contract a valid marriage.

#### NEED OF A COMPREHENSIVE MEASURE.

It is therefore highly desirable and expedient to terminate this practice and permit the girl to contract a valid marriage. Attempts have been made in the past to put an end to this practice, but they have been more or less indirect, and have not produced the desired result. Experience shows that the provisions of Sections 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code have been evaded. Consequently, a few Provinces in British India like e.g. Madras and United Provinces of Agra, and Oudh have been compelled to adopt legislative measures directly dealing with this evil. Likewise, the Mysore Government, after consulting expert opinion from the point of view of Hindu Shastras, thought it necessary to pass orders, as early as 1909, directing the exclusion of Devadasis from services in temples in the State and also laying down the manner in which the cash emoluments or Inam lands attached to the said service should be treated. Similar provisions for the enfranchisement of such lands and emoluments have been adopted at Madras, and the time has now arrived for the passing of a comprehensive measure dealing with this evil wherever it exists in British India.

#### OBSERVATIONS OF MYSORE GOVERNMENT.

The Mysore Government observed in their order referred to above, that whatever might be the euphemism by which the true nature of the (dedication) ceremony was concealed, it had an intimate connection with the profession of a prostitute or dancing girl. They were, therefore, not prepared to allow the performance of such a ceremony in the State temples and were satisfied from the depositions and the opinions of the authorities concerned that no hardship would be caused by the prohibition of such ceremonies in temples. This is indeed very high and valuable testimony, proceeding as it does from a Government over which an enlightened Hindu ruler presides, and which had singular opportunities of consulting Shastric authorities and the Hindu sentiment relating thereto.

Since the passing of the foregoing order by the Mysore Government, public opinion has more strongly insisted on the suppression of this evil, and several appeals have been addressed to the British Government and to the moral sense of the Hindu community by men's and women's associations, including a few in which enlightened members of the Devadasi community have wholeheartedly joined.

#### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Lord Parmoor writes in the *Aryan Path*, Bombay :—

The League's tenth birthday is, in itself, a testimony to the admirable work which it has carried

out at Geneva, hopeful guarantee for future stability and progress. At the same time, there is a danger of weak optimism. The desire that nations should covenant with one another in order to agree on a method for settling international disputes by friendly means finds a place both in the history of Greece and Rome, and as a sequel to the terrible mediæval and religious war which desolated Europe. Can the League of Nations depend not only on the spirit on which it is administered at Geneva, but on the strength of a world opinion in favour of a peace basis in international relationships? This is the only ultimate guarantee, raising the League above political changes and the risks attendant on the recrudescence of armament competition. This competition will not be effectively discouraged so long as the power of secret diplomacy is maintained.

The main question is whether the peoples of the world can exercise a permanent influence in the domain of foreign politics. They certainly desire peace, but there is a difficulty in giving expression to this desire. The prejudice in favour of war, as the ultimate sanction in international affairs, remains a strong factor. At first thought, it would appear that, immediately on the morrow of the Great War, so destructive to human civilization and resulting in an industrial dislocation, widespread in its ruin, some really drastic steps might have been taken in the all-round reduction of armaments. The years, however, are slipping by, and a new generation is growing up to whom the terrible memory of the Great War is less vivid. Effective disarmament is still delayed. This is so, in spite of the evidence that the most potent cause of the war outbreak was the competitive increase in armaments during the preceding decades. There is, too, the certainty that, as invention advances in the development of methods of human destruction, future warfare will bring about the silence of death. Macaulay's picture of the New Zealander gazing over the ruins of London may be realized unless the government of this country, before it is too late, gives its whole-hearted support to League principle.

There are evident signs that the prestige of the League is not being safeguarded with sufficient vigilance. Peace-lovers recognized the value of the Locarno Treaty and of the Kellogg Pact, but if Geneva is to become the true centre of international understanding, these and other movements should have found a place for discussion and settlement at Geneva. International opinion at Geneva has expressed the opinion that no general scheme of disarmament can be finally carried out unless an alternative way to war is accepted for the settling of international disputes when conciliation fails. The only suggested alternative is the acceptance of third party decision in all cases, whatever their nature or quality. This principle stands out prominently in the preamble of the Covenant of the League, one of the most solemn treaties in history. It is recognized throughout all the subsequent articles, however, contained a gap by which constituent

nations might still resort to war after certain preliminary precautions had been taken. It was unanimously desired by representative international opinion, as expressed in the Assembly at Geneva in 1924, to amend the Covenant and to fill up this gap. It then became possible to define an aggressor clearly, and to denounce an aggressive war as an international crime. Proposals, having this object, were forwarded from Geneva for approval to the various constituent countries, not necessarily as an ultimate solution, but as a basis for a world conference on disarmament. They were at that time jettisoned by this country without reservation. Great Britain still stood out for the reservation of a right to use force in large ranges of international disputes.

At Christmas time, Christians, turn once more to the lesson of peace and goodwill; but, unless these lessons take a permanent place in modern evolution, the future is not assured. It is not that the people, who stand for moral evolution, are not urging a new international justice, but that the old methods of international intercourse are entrenched under the traditions of secret diplomatic methods, handed down through the archives of history.

Earl Loreborn wrote in 1919: "But reconciliation must come before the League can really succeed, and the prospect of this seems to be daily becoming more remote." This forecast has been proved to be too pessimistic. The League has become an established institution; each year has enlarged the area of its international influence. Those who desired a League of Nations before the Great War, and steadily supported the principle during the War, feel that their faith has been justified, and that Geneva will continue to grow as the centre of a new international peace spirit. It is essential that it should hold its place as a meeting for public discussion between all the constituent countries of the League, great and small, and not be allowed to become merely a convenient meeting place to recreate the old diplomatic methods with the risk of bringing back the heresy that a balance of power, calculated on the strength of rival war equipments, can ever give security to an advancing civilization or ensure an era of progressive industrial stability,

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Free Distribution:**—The following booklets will be given free on the occasion of the Navavidhan Jubilee. Please apply with one anna postage stamp to, Sj. Jaananjan Neogi, "Peace Cottage", 84, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. (1) Keshub Chander Sen. (2) Max Muller on Ram Krishna and Keshub. (3) Keshub Chander Sen—a study.

**Shri Ramakrishna Ashram:**—The sixty-eighth Birthday Anniversary of Swami Vivekananda was celebrated at the Ramakrishna Ashram, Khar, on Sunday the 26th January 1930. Public Meetings in this connection were held at the Peoples' Jinnah Hall on Wednesday the 22nd and at Mulji Jetha Market Hall on Thursday the 23rd.

**M. E. Mission Annual Convention:**—The Annual Convention of the United Provinces Division of the W. O. T. U. was held recently in Lucknow, under the presidency of Mrs. G. H. Thomas. Delegates were present from a half dozen local unions, including Agra, Muttra, Gonda, Landour and Cawnpore. The usual reports were read and discussions followed. Always at noontide business was suspended for ten or fifteen minutes while, true to the custom followed by members of the White Ribbon Army, the convention was in prayer for this organization that encircles the globe and works for purity in home, state and nation. Congratulations were sent to the legislative representatives who helped to pass the Sarda Bill. Mr. Gulam Hassan was introduced to the convention and explained the Local Option Bill. After the discussion which followed, resolutions were passed framing the opinion of the body, on this measure. The delegates from Agra extended an invitation for the next convention to be held in their city, and the annual election of officers resulted in Mrs. G. H. Thomas being re-elected to the Presidency, and Mrs. J. R. Ohitamber being made corresponding secretary. Mrs. T. O. Badley about to leave for America, was presented with a life membership certificate and Mrs. Ohitamber was honoured also by being made a life member of the W. O. T. U.

**Benn to Tour India:**—The political correspondent of "Liberty" writes under date London, January 4:—I gather that Mr. Benn has made up his mind to make his deferred tour in India on the publication of the Simon report. It is presumed that nothing in the meantime will happen that will prevent his seeing the elder statesmen of the Congress to whom Mr. Benn will personally explain the attitude of the Labour Government.

**The Harmonium:**—At the second session of the Allahabad District Conference of Music, which was held in connection with the visit of Pandit Vishnu Digambar, a well known musician and founder of the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, great emphasis was laid by Munshi Iswar Saran, M.L.A., President, for the revival of Indian music and dancing. Mr. Iswar Saran hoped that the harmonium and "abominations of that character would be kept out of Indian music" which should be considered on its own lines.

**Late Mr. C. V. Swaminatha Iyer.**—Death occurred, writes the *Hindu*, of Mr. C. V. Swaminatha Iyer, the last of the pioneers of Indian journalism. Mr. Swaminatha Iyer was closely associated with the late Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer in journalism during the early eighties. He founded in 1898 the *Viveka Chintamani*, the popular and premier Tamil monthly, which he conducted uninterruptedly till 1922, when it ceased publication with his retirement from active life. He also founded in the nineties the Societies for diffusion of Knowledge for the purpose of carrying on propaganda for education of women, village sanitation, universal and primary education, etc., and succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of a distinguished body of public men, both Indian and English in his labours. Under the auspices of the Society, considerable pioneer literature was published and rendered much valuable work. It was at the suggestion of the late Mr. Swaminatha Iyer that advantage was taken of the presence of the King Emperor in Madras in 1906 (then Prince of Wales) and the name of George Town was conferred upon what was known as the Black Town in the city of Madras. He leaves behind two sons and two daughters, the eldest of whom is Mr. Sadanand of the Free Press of India.

**Dr. Tagore on Education:**—Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who was in Cawnpore to collect funds for his international institution, the Viswabharati, was entertained at an "at home" by Mr. J. P. Srivastava, and prominent business and literary men were invited to meet the distinguished visitor. Dr. Tagore in his talk spoke of his early environments and education and told how the present institution was built up. He said that education must be like a nest and not like a cage.

Describing how help was received from the French, German and Italian Governments, he pleaded that India should not be ignored in the Indian universities and opportunities should be offered whereby various Indian cultures could be brought together. The European countries were aware of the experiment in education that he was carrying on and some countries had already started similar institutions in imitation of his own. He described how Indians were ignored in the study of Indian philosophy, because they had more confidence in their own scholars. He wanted his countrymen to share his big burden and try to make it successful.

**Theosophical Convention at Adyar:**—The 54th annual convention of the Theosophical Society was held at Adyar in December 1929. Dr. Besant, welcoming the delegates, made a reference at the outset to the dissolution of the Order of Star by Mr. Krishnamurty. Addressing the Theosophical Convention on the 24th Dec. Dr. Besant reviewed the Society's activities in the past half a century and pointed out the main lines of its future activities. She emphatically repudiated the suggestion that the Society had finished its mission. She exhorted the members to show greater keenness for the solution of the problem of untouchability, which, she declared, is the greatest obstacle in India's pathway.

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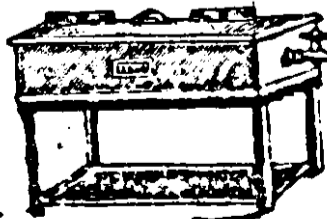
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No. 23

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Anti-Indian Propaganda In England:—**  
 We refer in our leading article to the anti-Indian propaganda which some retired English officials carry on in England. This has lately become accentuated owing to the Viceroy's statement about the proposed Round Table Conference, and some English newspapers have been publishing articles from English and Anglo-Indian statesmen and ex-Governors protesting against further extension of political power to Indians. Some of these compositions have been characterised by extreme bitterness, verging almost on a fanatic hatred and contempt for Indians, particularly the Hindus. It is noteworthy how the brunt of criticism on such occasions is always directed to the Hindus and Hinduism, and one would think that if India were inhabited wholly by Mussalmans, Parsis and Christians, British rule would not have been confronted by popular discontent. Unfortunately, however, the vast majority of Indians happen to be Hindus, and a thousand years of Moslem and two hundred years of Christian missionary propaganda, seem only to have led to the energetic Hindu renaissance now in progress. The anti-Indian propaganda so long confined to the Press, is showing a tendency to extend to a wider field. Last week *Reuter* cabled the news that a bomb had been found in the British Museum and that it was alleged to be done by Indian students. A telephone message was received by the Museum people from one Khan who professed to have over-heard some Indian students talking of causing an explosion in the British Museum. Some British newspapers made use of this as a text for most offensive diatribes against Indian students in England, who, one of them stated, were being subjected to extra surveillance nowadays. It has since been found that the bomb was a "noise and smoke" thing and that the man who placed it when it was found was not an Indian but one Frank Biggs who "discovered" it there and called attention to it. Biggs himself confessed to having done so. The only motive he could have had was to create a scare against Indians, and, incidentally it may be, to make a little money out of it. We must

say to the credit of the British Police that they have not, as they might have easily done and as it would be done in some other parts of the British Empire, hushed up the matter. They have frankly stated the result of their investigation and Indians have reason to be grateful to them for it. The point we wish to emphasize here is that attempts like that of Frank Biggs is the natural consequence of the anti-Indian propaganda in the English press and unless this is stopped, we may expect such incidents to increase

**Anti-Prohibition Lies:—**The number of *Prohibition*, the official organ of the Prohibition League of India, edited by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, is excellently got-up, and has pithy articles and excerpts dealing with some of the familiar objections to the adoption of Prohibition in this country. It gives some specimens of the falsehoods and misrepresentations of the anti-Prohibition propagandists. Here is one. The *Licensing World* of July 6th published a sensational statement alleged to have been made by the Archbishop of York as follows:—"I confess that I very often do not agree with some of the remarks made on 'temperance' platforms, and I cannot endorse the statement that if a man touches alcoholic liquor at all he is sure to get worse and worse. I have drunk alcoholic liquor for a good many years of my life, and I have never at any time felt that I could not check or control it." The Archbishop's attention was drawn to this and on July 20, the *Licensing World* had to publish the following letter under his signature:—"Sir, my attention has been called to a paragraph in your issue of July 6th, which attributes to me the statement that "I have drunk alcoholic liquors for a good many years of my life." As I am, in fact, a life-long teetotaler, I should be glad if you will insert this correction. It is clear that the remarks of somebody else have been inadvertently attributed to me." Another instance is given in the same number of *Prohibition*. Recently the Association Opposed to Prohibition, the American organization working on behalf of liquor interests, put out a very alarming pamphlet giving "statistics" of the alleged cost of Prohibition in America, for the fiscal year 1928. The "Association" computed the cost to the taxpayers for the year at \$ 936, 246,945. These extraordinary "statistics" had a wide publication. Dr. J. M. Doran, Commissioner for Prohibition, in reply, gives out the official record of the actual cost of Prohibition for the nine years period prior to 1928, from which it is clear that, instead of there being any cost to the taxpayers, up to and including the fiscal year

1928, the receipts from the enforcement have netted the tax payers 247,324,307 dollars. As long as rich people are inclined to organise law-breaking, comments our contemporary, enforcement can be made to pay. When they give it up, enforcement will be a simple affair.

**Children's Aid Society:**—The third annual report of the Children's Aid Society, records the great progress the institution has made during the three years of its existence. It has been the means of saving a number of, to be more accurate, 1, 645, children from lapsing into a life of crime and vice by one single offence committed through indiscretion or ignorance. The principle underlying the working of the Society is that the juvenile criminal during his commitment with proper education and training will be able to realise the error of his ways as he grows up, turn over a new leaf and become an honest citizen, whereas the avenue of reforming himself would be closed if he were to associate with grown up and hardened criminals. The number of new admissions, during the year was 678 and the report states that recently in one twenty-four hour period as many as 30 new children were admitted. The second great achievement of the Society is the completion of the plans for the establishment of the new Junior Reformatory Schools for boys less than twelve years of age in a spare compound on the Umerkhadhi site. Thus the Society, besides conducting a Remand Home, is solving the institutional problem by its recent venture. It is interesting to learn that 60 per cent. of children admitted did not belong to Bombay but were upcountry cases. For the first time destitute children have been the largest element in the Remand Home. The increase in the number of children is ascribed to greater police activity rather than to the bad character of the neighbourhood. The Society owes a good deal of its success to Miss M. K. Davis its indefatigable secretary. Miss Davis' appeal to the public for more funds to extend the activities of the Society should meet with adequate and prompt response.

**Sea Voyages and the Orthodox:**—We learn from the *Brahmana*, the "Guardian of Sanatana Dharma" a weekly paper started in South India about a year ago, that there is much controversy going on among the orthodox as to the propriety of going to England on deputation to protest against the Sarda Act. "Though the opinion of authoritative Heads has not yet come forth to the public, our association with some of them leads us to infer the reverse of the announcements of the Madras leaders" says the *Brahmana*. "The reply wired by His Holiness Paramahansa Parivrajacharya Srimad Anandarama Swamigal of Sri Chitrapura Matam of Shirali, Honaver P. O., North Canara District, to the prayer of his disciple Mr. M. M. Ananta Rao, the Secretary of the Madras Brahmana Sabha, to permit him to go to England on a deputation to His Majesty the Emperor in respect of the Child Marriage Act, has been forwarded to us for publication. It is as follows:—'Work specified in Binha Patra may be done through others without your going. If gone, as apaddharma, whether you be Samvyavaharya by Prayaaschitta, cannot be done'. This reply is appropriate to the seat His Holiness justly occupies." The predecessor of this Swami excommunicated Sir Narayan

Chandavarkar for going to England and forbade his followers from crossing the sea. The order has been practically a dead letter. "Though it cannot be decidedly stated what other Heads would say, it is certain, in all probabilities, that they too would advocate the same view, regardless of the specious plea of some, who entertain a longing to visit England." If it is wrong for the misguidedly enthusiastic disciple to go to England surely it cannot be right for any one else to do so.

**The Anti-Untouchability Campaign:**—It is gratifying to learn that the work of the Anti-Untouchability Committee has so far met with gratifying response. All the eight temples owned by the Telugu Munurvar community residing in Bombay were declared open to all the members of the Hindu community irrespective of their caste or creed by a resolution passed at their meeting held on the 2nd instant at Kamathipura under the chairmanship of Sriyut Sayaji Laxman Silam, B. A. LL. B., Advocate, member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The resolution was passed almost unanimously only one member dissenting. The temples thrown open are:—1. Panch Mukhi Maruti (Vitho Rukhmai) Temple, Kamathipura, 5th Lane, Bombay. 2. Shri Khandobas Temple, Kamathipura, 5th Lane, Bombay. 3. Shri Pochamma Temple, Kamathipura, 11th Lane, Bombay. 4. Sudalamma Temple, Kamathipura, 9th Lane, Bombay. 5. Shri Laxmi Narayan Temple, Kamathipura, 7th Lane, Bombay. 6. Shri Ram Maruti Temple, Kamathipura, Bazar Road, Bombay. 7. Shri Durga Devi Temple, Kamathipura, Durgadevi Road, Bombay. 8. Shri Mari Amma (Goddess), Kamathipura, Bazar Road. The question of admitting the members of the so called untouchables or the depressed classes was discussed in four successive meetings of the community held during recent months and although the advanced section among the community under the leadership of Sjts. Silam, Pupala, Gangala and others could have carried the resolution by majority any time, the latter wisely decided to wait and without pressing the issue to voting strove to bring about unanimity by reasoning and persuasion with the orthodox section with the happy result that ultimately on Sunday last after a full dress debate the resolution was carried amidst enthusiasm with a single vote against it. The resolution was moved by Sjt. S. K. Pupala, another prominent member of the community and a member of the Municipal Corporation. It resolved that from that day onward all the temples owned by the community were to be thrown open for worship to all Hindus irrespective of any caste or creed, and called upon the leaders of the untouchables to strive to rid their people of the evil habits of eating beef etc. which were held to be essentially irreligious, and observe more clearly the standard and mode of living. It also called upon them to pay special attention to the spread of untouchability.

#### MANAGER'S NOTICE

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1928, the receipts from the enforcement have netted the tax payers 247,324,307 dollars. As long as rich people are inclined to organise law-breaking, comments our contemporary, enforcement can be made to pay. When they give it up, enforcement will be a simple affair.

**Children's Aid Society:**—The third annual report of the Children's Aid Society, records the great progress the institution has made during the three years of its existence. It has been the means of saving a number of, to be more accurate, 1, 645, children from lapsing into a life of crime and vice by one single offence committed through indiscretion or ignorance. The principle underlying the working of the Society is that the juvenile criminal during his commitment with proper education and training will be able to realise the error of his ways as he grows up, turn over a new leaf and become an honest citizen, whereas the avenue of reforming himself would be closed if he were to associate with grown up and hardened criminals. The number of new admissions, during the year was 678 and the report states that recently in one twenty-four hour period as many as 30 new children were admitted. The second great achievement of the Society is the completion of the plans for the establishment of the new Junior Reformatory Schools for boys less than twelve years of age in a spare compound on the Umerkadi site. Thus the Society, besides conducting a Remand Home, is solving the institutional problem by its recent venture. It is interesting to learn that 60 per cent. of children admitted did not belong to Bombay but were upcountry cases. For the first time destitute children have been the largest element in the Remand Home. The increase in the number of children is ascribed to greater police activity rather than to the bad character of the neighbourhood. The Society owes a good deal of its success to Miss M. K. Davis its indefatigable secretary. Miss Davis' appeal to the public for more funds to extend the activities of the Society should meet with adequate and prompt response.

**Sea Voyages and the Orthodox:**—We learn from the *Brahmana*, the "Guardian of Sanatana Dharma" a weekly paper started in South India about a year ago, that there is much controversy going on among the orthodox as to the propriety of going to England on deputation to protest against the Sarda Act. "Though the opinion of authoritative Heads has not yet come forth to the public, our association with some of them leads us to infer the reverse of the announcements of the Madras leaders" says the *Brahmana*. "The reply wired by His Holiness Paramahansa Parivrajakacharya Srimad Anandarama Swamigal of Sri Chitrapura Matam of Shirali, Honaver P. O., North Canara District, to the prayer of his disciple Mr. M. M. Ananta Rao, the Secretary of the Madras Brahmana Sabha, to permit him to go to England on a deputation to His Majesty the Emperor in respect of the Child Marriage Act, has been forwarded to us for publication. It is as follows:—'Work specified in Binha Patra may be done through others without your going. If gone, as apaddharma, whether you be Samvyavaharya by Prayaschitta, cannot be done'. This reply is appropriate to the seat His Holiness justly occupies." The predecessor of this Swami excommunicated Sir Narayan

Chandavarkar for going to England and forbade his followers from crossing the sea. The order has been practically a dead letter. "Though it cannot be decidedly stated what other Heads would say, it is certain, in all probabilities, that they too would advocate the same view, regardless of the specious plea of some, who entertain a longing to visit England." If it is wrong for the misguidedly enthusiastic disciple to go to England surely it cannot be right for any one else to do so.

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The book, as we all know, had a tremendous vogue for a time, but as is the fate of all sensational publications, it has given place to fresh sensations relating to Russia, China and other countries where European and American interests clash with national interests. But the Anglo-Indian ex-officials who use their pensioned leisure in England to obstruct Indian reforms are trying to keep up and improve upon Miss Mayo's enterprise. Two of these, Lord Meston and Sir Basil Blackett, both of whom occupied at

one time the office of Financial Member of the Government of India, have been lately entertaining their fellow retired Anglo-Indians with disquisitions on the effects of the Hindu philosophy of religion on the economic condition of the people. The sum and substance of their essays is;—"Indians say that the poverty of India is due to the British Indian system of administration. It is quite absurd. It is due to the Hindu philosophy of religion, particularly, the doctrine of Karma whose effect is a fatalistic resignation to poverty, and disease and absence of all desire to improve their own moral and material condition. We who have at one time or another helped in the administration of that country have done our best. We have nothing to reproach ourselves with. We have made great sacrifices, have set an example to the world in the disinterested performance of duty for duty's sake, and can look back on our achievements with a clear gaze and a clean conscience. It is all due to the Hindu's religion and philosophy that the results of our magnificent labours have been so inappreciable, that illiteracy is rampant, that the peasantry is steeped in debt, and that education is so largely a door to unemployment, that the few modern industries in the country are in the grip of a chronic depression, that the exchange value of the rupee is a source of constant anxiety to the Finance Member and so on and so on." The thirst for such soothing syrup which seems to be growing, is itself a sure sign that something lies heavy upon the conscience of those who require from time to time to have it administered to them.

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that whatever you may be or do, has nothing whatever to do with what you may become or achieve. As a logical principle and as a rule of practical conduct, the doctrine of Karma seems to us to be perfect. Does it necessarily lead to fatalism? There are numerous persons, including philosophers, who are fatalists without believing in the law of Karma. On the other hand, there are many who profoundly believe in the law, but find in it only an incentive to an active life. Gautama Buddha who isolated the law from the rest of Hindu metaphysics and made it the basis of his creed, led an intensely active life to the end of his gracious life. Sri Krishna in the Bhagavadgita proclaimed the momentous truth that disinterested performance of one's duty, absolved one from bondage to one's past Karma. His followers for a thousand years carried his message all over Asia, and during this period, India was at the zenith of her prosperity enjoying peace within and without her borders. We can enlarge upon this subject, but the limits of our space have to be considered. People like Lord Meston and Sir Basil Blackett only indulge in special pleading for the system of which they were a part, on the basis of little knowledge and a good deal of interested concern in keeping things as they are. Their purpose is to divert attention from the failure of their system and in this, they may succeed for the time but not for all time.

#### WEALTH AND WELFARE.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore writes in the *Modern Review*:—The standard of living in modern times has been raised far higher than the average level of our necessity. Where the temptation of high living, normally confined to a negligible small section of the community, becomes widespread, its evergrowing burden is sure to prove fatal to civilization. It forces society not only to make provision for filling of the vessel to the brim, which has its own limit, but also for the overflow. This excess, if it is for creative purposes, is a gain, and the expenditure is made true by the profit. But when it is for display and unproductive self-enjoyment then it is an absolute loss which can be suffered with impunity only within certain bounds.

The tendency towards extravagance is natural to man, it is to make manifest his power, his magnanimity. There was a time when it found its play mostly in the surroundings of a king, in the expression of a communal spirit in religion and other collective sentiments. The poorest and the meanest among the citizens found his dignity represented in the public buildings and the pomp and ceremonies of public life. This could never give rise to the personal feeling of envy or fury of insane emulation. Most of the expressions of any great surplus of life and wealth was dedicated to the community. The dark planets merely represent themselves, the

radiant star, in its excess of light, represents the constellation; and the wealth reaching that degree of radiance which exceeds the obscure limits of personal necessity once did belong to the illumination of a whole society. This prevented the universal competition in wastefulness which to-day is exhausting human energy and the material resources of the earth.

In former days, in India, public opinion levied heavy taxes upon wealth and most of the public works of the country were voluntarily supported by the rich. Water-supply, medical help, education and amusement were naturally maintained by men of property through a spontaneous adjustment of mutual obligation. This was made possible, because the limits set to the individual right of self-indulgence were narrow, and the surplus wealth easily followed the channel of social responsibility. In such a society, property was the pillar that supported its civilization, and wealth gave opportunity to the fortunate for self-sacrifice.

There are some who believe that the eradication of the idea of property will give the communal spirit its full freedom. But we must know that the urge which has given rise to property, is something fundamental in human nature. If you have the power you may tyrannically do violence to all that constitutes property; but you cannot change the constitution of mind itself.

Property is medium for the expression of our personality. If we look at the negative aspect of this personality we see in it the limits which separate one person from another. And when, in some men, this sense of separateness takes on an intense emphasis, we call them selfish. But its positive aspect reveals the truth, that it is the only medium through which men can communicate with one another. Most often and for most men, property is the only frame that can give a foundation for the creation of a personal world. It is not merely money, not merely furniture; it does not represent merely acquisitiveness, but is an objective manifestation of our taste, our imagination, our constructive faculties, our desire for self-sacrifice.

Through this creative limitation which is our personality, we receive, we give, we express. Our highest social training is to make our property the richest expression of the best in us, of that which is universal, of our individuality whose greatest illumination is love. As individuals are the units that build the community, so property is the unit of wealth that makes for communal prosperity, when it is alive to its function. Our wisdom lies not in destroying separateness of units, but in maintaining the spirit of unity in its full strength.

When life is simple, wealth does not become too exclusive, and individual property finds no great difficulty in acknowledging its communal responsibility, rather, it becomes its vehicle.

But with the rise of the standard of living, property changes its aspect. It shuts the gate of

hospitality, which is the best means of social intercommunication. It displays its wealth in an extravagance which is self-centred. It begets envy and irreconcilable class division. In short, property becomes anti-social. Because, with what is called material progress, property has become intensely individualistic, the method of gaining it has become a matter of science and not of social ethics. It breaks social bonds; it drains the life sap of the community.

There are always insects in our harvest field which, in spite of their robbery, leave a sufficient surplus for the tillers of the soil, and it does not pay to try to exterminate them. But when some pest that has enormous powers of self-multiplication, attacks our food crop, it has to be dealt with as a calamity. In human society, in normal circumstances, there are a number of causes that make for wastage, yet it does not cost us too much to ignore them. But to-day the blight that has fallen on our social life and its resources is disastrous, because it is not restricted to limited regions. It is an epidemic of voracity that has infected the total area of civilisation.

We all now-a-days claim our right of freedom to be extravagant in our enjoyment. Not to be able to waste as much upon individual gratification as my rich neighbour does, merely proves a poverty of which I am ashamed, and against which my women-folk and my parasites are permitted to cherish their grievance. Thus, society, which should be our field of co-operation, has become that of competition, in which, through its tyrannical standard of respectability, all the members are goading one another to spoil themselves to the uttermost limit.

Civilization to-day has turned into a vast catering establishment. It maintains constant feasts for a whole population of gluttons. The intemperance which could safely have been tolerated in a few has spread its contagion to the multitude. The universal greed, produced as a consequence, is the cause of the meanness, cruelty and lies in politics and commerce, that vitiate the whole human atmosphere.

A civilization with such an unnatural appetite must depend for its existence upon numberless victims and these are being sought in those parts of the world where human flesh is cheap. In Asia and Africa a bartering goes on, whereby the future hope and happiness of entire peoples are sold for the sake of providing fastidious fashion with an endless train of rubbish.

The consequence of such material and moral drain is more evident when one studies the conditions manifested in the fatness of the cities and the physical and mental anaemia of the villages, almost everywhere in the world. For cities have become inevitably important. They represent energy and materials concentrated for the satisfaction of that exaggerated appetite, which is the characteristic symptom of modern civilization. Such an abnormal devouring process cannot be carried on, unless

certain parts of the social body conspire and organize to feed upon the whole. This is suicidal; but before its progressive degeneracy ends in death, the disproportionate enlargement of the particular section looks formidably great, and conceals the starved pallor of the entire body,—the sacrifice of the large maintaining the small in its enormity, and creating for the time being an illusion of wealth.

The capital needed for the commerce of life accumulates in villages; the city draws upon that for its various functions of civilization. So long as these are productive and creative, it is no loss. But when a disproportionate part of it goes to supply fuel to the fire of an extravagant self-indulgence, precious materials of life are reduced to ash heaps. In a fire-play of recklessness the spendthrift exhausts his future in making a burning rocket of his immediate present, sending it up to the void in a dazzling speed of progress. But it is a brilliant process of dissolution, because by its erratic excesses the food is consumed not for feeding life but for pampering a flame of passion.

#### THE CATHOLIC INDEX.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your issue of February 1st, just to hand. I am glad to note your explanation regarding the paragraph on the *Catholic Index* and to learn that, like myself, you do not believe in the "arbitrary system of censorship" which the Index represents. At the same time I am sure you will appreciate my reason for supposing you printed the item with your own approval. For it is quite apparent that the paragraph is not purely "news": I am not aware how the *Catholic Leader* printed it up, but it expresses such a judgment regarding the Index and the position of the Roman Catholic Church in such matters as rightly finds a place in Editorial, Leading Article, or Book Review. Inasmuch as you printed it in your news column without comment, I naturally supposed you did so with your approval, for in a magazine not devoted largely to News such items as are selected for publication by the editor are naturally those which he wishes for some special reason to place before his readers' attention.

If on the other hand, you printed it simply that your readers might see the attitude of the "Church" on a question so vital as that of the censorship of the literature issuing from the general Press, I am the more glad that I called your attention to the necessity of limiting the word "Church" in that paragraph with the adjective "Roman Catholic." In your editorial you express surprise that I "should feel sorrow that 'the average non-Christian does not distinguish between Protestant and Catholic.'" By way of reply, may I ask—would you care whether the thinking public identified you with an organisation whose whole spirit is sufficiently illustrated by the enslaving of mind and conscience for which the *Catholic Index*



stands? You have yourself, Sir, laid your finger upon the deeply-rooted cleavage between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. The religion of the New Testament is one of "spiritual liberty" and Protestants have died, not on the battlefield but by burning at the stake, on the rack, and by the edge of the sword for that principle. That is why we do not choose to be identified in the minds of thinking Indian non-Christians with an institution which is the living embodiment of the opposite principle.

Sharanpur, U. P., }  
4th February 1930. }

Yours, etc.,  
JOHN W. BOWMAN,  
Editor, *United Church Review*.

#### THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

To meet the need for some common council among the nations in the Pacific, the Institute of Pacific Relations came into being at Honolulu in 1925. Since that time it has become a recognized agency for furthering peaceful relations in the Pacific.

It has a central Executive, resident in Honolulu, a Council with representatives of each of the Pacific nations and five travelling secretaries, two Americans, one New Zealander, a Chinese and a Japanese. The Royal Institute of International Affairs of London, England, and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, with branches in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina and Vancouver, are affiliated with the Institute and it has branches in all the chief centres in the United States, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan and the Phillipine Islands. It has built up a large library on Pacific Affairs, at Honolulu, and keeps its members supplied from time to time with studies on the most vital questions affecting Pacific countries, in addition to the results of the various research projects being carried out under the direction of the Research Committee. A monthly magazine keeps the members informed as to developments from month to month and provides reviews of books and magazines dealing with the Pacific.

The Conference, which meets every two years, is therefore only one feature of a very far-reaching organization, but it brings together representative men and women from all the Pacific countries and provides an opportunity for free and full discussion of vital questions which have in them the seeds of trouble.

This year's Conference met in Kyoto, Japan, the old capital of the Empire and was the largest and most representative Conference yet held. Japan and China each had large and representative groups of men and women who carried on discussions in English with fluency and ease. It would hardly be possible to gather a group which would better represent the leadership of Japan than the delegation which contained at least half a dozen former members of the Cabinet, besides former Government officials and men and women high in the business and educational life of the country. The presence

of such leaders and the earnestness with which they took part in the discussions convinced all of us that, despite her difficult position, Japan sincerely desires the peace of the world and the respect and confidence of all the powers.

China's delegation consisted, for the most part, of young foreign-trained men and women and was a little inclined to be militant and rather critical of the other powers, though it had among its members such men as Dr. Chang Po Lin, President of Tien Tsin Christian University, one of the ablest and most trusted leaders of the New China; Dr. Hawking Yen, a diplomat under the old regime and yet in thorough accord with the new; and Dr. David Yui, President of China Christian Council and several others of like weight and experience.

At the Second Conference in Honolulu, two years ago, the Chinese were in the midst of their anti-foreign campaign and made a bitter attack on the Western powers, especially Great Britain. But their essential reasonableness and fair-mindedness appeared when they saw the situation through the eyes of the representatives of these powers. Their response was whole-hearted and they induced Sir Frederick White, leader of the British delegation, to return to China with them, with the result that the relations between Great Britain and China have steadily improved and Sir Frederick is now adviser-in-chief to the Nanking Government.

The difficult situation within the Kuomintang had the effect of turning the attention of the Chinese delegation at Kyoto away from international affairs and none of the difficulties between China and the Western powers was pressed with the same vigour as at last Conference. The discussions on Extra-territoriality, settlements, concessions, etc., were carried on in an atmosphere of good will, the Chinese seeming to realize that the correction of these difficulties rested upon the establishment of a strong central Government more than anything else.

The one point where bitterness was very evident was in regard to Japan's relations to China, especially in Manchuria, and it looked at one point as if the Conference was going to be wrecked on this point. But, after the matter had been frankly discussed from every angle, for almost two days, there was a complete cessation of bitterness and the two delegations were dining together and planning for a joint Commission to solve the pressing problems and prepare the way for a treaty of amity and co-operation between the two powers. It looks as if the Kyoto Conference would go down to history as the beginning of better Sino-Japanese relations, just as the Honolulu Conference began better Sino-British relations.—*The Canadian Student*.

**Girls' Schools for Sikhs.**—Some prominent Canada-returned Sikh gentlemen have raised about a lakh of rupees to dot the whole Jullundur District with Sikh Primary Girls Schools wherever the Sikh population preponderates. The scheme is to come into operation soon.

### HINDU DIVORCE.

We take the following from the *Times of India*:— The Baroda State Legislative Assembly in the Assembly Hall under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan, was specially convened to discuss the Hindu Divorce Bill.

In introducing the Bill, Mr. V. K. Dhurandhar, the Legal Remembrancer said that the object of introducing the Bill was to provide the higher castes among the Hindus with the legal means of obtaining a divorce when they were not in a position to maintain harmonious marital relations. The present Bill, besides codifying the ground which the Hindu Law provided, had merely added others of a similar nature, and did not therefore override the present Hindu Law in that respect. In addition to this, the Bill also provided for judicial separation, the compulsory registration of the dissolution of marriages in castes where it was permitted by custom, as also for alimony, custody of children and damages to the injured parties. Mr. Dhurandhar next explained that Government in drafting the Bill had not only taken into consideration the tenets of the ancient Hindu Shastras but the provisions of divorce and dissolution of marriage embodied in the Acts of several countries in the West and the East.

Mr. Bapubhai Desai in opening the discussion said several *Smritis* permitted divorce in certain circumstances, but so far no Hindu woman of the higher castes had ever availed herself of this freedom. Instead there had been numerous instances of women having sacrificed their lives to safeguard their honour. Circumstances had, however, changed and in the present state of Hindu society any measure which aimed at granting relief to women from the tyranny of social bondage would always find favour with the educated classes.

He, however, feared that the Bill had failed to achieve its end in so far as it was mainly based on western conditions which were totally unsuitable to India. The Bill as it stood was likely to do more harm than good to women as it gave greater facilities to husbands to tyrannise over their wives, unless their status in society was raised to the same level as that of men both economically and socially. In order that the measure should be really effective, what was essential was that polygamy among males, the legal disqualification of women in matters of inheritance and succession, in short, the complete economic dependency of women on their husbands, should first be done away with to enable them to seek redress against their husbands in courts of law.

Referring to the provisions of the Bill, Mr. Desai strongly criticised the Bill from the point of view of women for not having the same grounds for divorce applicable to both sexes. Mr. Desai also expressed grave doubts as to the success of the measure as Hindu society at present was divided into water-tight compartments of castes and sub-

castes. In conclusion, he requested Government to co-opt two lady members on the panel of the select committee to indicate the women's point of view.

Mr. Ramchandra Amin opposed the Bill on the ground that society was not sufficiently advanced to benefit from the measure. Conditions in India and the countries of the West differed radically and the laws and customs of the latter would hardly be suitable to Indian conditions. The very fact that the Hindu marriage system had withstood the attack of many civilizations which it had come in contact with and had remained unaltered for centuries proved its soundness. Any attack made on it would be the greatest disservice to the Hindu community. He suggested that if the Bill be accepted by the House it should not be restricted to Hindus alone, but should be applicable to all castes and creeds in the State.

Mr. Mohanlal Virji speaking in support of the Bill believed that they would be failing in their duty towards women if, after realizing the injustice done to them, they did not support the measure which aimed at improving their condition.

Mr. Lalloobhai Kishorbhai and Mr. Popatlal spoke in favour of the Bill. Mr. Lalloobhai said that it was very difficult to believe in the sacredness of marriage when man broke it in every third case by having more than one wife and by the tyranny and ill-treatment to which women were subjected.

Mr. Devidas opposing the introduction of the Bill, felt that in the present state of Hindu society the position of divorced wives would be worse than that of widows as they would be left without any means of sustenance. He feared that the Bill if passed would be a source of danger and likely to encourage immorality. He suggested the appointment of a commission.

After several members had spoken on the Bill, Mr. Dhurandhar expressed great satisfaction at the fact that the majority of members had accepted the principle, if not the actual wording of the Bill. He agreed that polygamy should be penalised. At the end of the discussion a select committee of nine members, four officials and five non-officials with powers to co-opt two lady members, was proposed and unanimously adopted by the House.

### ALLAHABAD WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided at the Allahabad Women's Conference held in the Prayag Mahila Vidyapith hall on Tuesday last.

The Conference adopted numerous resolutions. One of these extended full support to the Sarda Act and condemned all agitation against it. It further demanded that if any service is organised to supervise the enforcement of the Act it must exclusively consist of women as any other agency is bound to prove ineffective and is likely to entail great hardship. Miss Shyam Kumari Nehru moved the resolution which was supported by Mrs. R. Wanchoo, Mrs. Uma Das and Mrs. Das of the Punjab.

## EDUCATION.

The Conference recorded its view that compulsory primary education was essential for girls and, therefore, urged upon the Government and local bodies to make necessary provision for it, preferably appointing Indian women teachers, inspectresses and superintendents in all primary schools.

Another resolution while strongly supporting co-education of boys and girls in the higher and university classes, recorded the opinion that it was necessary to have at present separate residential colleges for women exclusively under the control of women, and that immediate steps were necessary for providing facilities for the education of married women and therefore urged upon the Government, local bodies and women's associations to make special arrangements for classes for imparting instruction in literary and industrial subjects with special reference to domestic science, fine arts and first aid.

## INADEQUATE FUNDS.

The Conference was also of the opinion that funds generally allotted by the Government and local bodies for the education of girls were wholly inadequate to meet the growing demands of women's education, resented the glaring inequality in the proportion of money spent on the education of boys and of girls and urged upon the Government and local bodies to spend at least half the funds reserved for educational purposes exclusively on the education of women.

The Conference was further of opinion that sex hygiene should be taught in all secondary schools and colleges by competent women teachers and that the vernacular should be the medium of instruction in secondary and higher education and Hindustani should be a compulsory second subject.

Among those who participated in the discussion were Srimati Premkali Devi, Mrs. P. N. Sapra, Miss Seth, Mrs. Hafiz Syed, Srimati Mohan Devi of Calcutta, Mrs. Uma Nehru, Miss Rao, Mrs. Pandit, Kunwarani Maharaj Singh, Mrs. A. C. Banerji, Mrs. Sathe, Mrs. L. G. Mukerji, Srimati Amba Devi of Bijnor, Miss Tripathi and Miss Sarla Devi of Bijnor.

## WOMEN OF INDIA.

Mrs. B. Nehru, writing on behalf of the standing committee of the All-India Women's Conference, to Miss Bathbone, M. P., Editor of the "Women of India—a Survey," London, with whom she has been corresponding on the question of the All-India Women's Conference cooperating in the proposed "Women of India—a Survey," in the course of a letter says:

"While the standing committee has noted with satisfaction that it is your intention to make the survey of the women in India as clear and accurate as possible the committee after full discussion of all the points involved voted unanimously against taking any share or responsibility in producing the survey of India proposed to be issued under the

auspices of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and under your editorship for the following reasons: That the events are moving at such rapid speed in India that such a survey would be out of date in a very short time, that it is undesirable that such a survey should be undertaken at all by women of a different nation, that such a survey cannot adequately and surely be made by women who do not know India by long residence and sympathetic co-operation in the life of its women, that the placing of the statistics of to-day without reference to or inclusion of the statistics and conditions (about art, learning, philosophy, trade, riches, political systems, religion, etc.), of the past when India had not been invaded by foreigners would give an entirely misleading picture and that if such statistics and statements were included it would not be agreeable to the National Union to publish under their present political restrictions. Without such an investigation into the roots of the present state of affairs the book would do more harm than good. The All-India Women's Conference would much prefer that those who have the interests of this country at heart would come and work with the people who are changing the present statistics."

Mrs. Nehru believes this will close further correspondence on the subject.

## DEDICATION OF WOMEN TO TEMPLES.

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi moved in the Madras Legislative Council that her bill to prevent the dedication of women to Hindu temples in the presidency of Madras be referred to a Select Committee.

In the course of the statement of objects and reasons for the Bill, it is stated as follows:—

"Not only the inam-holding devadasis but also other devadasis dedicate a large number of girls to Hindu temples by going through pottukattu or gajje puja or similar ceremony in Hindu temples. Whatever the origin of the practice in ancient days of the dedication of women as devadasis in Hindu temples, it is unfortunately the case that the practice has now degenerated mainly into a method of initiation of young women to a life of immorality and prostitution. The existence or otherwise of shastric sanction to the practice of dedication as devadasis is therefore immaterial. The shastras are against vice and impurity of all kinds, and enlightened public opinion is against tolerating the continuance of a practice which in the name of service to God, has condemned a certain class of women to a life of either concubinage or prostitution. A Hindu woman who is so dedicated is considered by custom to be incapable of contracting a valid marriage thereafter. Therefore it is highly desirable and expedient to prohibit the performance of dedication of girls to Hindu temples within the precincts of any temples and legalise the marriage of such girls when contracted after such dedication. There have been previous attempts at putting an

end to this practice of dedication but they have been, so to say, indirect and have not produced the desired result. By amendments to sections 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code, the age-limit for the disposal of minor girls for purposes of prostitution has been raised from 16 to 18 years. But though at the time when this change was effected it was supposed that it would reduce if not put an end to the evil of dedication of girls to temples, it has failed to achieve this result because it does not deal with the dedication of girls as a whole. Sections 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code are evaded by the temples allowing dedication after the girl attains 18 years of age; and in the mofussil even minor girls are dedicated even to-day because the temple authorities, the parent and the general public honestly feel that religion sanctions it and the law is not absolutely against it. A legislative enactment is therefore necessary in this province for dealing with the practice of dedication of Hindu girls and women without touching the existing penalties for the disposal of minor girls for immoral purposes dealt with by sections 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code.

#### MOTION FOR CIRCULATION CARRIED

The Hon. Sir Krishnan Nair moved that the bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion.

He said that he quite sympathised with the object of the bill. The Government must be in a position to determine their attitude. However laudable the object might be, the Government had not before them the necessary material to enable them to come to a definite conclusion. This was essentially a piece of social legislation and it was desirable in the interests of everybody concerned that the public must have an opportunity to express an opinion on the various provisions of the bill. The section to punish persons taking part in dedication ceremony required careful consideration. He therefore opposed the motion.

The Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman seconded.

Dr. Muthalakshmi Reddi said that the Government had already committed themselves to the principles of the bill. It accepted her bill against the dedication of inam-holding devadasis to temples. Her present bill was a further step in the same direction. The Council unanimously passed a resolution some time back on the same subject. Was not the Council representative of public opinion? Where was the necessity then to elicit public opinion on the bill? The Law Member's motion was merely dilatory. If this bill was not taken now it would not have the chance of being passed by this Council. In the Bombay Council and in the Assembly similar Bills were being introduced. It showed that public opinion was in favour of the social reform. The Mysore Government had prohibited the dedication of Hindu girls in its temples. This Government need not fear any opposition from the public. She brought forward this bill in response to the appeal of several men and women.

Mr. Nagan Gowda said that by passing the Bill they would be strengthening the hands of the social reformers. The matter referred to by the Law Member could very well be carefully considered by the Select Committee.

The motion for circulation was carried, 33 voting for and 9 against.

#### A NEW COLLEGE FOR BOMBAY.

The Director of Information, Bombay, sends us the following: A very important addition to the educational institutions of the Bombay Presidency will be made when the Ismail College at Andheri is opened from the 1st of June of this year. This College owes its existence to a donation of Rs. 8 lakhs from Sir Mahomed Yusuf which was offered to Government as far back as January 1914 for the promotion of the higher education of Muhammadan youths. Careful consideration was given to the best means of utilising the money. Among the possible alternatives considered has been the establishment of a technological college. In 1919 Government announced their final decision to devote the donation towards the establishment of a First Grade Government Arts College, to be erected on a selected site in Salsette, part of the funds being set aside to form a permanent scholarship endowment fund. Pending the establishment of the College the income from the Endowment set apart for scholarships was utilised in providing scholarships for Muhammadan students at other Arts Colleges in the Bombay Presidency. The large increase in prices following upon the war required numerous alterations in the estimates and materially altered the financial aspect of the proposed scheme. These difficulties have, however, been overcome and subject to the approval of the Legislative Council the College will be opened at the beginning of the monsoon, with accommodation for 400 students. To commence with, only the First Year Inter Arts classes will be opened. The Inter Science and Junior B.A. classes will be added in 1931-32 and the Senior B.A. classes in 1932-33. It is proposed to teach the Pass and Honours courses in English, Persian, Arabic, Urdu and Sanskrit and also the Pass courses in History and Economics and in Mathematics, and the Inter Science course in groups A and B. While, therefore students at the College will be able to follow a course enabling them to secure degrees at the University, the College itself will, it is hoped, become the centre and inspiration of Islamic study and culture in Western India and for that reason is expected to attract the best students from the Muhammadan community. The College, will, however, be opened to all communities though preference will be given to Muhammadan candidates and it is probable that its situation in the suburbs, yet quite convenient to Bombay, will make it specially attractive to other communities. To start with, hostel accommodation for 100 students will be provided. The College fees will be Rs. 75

a term, but there will be a number of scholarships in addition to those derived from Sir Mahomed Yusuf's Endowment Fund which will be reserved for Muhammadan students.

Application has been made for the affiliation of the College to the Bombay University and the sanction of the Legislative Council to the cost involved will be asked during the ensuing Budget Session. Government have decided to give early notice of the opening of the College in order that parents may have ample time to make arrangement to enter their sons at the College.

#### INDIAN INFLUENCE IN JAVA.

Dr. H. Craemer, Secretary of the Dutch Bible Society, Java, who is now in Madras on his way to Java, delivered an interesting lecture on Monday last at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium on "The Indian Influence in Java." Dr. Craemer is also engaged in a research study of the cultural and religious influences in Java. As Java contains a predominantly large population of Muslims, Dr. Craemer's present tour is for the sake of studying Islamic culture and civilisation in India and elsewhere, especially as Java is even to-day influenced by the Hindu culture.

#### CAME THROUGH INDIA.

Dealing with the historical aspect of the Indian influence, the lecturer said that they found in Ramayana a reference about Java. The Javanese called India Jamboo Dwipa. One of the old books dealing with the origin of Java mentioned that it was once an unsteady island unfit for human habitation. Gods taking pity on it, brought Mahameru from India, broke and scattered it all over the island, thus making the land steady. The first thing historically known of Java was in the fourth century. In the Western part of Java could be found inscriptions in Sanscrit in Pallava script. Javanese script was traced to this script and it had something in common with Tamil characters also. The next thing they heard was in Fahian's narations of his travels where he spoke of Java as containing many heretics and many Brahmins. That showed that Buddhism had no influence in Java at that time. About three centuries after that they could see all traces of Indian influence in Java especially Central Java, in the many beautiful temples with numerous inscriptions. These inscriptions were also in Sanscrit. The influence of Hindus from India never seemed to have been through conquests. They found only one mention about war in the 11th or 12th century between Chola Kings and the Sumatran King Sri Vijaya. Sri Vijaya even appeared to have sent an army to South India which met with heavy disaster. Therefore Indian influence in Java was not through martial enterprises. Moreover, from the information available Hindus appeared to have never gone there in large numbers. The numbers were extremely small but wherever they went, they had left deep traces in the history of the people.

#### "JAMBOO DWIPA."

Dr. Craemer began by saying that Java with a Javanese population was indebted to India for all its higher cultural life. These religious and cultural influences could be roughly divided into two periods namely Hindu and Buddhist influences in the beginning of the Christian era and the Islamic influence. Though it was supposed by some, that Islamic influence came from Arabia, the speaker was led to think that that influence also came through India, particularly South India. Java was mostly a Muslim country. Still Indian influence was very active there even to-day. The country could be divided into three parts, Western, Eastern and Central. The western regions had been most thoroughly Muslimised. Between the other two regions, the Central Java retained more of its Hindu character. This might be due to the shifting of political thought to the centre when the country came into contact with Islamic culture. It also showed that it had taken some centuries before Islam came to be recognised as the official religion of Java. It was only official, because every Javanese was conscious of the presence of something else in the culture. But forces were at present at work in Java trying to spread the purer form of Islam. Still many Javanese consider India "Hindustan" as they called it, the most sacred country.

#### CENTRES OF LEARNING.

Most of the ancient kings who ruled in Java were not Hindus. They were Javanese. But they had a great preference for Hindu names. The titles of officials, though Javanese, were found to have been made to resemble Sanscrit words by the addition of a syllable or one or two words. There were also records to show that Sumatra and Java, though influenced by India, became themselves centres of learning at one time and it was said that a Tibetan reformer remained for about 2 years at a famous centre of learning in Java.

#### HINDU CULTURE.

The temples in Java seemed to have been neglected until a few years ago, when the Dutch Government made arrangements to preserve them. This supported the theory that Hindu religion had not so much influence in Java as Hindu Culture. The Javanese had an enormous quantity of literature. Some were in the old Javanese language and the rest in the modern Javanese language. The old books were influenced mainly by Hindu Culture. Most of them were in prose containing stories of Mahabharata. The modern Javanese books were partly derived from the old sources and partly from Islamic sources. But it could be safely said that they too were derived from Hindu sources though considerably altered. The old books dated back to the tenth century. There ought to have been a lot of literature prior to this period, but they were not available. One thing was certain, namely, the interest of Javanese people centred round the great Hindu epics. Next to Hindus no people were so

devoted to Ramayana and Bharata as the Javanese. They drew their inspirations from these two books. It should not be presumed that the old Javanese books were mere translations of the epics. They were not. The Javanese assimilated Hindu culture in their own way. The parts dealing with the religious aspect were left out. Gita found no place in those books. The central part of the epics dealing with the heroes and their valour and civilisation alone were found in the Javanese books. Even now the modern Javanese translation of the books were widely read.

#### THE JAVANESE PLAYS.

The book Arjuna-vivaha wherein Arjuna is stated to have withstood the seductive charms of heavenly damsels, fought for the gods and as a reward for that, lived in heaven for one year, was a very popular book among them. Koran did not play such an important part in moulding the Javanese life as these books. Javanese dancing, the speaker would say, was the finest of all the dances in the world. These dances were nothing but the representation of the stories from Mahabharata. The Javanese plays which lasted from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. were also based upon the epics. For the Javanese the play was not a matter of enjoyment; it was to them a matter of philosophy of life and source of moral and religious inspirations. On the walls of a Siva and a Brahma temple in Java, pictures from Ramayana were found drawn. But the scenes did not entirely agree with the scenes of the Sanskrit Ramayana. This might have been due to the copying of some popular version of Ramayana then current in South India. But it seemed to him a matter which could be cleared up by a better co-operation of South Indian scholars and scholars of Java than that which existed at present.

#### FROM HINDU HEROES.

It was striking, the lecturer concluded, to find that Muslim population derived its inspiration from Hindu heroes. Arjuna, Bhima, Yudhishtra and other heroes were living ideals for Javanese even now. Those stories were still part and parcel of their history and national life. They traced back their pedigree to one or the other of these Hindu heroes. Though Muslims, they felt that no Javanese should be without such a noble pedigree. They pointed out a certain part in Java as Kuruksheetra. They stated Vyasa, Abiyosa as they called him, had his hermitage in one of the mountains of Java. They had their own era which they called Aji Soko. This era, it was stated, began from the time of the arrival of a King from Hindustan who educated and civilised the then barbarian natives of Java. This was how they consciously and unconsciously expressed their indebtedness to Indian Civilisation and Culture.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**New Buddhist Relic** :—The discovery of an authentic relic of Buddha, which is bound to excite immense interest in the Buddhist world, is just reported by Mr.

Longhurst of the Indian Archaeological Survey. The discovery has been made in the Nagarjunikonda Hill on the right bank of the Krishna river in Palnad Taluk in Guntur District. Mr. Longhurst discovered the remains of the Great Stupa which was founded by Princess Chantisirri belonging to the dynasty which ruled Andhra in the second and third centuries. In simplicity of style, the stupa seems to have been similar in appearance to the stupas of the same age existing in Ceylon. While excavating one of the outer chambers on the north side, Mr. Longhurst discovered a broken earthenware pot, filled with hard, red earth wherein a few white crystal beads were embedded near the surface. This earth was removed, and a tiny round box, three-quarters of an inch in diameter containing the fragment of a bone, about the size of a pea, was found. This together with a few gold flowers, pearls and garnets had been originally placed inside a small silver casket, shaped like a miniature stupa, 2½ inches in height. Other important discoveries include four Buddhist monasteries, six temples and several smaller stupas. Explorations continue.

**Muslim Girls' Education** :—The Hon. Secretary of the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India writes :—At the instance of Mr. H. O. L. Marikar of Munnar, the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras, will award a gold medal every year to the Muslim girl who passes the first Intermediate Examination of the University of Madras with the highest aggregate marks. The first medal will be awarded on the result of the Intermediate examination of the University to be held in April this year.

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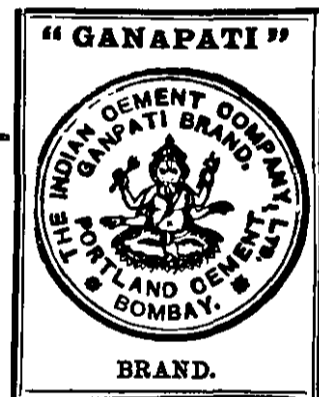
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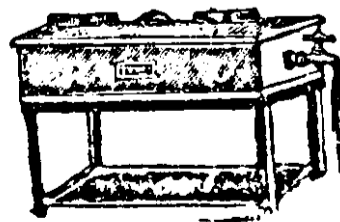
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1930

No. 24

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Social Legislation In The Assembly :—**On Thursday the Legislative Assembly at Delhi considers two Bills which Mr. Jayakar has drafted. The first had for object the removal of the uncertainties of the Hindu law as regards the gains derived from learning. Mr. Jayakar illustrated the uncertainties of the law as at present administered by a striking example. "The earnings of a B.A.," he said "would remain his personal property while that of an LL.B. became the property of the family," owing to the distinction made between general and special education. The evil of this was that a great deal of money was concealed instead of being invested in a profitable way. The consequences of the present state of the law bore with special harshness on women. Mr. Jayakar explained that the principal object of his Bill was to improve the status of dependent female members of joint Hindu families. Under the present law the widow got maintenance and residence while the daughter got only provision for marriage. All inquiries whether certain property was a result of general or special learning were made after the man was dead and the onus of proving that the property was self-acquired by her husband fell on the widow and in the majority of cases presumption prevailed that what was not proved to the contrary remained joint property. The Bill is thus very important as a measure for placing the position of women on a stable economic basis and as such it will, we have no doubt, receive the support of the public.

**The Civil Marriage Bill :—**Mr. Jayakar had another Bill before the Assembly on Thursday the debate on which, however, was prolonged beyond the time for closing and had to be adjourned to the next Session as there is no more non-official day in the present. This Bill seeks to remove a glaring anomaly of the law at present. There are two Acts under which a civil marriage can be contracted in British India. The earlier, known as the Special Marriage Act was passed in 1872. Under it, as Mr. Jayakar explained, only if the parties forswore their religion for the moment before the Registrar could they marry each other and yet they could come back and follow their

respective religions. It thus actually bred insincerity and hypocrisy. Then in 1923, Sir Hari-singh Gour saw the fruition of his efforts to amend the law extending the benefits to Hindu and allied communities like Jains, Buddhists and Sikhs. Under this Act, parties to the marriage were to give up five important privileges including succession, but there was no forswearing as under the Act of 1872. Mr. Jayakar's Bill seeks to provide a simple civil marriage law applicable to all communities. The Bill, he said, would be a most potent instrument in spreading notions of monogamy and in preventing artificial conversions resulting from exigencies of such marriages. It would introduce greater sincerity in marriages by dispensing with declaration which many desiring to marry under the Act had to subscribe to, not without considerable mental reserve. This innocent measure was opposed by a number of Mahomedan members on the ground that it was opposed to the Koran and the Shariat, and one of them went so far as to criticise the Governor-General for giving his permission for the introduction of the Bill. The most beneficent effect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms has been the stimulus given to social legislation. The late Mr. Montague expressed his wish and hope that they might have that effect. While orthodox Hindu opposition has but died out—Mr. M. K. Acharya who is now its sole representative in the Assembly may not be returned by his constituency next time—the Mahomedan opposition to social legislation is becoming strident. There are, of course, exceptions but the tendency of the bulk of the members returned by the separate Mahomedan electorates is, as might be expected, to oppose reform measures on avowedly communal grounds. This sinister effect of communal franchise urgently demands consideration in the next scheme of reforms.

**Indians In South Africa :—**The statement which we print to-day by Swami Bhavani Dayal Sannyasi on the condition in this country of the Indians repatriated from South Africa under the Cape Town Agreement, is avowedly tentative, but it is sufficiently plain that the Swami is far from being satisfied with the state of things he has found to exist from his enquiries. The number of repatriates has steadily decreased and the information which the Swami has gathered, if found correct and published, will probably check any further return of Indians from South Africa. The problem, therefore, is to do something to improve the lot of the 7000 repatriates already in this country. A proportion of them, we are told, have left for Ceylon and Malaya, and others too would be glad to go anywhere out

of India where they find themselves stranded. The Agent to the South African Government, Mr. Venn, who came out to study the question last year, expressed his satisfaction at what he saw. Swami Bhavani Dayal's statement is to the contrary effect. The Swami suggests the appointment of an independent commission to go into the question, and it is a suggestion which the Government of India should consider favourably.

**A Pessimist On The Women's Conference:**—The *Subodha Patrika's* editorial comments on the All-India Women's Conference strike an unusually pessimistic note. This is perhaps the greatest tribute paid to the Conference so far as it shows that much more was expected of the Conference. The *Patrika* writes appreciatively of Lady Sykes' opening address and says that Lady Tata's welcome address was the best delivered at the conference. We are sorry our contemporary has not read Mrs. Naidu's speech more carefully because it would have removed the wrong impression which has arisen in its mind that the women's movement here is an imitation of the suffragette movement in the West, and we would earnestly advise the *Patrika* to go through the Presidential Address once again. The *Subodha Patrika* asks why the burning questions of the day were not even raised at the conference. We do not believe that in this country companionate marriage is a "burning question of the day" and the reason why no one raised it at the Women's Conference was perhaps because no one thought of it. Nor can the doctrines of birth control be preached effectively to an illiterate people. Divorce, again, can only be discussed rationally by the educated and as we have the sad fortune to be born in these democratic days we cannot force it upon the masses. Our contemporary with the courage that is born of conviction writes: "If we say here that the primary function of women is to create a noble human race, we shall at once be condemned from every feminist platform as a reactionary. There are exceptional women who can very easily compete with exceptional men and make their mark either in the field of law, medicine or business: but we must consider what is going to be the function of an average woman; if the so-called education of woman is not going to prevent them from fulfilling the one duty which nature has placed upon them, then we must consider if the so-called education that we are thinking of, and any changes in the university curricula will alone bring about the desired result." But how are the women of "exceptional ability" to be recognised if they are not given opportunities to develop their ability? The remarks of the *Patrika* on freedom have been anticipated by Mrs. Naidu. We are sorry to see that our contemporary's enthusiasm for the Sarda Act has made it blind to the value of the other resolutions, but we trust that the pessimism which mars its editorial this week was only a passing phase and that by now the *Subodha Patrika* has regained its normal optimism.

**The Brothels Act:**—After much inexcusable delay the Brothels Bill sponsored by Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Iyer in the Madras Legislative Council has become law. It aims at the suppression of brothels and immoral traffic in the presi-

dency. The Madras Act is an advance over the Bombay measure inasmuch as it penalises both men and women who are responsible for houses of ill fame. This is the second measure to be enacted against social evil during the life-time of the present Legislative Council of the province, the first being Dr. Muthulakshmi's Religious Amendment Act freeing devadasis from temple service. It is significant that the Legislative Council to pass social measures to purify the life of the province should have a woman Deputy President.

**A New Shrine For Malden:**—It is difficult to believe that the scenes at the grave of a Catholic priest at Malden, Massachusetts, described by Karl Schriftgiesser in the *New Republic* took place not in India but in modern America. The article which we reproduce in this issue bears out Lippman's statement that modern man though ceasing to believe has not ceased to be credulous. Whilst Mr. Schriftgiesser, during the eight hours he was there, did not witness a single miraculous cure, others seem to have been more fortunate. It is significant however that most of the reports of miraculous cures are not from eye witnesses. The correspondent of the *New York Times* who gives a few cures which he heard of at the grave, writes:—"The scenes at the cemetery have been poignant and impressive to all the thoughtful, a marvel to the ordinary onlooker. The visitors file past the tomb in two lines; they make the sign of the cross, kneel beside the slab, dip a handkerchief in the chalice, scoop a handful of earth from the ground at the head or foot of the grave, kiss the marble and toss an offering into a box placed for the reception of gifts. Sometimes they leave candles, jewellery, or flowers. A woman overcome by the intensity of her emotions, shrieks and faints. Fathers carry paralysed children to kiss the chalice. Families come with jars and vases in the rain to carry away some of the water that falls on the slab and fills the chalice. It is told that on the rainy Sunday the stone always was dry, for nobody passed without saturating a handkerchief. This young girl leads a whitehaired old man: he is blind. This weeping mother is unable to reach the grave with her little girl, born dumb. The scenes are calculated to rebuke irreverence." The Roman Catholic Church, it is said, is investigating into the question and there is talk of a shrine at Malden similar to that at Lourdes.

(Continued from the Leader page).

grasp its significance. Whether they do so or not, however, does not affect our own position. Holding as we do, that the purpose of Indo-European contact is the evolution of a civilization more universal in its outlook than any which has preceded it, we must do what we can to keep up that contact in all circumstances and not to break it. This is in accord also with the genius of India which is essentially assimilative and not disruptive. This is why we dissent with the Independence goal and approve of working out our destiny within the Commonwealth of British nations in which we find ourselves placed.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1930.

## THE BACKGROUND OF OUR POLITICS.

The *Indian Social Reformer* is not primarily interested in politics. In fact it has always deprecated exclusive attention to the kind of politics which is concerned with the forms without taking into adequate account the substance of good government. Nor does the *Reformer* hold with the modern tendency to make economics the motive power of human history. The materialistic interpretation of history has a value of its own, but the springs of all great human endeavour are spiritual. Lord Acton hit upon the right clue when he defined human history as a movement towards greater and greater freedom. Europe conceived freedom mainly in the politico-economic sphere, and its history therefore has been predominantly politico-economic. Asia, and particularly India, conceived freedom as primarily spiritual, and altogether ignored politics and economics in its exclusive pursuit. The result has been disappointing both in Europe and Asia. Europe is beginning to realize, especially in consequence of its experiences in the Great War, that politico-economic ideal leads eventually to its own undoing. Asia as the result of its contact with Europe has realized that neglect of political and economic interests has incapacitated it to create and maintain the conditions and the atmosphere in which alone spiritual freedom can be sought and found. Man does not live by bread alone, but he cannot live without it. This truth is well put in Browning's lines in "Rabi Ben Ezra":

Let us not always say  
"Spite of this flesh to-day  
I strove, made head, gained ground upon  
the whole!"

As the bird wings and sings,  
Let us cry "All good things  
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now,  
than flesh helps soul."

The failure of both the European and Asiatic civilizations is due to the one-sidedness of their conscious endeavour. If they both sit together and frankly discuss their mutual problems, they are sure to reach principles which, comprehending the whole nature of man will furnish the key to a full and complete civilization harmonizing racial, credal, economic and industrial interests. Whatever makes for this co-operation between the two Continents—America, Australia, and Africa are but their outgrowths—makes for this harmonizing of human life, and whatever hinders such co-operation hinders this beneficent objective.

Social reform which is the original and primary object of this journal, is largely the working out

of this idea in the family, social and national life of India. The aim is the removal of obstacles to the full development, physical, intellectual and spiritual of every individual and community and of the nation as a whole. From the background of thought described in the preceding paragraph, it follows that social reform has to find within its own sphere the means of co-ordinating the experience of East and West. Indeed, each one of us has to do this within his or her own self. In other words, the interaction of Europe and Asia on each other is the great motive power of contemporary history. Should this interaction be sympathetic or anti-pathetic? In the long run, of course, it does not matter whether it is the one or the other. But it matters immensely as a factor of every day life. The interaction will as a rule, be sympathetic in the case of individuals whose contacts with Europeans have been pleasant and profitable, spiritually more than materially. In the case of those whose experiences have been unpleasant, it will be antipathetic. The vast majority who have no contacts at all with Europeans, are led by what they hear from their friends and acquaintances or read in the newspapers of the experience of those who have contacts. At the present time, to a large majority of Indians the interaction between West and East is antipathetic. Every White man in India appears to them to be an exploiter, in one field or another, political, economic, religious. The possibility of there being some White men at least who are here sincerely and disinterestedly to help Indians, does not readily occur to many of us. The good faith of even a man like C. F. Andrews has sometimes been questioned. This is a most unfortunate state of things. It is the greatest barrier to the co-operation between East and West on which rests the whole hope of the future.

To a very large extent, this is due to what Mahatma Gandhi has described as the unnatural relation between India and Great Britain. The normalising of these relations is therefore, an essential condition for Asiatic-European collaboration. Mahatma Gandhi at one time, and that not very long ago, thought that this can best be done by making the administration fully responsive to the requirements of the Indian people. Although now he has thrown his great influence on the side of those who stand for a complete severance of the British connection, his article in a recent *Young India* setting forth eleven reforms which should go far to satisfy him, shows that he is still far from reconciled to a clean break with the historical past of India under the tutelage and guidance (side by side with the exploitation) of Great Britain. We attach the very greatest importance to that article and we should be much surprised if responsible British statesmen do not

(Continued in the 2nd column of 2nd Notes Page)

### THE SOCIAL SERVICE TRAINING FOR WOMEN IN BOMBAY.

(By Miss Wright, University Settlement, Bombay.)

Last year the name of the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform was changed to 'The All-India Women's Conference on Educational and Social Reform' because women realised that they could not have educational reform without social reform. After receiving a High School or University education they are forming themselves into social and political societies, holding conferences and formulating schemes for serving their country by working for the uplift of their poor and uneducated women. They have the will to help but they are often discouraged by the magnitude of the task that lies before them and they have very often a vague idea of the ways and methods of setting about it.

The Social Training Centre for women was started three years ago primarily with a view to helping women who, having had opportunities for self-development and education themselves, wished to give what they had received to their less fortunate sisters. It provides facilities whereby those who are attracted towards social service may definitely prepare themselves for it and the theoretical course includes the study of social conditions, social history, modern labour problems, elementary economics, health psychology, modern social institutions, public administration, problems of primary education in India, public meeting work, social ethics, etc.

New Nagpada, in the very heart of the city, has a population of Mohammedans, Hindus, Jews, Indian Christians, Parsees, and Anglo-Indians living 713 to the square acre. The narrow dirty streets are filled with grubby boys fighting and playing cricket with old tins for stumps, grubby little girls minding grubby babies, Mohamedan women in bourkas gossiping on the pavement and Jewish women with their clattering wooden shoes buying ready-cooked food from men who squat in the gutter and cook amid the rubbish and flies. All the noise and dust and teeming humanity that are common to the poor quarters of any great city in the world are found here.

The Social Training Centre is here in a flat in 2nd Pserkhan Street and the resident students go out every day to their practical work in Neighbourhood House, a Settlement for men and boys. Here they hold clubs for Jewish girls and sewing classes mainly for Mohammedan and Hindu women. They also have a Play Centre for the Marathi-speaking children from a Poor house with simple handicrafts, drill and organised games and, most important of all, cleanliness inspection and washing lessons. The first time we tried to wash a very soiled little girl we led her by the hand to the common tap in the yard and were just about to give her a thorough scrub when we were surrounded by a wildly gesticulating crowd of inmates who protested

against our washing a low caste child at their caste tap. What unforeseen difficulties the would-be social worker is up against! However we got over the difficulty the next week by bringing with us a basin for water in which all the babies wash from head to foot regardless of caste.

The first student of the Social Training Centre has just returned from the West, where she has taken a further course of social study, to continue her work at the Seva Mandir where a group of young Hindu women are doing splendid work among the mill operatives of Tardeo. Three old students are working at a nursery school and three are doing voluntary educational and club work at Parsee Social Service Centres. Others are doing voluntary or professional work in connection with the Parsee Charity Organisation Society, the Bombay Vigilance Association, and the Children's Aid Society. We feel that a large part of the work of the Social Training Centres lies in keeping in touch with its old students in and outside Bombay and in giving them advice and encouragement in their work. The Social Training Centre tries to direct those who are anxious to do practical work to those institutions which need voluntary helpers. We have organised a group of Parsee ladies who visit weekly the largest women's hospital in Bombay and another group is hoping to start a play Centre and Blue Birds in an orphanage for Mohammedan girls. We have lately arranged for two Hindu married women to visit the prisoners in a Bombay women's gaol.

The Social Training Centre is not only a place of training for voluntary and professional workers, it aims at creating and educating public opinion among women regarding social conditions and in helping them to see and carry out their duties as citizens and patriots. This is our ideal:

To live to the highest in all things that pertain to us, and to lend a hand to all others for this same end.

To recognise the good lying at the heart of all people; to aid in righting the wrongs that cross our path.

#### ARYA MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL.

THE EDITOR, THE *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In Western countries Christians, Hindus, Mohammedans etc., are permitted to contract valid marriages without any distinction of caste, creed, nationality or religion. But within the territorial limits of India any one professing to be a Hindu, Muslim or Sikh etc., must conform to the formalities and requisites of a valid marriage according to his personal law. Nearly 60 years ago the necessity was felt of having a Civil Marriage Law for the benefit at least of those who did not profess any of the recognised religions and an Act known as the Special Marriage Act, was passed in 1872. Under this Act of 1872 several hundred registered marriages have taken place but this Act has suffered from one grave defect, that no one who is a staunch

believer in the tenets of his religion can avail himself of the provisions of this Act, without making a false declaration that he is a non-Hindu or non-Muslim. There are for instance Hindus such as Brahmos and Arya Samajists who have as much reverence for the Shastras and are as staunch believers in Hinduism as the orthodox section, but who maintain that inter-caste marriages were prevalent in ancient times and are sanctioned by their religious books, according to their true interpretation. Until 1923 there did not exist any law under which persons professing to be Hindus who did not wish to place themselves outside their community could contract a valid and legal inter-caste marriage. The Act of 1872 was out of question in their case because they were not willing to call themselves non-Hindus.

In 1910 Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu brought forward a Civil Marriage Bill for legalising inter-communal and inter-caste marriages but the attempt was unsuccessful. In 1919 Mr. V. J. Patel (now the President of the Assembly) brought before the Pre-Reform Legislature a Hindu Marriage Bill which was confined in its operation to legalising marriages of different castes of Hindus but that Bill was also dropped. At last in 1923 Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour, the author of the Hindu Code and a distinguished social reformer, introduced his Special Marriage Amendment Bill for the legalisation of both inter-communal as well as inter-caste marriages. His Bill met with strenuous opposition from several quarters particularly from the Muslim members and the orthodox Hindu members with the result that Muslims, Parsis and Jews were excluded entirely from its operation and in deference to the objections of orthodox Hindus several objectionable clauses were introduced in the Act. The Act of 1923 is an enabling or permissive Act by which Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, and Jains can celebrate, while remaining as such, registered inter-caste marriages. It is not necessary for the validity of such a marriage that the parties should belong to the same caste, nor is it necessary to perform any ceremony prescribed by their personal law. There are certain features of the Special Marriage Amendment Act of 1923 which are not likely to appeal to the bulk of Hindus for whose benefit it has been passed. The disqualifications which the Act imposes upon a Hindu marrying under it are as follows :—

- (a) It effects his severance from the joint family of which he is a member.
- (b) He forfeits the right to manage Hindu family trusts and charitable property.
- (c) Succession to the property of such person and his issue is governed by the Indian Succession Act.
- (d) He loses the right of adoption.

Before the passing of this amended Act, a person who married under the Act of 1872, and declared himself a non-Hindu, was nevertheless entitled to be governed by his personal law in matters of

succession, adoption and management of religious property. The Removal of Caste Disabilities Act 1850, laid it down that no person was to suffer any penalty by the mere fact of his renouncing his caste or religion. The effect of the Act of 1923 is, instead of improving the status of parties marrying under it, the reverse. A person who marries under the Act of 1923, remains in name a Hindu but he has to forego some of the most cherished rights and privileges of being a Hindu. One of them is that he and his issues are governed by the law of succession applicable to Christians, another is that he loses the right of adoption. The effect of these and other disabilities is that the amended Act of 1923 would be perhaps less acceptable to Hindus than the old Act of 1872, and its deterrent provisions would discourage many persons from availing of it.

From the foregoing it would appear that there is need for some Act which is free from the above objections and can meet the needs of that growing section of the Hindu community who wish to break off from the shackles of caste.

It is very gratifying to note that a member of the Assembly has at last brought forward a bill to meet the needs of Arya Samajists and it will be an act of bare justice, to pass the bill and grant relief to the children of those who have chosen from conviction to defy caste and have contracted inter-caste marriages. The bill is restricted in its application to professed Arya Samajists and no other community has any cause for objection. There is no reason why Arya Samajists should be deprived of the benefits of the ancient law of their forefathers and an alien system of law should be fathered upon them simply because they choose to contract an inter-caste marriage. It has been recently held by a High Court that according to the tenets of the Arya Samajists which does not permit differences of caste to interfere with marriage a convert from Christianity or Islam who has undergone a ceremony of initiation in the Arya Samaj, can contract a Valid Hindu marriage with a born Hindu (See Judgment of Justice Kulwant Sahai Macpherson in Sita Devi versus Gopal Saran Narainsingh 1928. A. I. R. Patna 375). If a Hindu can contract a valid marriage with a convert to Hinduism according to the ruling of Patna High Court why a previous born in the fold of Hinduism should be deprived of that right? A division bench of a High Court has given its seal of approval to marriages of this description and it only remains for the Legislature to cure a defect in law and render justice to the Arya community.

Lahore,  
5th February, 1930. }

Yours etc.  
A CORRESPONDENT.

**Medical Research Institute :—**During the week, Mr. M. R. Jayakar's resolution relating to the location of the Central Medical Research Institute was discussed. The feeling of the Assembly was strong against Dehra Dun and in favour of a University Centre. As a conference is to meet shortly to discuss questions relating to Medical Research the resolution was withdrawn on the assurance that the matter would come up again.



### RETURNED EMIGRANTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

(BY SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL SANHYASI).

At the time of my departure from South Africa I was asked by the Indian public there to enquire into the condition of the repatriated emigrants and to communicate to them the result of my enquiry as early as possible. I arrived in Bombay on 26th October, 1929, and have since that time been busy making these enquiries. During these three months I have travelled more than 4 thousand miles and have interviewed a large number of these returned emigrants individually and in meetings. Not only had I to travel in Northern India for this purpose but had to go to South India as well. I am grateful to the Government officials—the Commissioner of Police at Bombay, the Protector of Emigrants at Calcutta and the Special officer for South African repatriates at Madras for their valuable help, without which my enquiries would have remained incomplete. I have already drafted out my report but I am withholding it from publication for the following reasons:—

I. The problem of returned emigrants from South Africa is of vast significance and any hasty conclusions may adversely affect the Capetown Agreement.

II. By way of courtesy I must submit my own ideas on this subject to people like Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri, Sir K. V. Reddy and others and get their suggestions.

III. I have still an open mind on this subject and though the facts and figures that I have been able to gather are sufficient to convince any reasonable person that this repatriation business has proved harmful to the returned emigrants and has brought untold miseries to the colonial-born children, still, I have not made up my mind regarding the line of action to be taken to remedy this state of affairs.

IV. Though I have intimate knowledge about the condition of returned emigrants in Northern India, my knowledge about the returned emigrants in South India is confined to Madras and its suburbs only.

Thus the present statement is only a tentative one and is subject to revision in the light of new facts and figures that may be brought to bear upon it.

It is most difficult for the returned emigrants to settle in India peacefully. During the last three months of my travel in several parts of India, I did not meet a single returned emigrant who is happy with his new environments and who would not like to return to the colony if he could only get a chance; while the number of people who are simply pining away in the hope of getting a free passage to South Africa or any other colony can be counted by hundreds, if not thousands. I have been actually approached by a large number of people to make an arrangement for their emigration to some colony.

It has been a pathetic sight to see some of those healthy labourers of Natal reduced to a mere skeleton

by living in the slums of Calcutta and Madras in most unhealthy surroundings. They have cried before me and their cry has made me think furiously about the wisdom of repatriating these people from South Africa and other colonies.

I myself am a colonial born and can therefore easily enter into the spirit of those who are born in the colonies and who are suffering great hardship, on account of the indiscretion of their parents who brought them over here without realising its consequences.

Those who are returning from South Africa are mostly either illiterate or half-educated and they cannot realise the difficulties that await them in the Motherland. To say that they are coming voluntarily is only a half-truth. No doubt there is no compulsion on them but the temptation of £ 20 per adult does persuade most of these returned emigrants to leave South Africa along with their children. Things have considerably changed since the time when these people went to South Africa and they can never visualise the sort of life that they will have to lead in India. Mahatma Gandhi rightly observed in the Young India of 2nd May 1927:

“There is no doubt that if these repatriates are to be received they must be specially cared for. India to most of them, is like foreign land.”

I have been told that a considerable number of the returned emigrants from South Africa emigrate to Malaya and Ceylon after having exhausted all their resources in India. Now this is a serious development which neither the makers of the assisted emigration scheme nor the returning emigrants themselves, could ever have imagined as likely. Wages in Malaya and Ceylon are much lower than those in South Africa. If on their return these returned emigrants are to be compelled by their circumstances to emigrate to Malaya and Ceylon then they ought to be told of this fact before their departure to India.

The assisted emigration scheme has been in force for more than two years and between six and seven thousand Indians have taken advantage of it. What percentage of these people have been able to settle peacefully in India is a question that cannot be answered off hand. For that we require a Commission of enquiry to be appointed by the Government of India. It is a fact that Rao Sahab Kumbhraman Nair in spite of his undoubted ability and deep sympathy has been able to look after only a small percentage of the returned emigrants.

I have been receiving a number of letters from my friends in South Africa to let them know the results of my enquiry. I would advise them to be a little more patient. It is a delicate problem and the Government of India should be given sufficient time to consider this question.

I earnestly hope that Sir Mohammad Habibulla will give his serious attention to this question and would appoint a Commission of enquiry.

If, unfortunately the Government does not accede to this request, then it will be my duty to publish my report by the end of April. We must proceed constitutionally and should not begin any propaganda against repatriation before we have exhausted all other sources of bringing pressure on the Government of India and the Union Government to reconsider the assisted emigration scheme in the light of facts and figures that may be established by the Commission of Enquiry.

I may add here in the end that I alone am responsible for this statement, that is the result of an absolutely independent enquiry.

#### THE FUTURE OF INDIA.

A friend sends us the following by "Historicus" in the *Methodist Times*, New York:

During the past few weeks a great storm has raged in both Houses of Parliament and in the Press over the future position of India in the Empire. It raged over two words—"Dominion Status." The storm subsided almost as suddenly as it rose, but not without ominous mutterings and threatenings from one side that it would break out again in the form of trouble in India.

Few of the disputants seemed to me to have any clear idea of what they meant by "Dominion Status." One of the surprises of the discussion was that the man who appeared to have the clearest idea was Gandhi, the Indian leader. For what is the essence of "Dominion Status"? To my mind it is that what is called a "Dominion" is free to leave the British Empire whenever it likes. That, and nothing else, is the essential.

The British Empire (so-called) was an Empire till the early part of the last century. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a great portion of it—then called the American Colonies, and now called the United States of America—broke off. But it broke off by force, as the result of a successful war. Half a century or so later, the Earl of Durham and his secretary, Charles Buller, evolved a new political idea which was in effect based on the inference that all the white colonies would in turn follow the example of the United States. The new idea was to allow them complete control of their own affairs without any interference from the Home Government; the natural corollary being that, being completely independent they could sever their connection whenever they liked, and if they attempted to do so the Home Government would not fire a shot to prevent them.

Durham and Buller were able to carry out their idea in practice because at that time the English people took no interest in the white colonies. Beaconsfield, the great Imperialist of the nineteenth century, spoke of them as being "millstones round our necks." That was the view of all the shortsighted politicians of all parties. So Durham and

Buller were left alone to do what they liked with the most troublesome of the "millstones"—Canada.

Their foresight—if they foresaw all the consequences of their action—was, indeed, remarkable. They had introduced a new and active ferment into the old Roman idea of Empire—that is, the holding by military force of subject peoples by a virile and conquering power. It is true the great statesmanship of the Romans modified that primal conception and made the Roman Empire the long-lived institution it became by very wide extensions of citizenship and self-government. Perhaps Durham and Buller derived their great idea from the Romans. I suspect rather that their action was based solely or mainly on a firm faith in the Whig principle of liberty.

At any rate, from the moment of their first step there began the process of dividing the Empire—now no longer rightly so-called—into two portions one portion quite independent in its government; the other, governed from London, the heart and centre of the Empire. The process has proceeded steadily ever since till to-day the purely white colonies—and one, South Africa, by no means, even mainly, white—are all independent and enjoying as complete self-government as if they were sovereign States.

This process has not gone on without opposition. From the moment when it was realised what Durham had really done, the genuine Imperialists in this country took alarm and tried to undo what he had accomplished. They recognised that it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to put back the clock, and deprive Canada of the freedom she had gained. But they tried even that by indirect means. They started a crusade for what they called "Imperial Federation." That meant a Parliament for the whole Empire, or at least for the self-governing parts of it. That involved, as gradually became plain, that such a Parliament would have the right of taxation and tariffs all over the Empire, and that meant in its turn Free Trade all over the Empire. From that moment "Imperial Federation" was doomed to the opposition of the white Dominions. So it dropped like the stick of a rocket.

The only frontal attack that the Imperialists delivered since Durham turned their position unnoticed, was after the South African war, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman proposed to admit a united South Africa to "Dominion Status." Even some members of his own cabinet, fearful that he was going too fast and too far, wavered. Not that they were Imperialists; they were firm believers in liberty, but cautious and timorous believers. Sir Henry put his back to the wall and won a resounding triumph, writing his name for ever in the annals of the country.

The late Great War was an astounding revelation to foreign nations, and even to many people in this

country. Before that war was in sight, an able Prussian friend of mine, a great admirer and friend of England, used to assure me that England did not understand the art of government. He told me that we displayed it in India, in Egypt, and in Ireland. But that if England were engaged in a big war, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland would break off and become independent nations. They were in no way bound to England. I used to assure him that just that portion of our Empire would rally to the old country as loyally as the people at home. If we had any trouble, it would be in India, in Egypt, in Ireland. He pitied my shortness of sight, and ignorance of the art of government. He died before the falsification of his prophecies came.

Few people realise that just as the Empire (so-called) consists of two parts, the real Empire and the British Commonwealth of self-governing States, so the so-called India is governed in large degree from London. One-third of it is governed by almost independent princes, with armies and governments of their own. This third was as loyal and helpful as the white Dominions in the Great War. Imperialists, fighting a rearguard action, constantly tell us that only white men are fit to govern. Yet many of these native princes are men of great ability, of great statesmanship, who could hold their own with any of the statesmen of Europe or America. The fact which I have tried to set out in the above paragraphs are worthy of the careful attention of all who look into the difficult, and possibly, sometimes dangerous, future.

The issue is a very simple one. Some men believe that no country should have under its sway any but willing subjects. They are the anti-Imperialists. Others hold that a superior country (which always means the one to which they themselves belong) has the right and duty to govern for their own good other inferior nations. They are the Imperialists. The former wish all subjects of the Crown to be made willing subjects, and believe the only way to accomplish this is to make all so free that no greater freedom could be obtained if the Empire ceased to exist. The latter are careless whether subjects are willing or not, but are determined that subjects they shall remain.

Between these two definite schools there are a number of wobbling doubters. Some believe ultimately in liberty, but fear its too rapid extension. They are honest, but timid. There can, undoubtedly, be too rapid movement even in a right direction. It is the part of statesmanship to decide the exactly right moment. Others profess that complete freedom is their goal, but persistently throw every obstacle in the way of every advance. They are dishonest and cowardly. Their hearts are Imperialist, but they are afraid to say so. To a certain extent I admire the out-and-out Imperialist. In my opinion he is blind, but honest and brave. But my belief in liberty remains an unshakable faith.

#### TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

We have received the following from the Information section of the League of Nations, Geneva:—

At the fifty-fifth session of the Council a proposal was considered for the extension of the expert enquiry into traffic in women and children to other countries not previously visited, especially in the East. The Traffic in Women and Children Committee at its eighth session had endorsed the opinion expressed by the Assembly at its ninth session that the enquiry should be extended. The Rapporteur to the Council pointed out that the possibility of continuing the enquiry must depend on the question of finance. He drew attention however, at the same time, to the fact that there was a strong probability that the necessary funds would be made available from the same source as those provided for the previous enquiry, in the event of both the Council, and the interested States feeling that such an enquiry would be of real value.

The council, therefore, instructed the Secretary-General to communicate in regard to this question with the Governments concerned, namely, those governments of the Near, Middle and Far East whose territories had not been visited in the course of the previous enquiry and to ask them whether they would be prepared to give their consent and co-operation to the action suggested on the understanding that the enquiry would relate strictly to the international aspects of the problem. The Council requested the Secretary-General to prepare and submit to it, if possible for the December session, a report dealing with the replies received from the Governments concerned and containing also suggestions for the composition of the Special Body of Experts and the scope of the enquiry.

Replies have now been received by the Secretary-General from all the States with which he communicated. China, France, Great Britain, India, Japan, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal and Siam have all expressed their willingness to receive the enquiry within their territories. Several of those States lay stress on the fact that the enquiry must be into the international aspects of the question alone. The scope of the enquiry seems, therefore, well defined.

It will be noted that India states also in her reply that in accepting the enquiry the Government of India understands that suitable changes will be made in (1) the composition of the Special Body of Experts, (2) the investigations employed and (3) the methods of investigation.

China in giving her consent to the investigations assumes that a national approved by the Government of each country visited will be attached to the Special Body of Experts to participate in its investigations in that country.

The Advisory Committee had itself considered it desirable to point out in its report to the Council that the social customs of some countries in the East differed in many aspects from those obtaining in European or American States and that it was,

therefore, important to bear this carefully in mind in determining the nature and extent of the enquiries to be made and the methods to be followed in conducting the investigation. The Committee had, therefore, recommended that when the time came for continuing the work in the new field, the composition of the Special Body of Experts should be examined by the Council in the light of the altered circumstances so as to ensure, in particular that the Body of Experts should include persons who have a wide knowledge and experience of the Eastern conditions.

It is clear that in order to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee, and at the same time to take into account the observations made by India, it will be necessary to find for the new Body of the Experts men and women having, as far as possible, an intimate knowledge of Eastern conditions and at the same time a knowledge of the problem with which the Body of Experts will have to deal. It would seem particularly important that the Chairman of the Special Body should have a high standing in the East and be persona grata both to the diplomatic world and to the social worker. It might perhaps be possible for the Rapporteur to put forward the name of some such person to the Council at its coming session.

It would not seem desirable to follow in the East the same method of underworld investigation as was followed in the enquiry into conditions in Europe and the Americas. As an alternative method the following might be worth consideration by the Council:

The expert Committee might consist of not less than seven and not more than ten members, of whom three should form a travelling commission. In order to select these experts the members of the Council might agree to propose, before the May meeting of the Council, names of men and women having a knowledge both of the international traffic problem and of the East. It would not be necessary for these experts to be nationals of the States submitting their names. These names might be considered before the May meeting of the Council and a suitable number selected by the Rapporteur assisted by two members of the Council. The Council Sub-Committee, in making its report, might also be asked to state which of the expert would, in its opinion, be most suitable as travelling commissioners. Of these travelling commissioners one at least should be a woman, as the problem is naturally one of very great interest not only to women of the East but to all women.

In view of the fact that the funds for the enquiry are being made available from American sources and of the great services rendered by the Chairman and the Director of Investigation (both of them American) during the first enquiry, the Council might, in the event of the plan herein proposed being followed, wish to include these two names in the list of experts to be considered by the Rapporteur and his two colleagues.

#### A MODERN LOURDES.

Karl Schriftgiesser writes in the *New Republic*:—

Father Patrick Power has been dead for sixty years. While he lived he was little known—an obscure priest who never had a parish of his own. Thirty years after his death, so the story goes, the grass on his grave remained green when all around it was yellow and dying. Candles placed upon his grave kept burning when candles placed on other graves flickered and went out. The grave took on a special significance and once or twice cures were reported to have happened there. But the rank and file of the faithful knew nothing about it, and only those who heard about it in a casual way went there to do homage. Three weeks ago a tabloid newspaper resurrected the story of the grave's strange, uncanny power; it told of cures of the afflicted reported there; the story spread to the front pages of the Boston press until such a wave of religious hysteria as has never been known before in Massachusetts has brought fully eight hundred thousand people in the past three weeks into the cemetery to fall on their knees and kiss the obscure grave of the unknown priest.

Twice has Cardinal William O'Connell visited the grave, and the report is current that the machinery of the Church has been started toward making the Malden grave a shrine on a par with St. Anne de Beaupré and with Lourdes. But, whether or not this is so, surely no modern city has ever seen in this century such an overwhelming outpouring of maimed and crippled, diseased and idiot, seeking to regain their health from the supernatural.

Darkness had fallen when I boarded the street car in the dismal elevated terminal at Everett. There was no need to ask the way. One followed the crowd. Irish, Italians, French Canucks, Americans, white, black—a motley mixture of races with Irish predominating—were heading towards the shrine. Extra cars were being run out into the out-skirts of Malden where the graveyard is. On my car an ancient crone, a crippled girl, an idiot boy with his plodding Irish father and care-worn mother, a young couple, well dressed and well fed, stood out from the mediocrity of the others. None of them smiled, and on the faces of all these hopefuls who were going to offer prayers for themselves, and for others, perhaps, who could not go themselves, there was stamped a dumb, appealing, saint-like look.

Silent as cattle they sat there, and no one minded his neighbor. The car jerked its way along through the brighter lights of Everett Square, out of the dark thoroughfare. None got off; it was as if it had been a special car sent only to carry the pilgrims. Finally it stopped, and one knew one was at last at Holy Cross. As far as one could see, on either side of the street, cars were parked. Hundreds of others were looking for a space. Policemen, imbued with a suspicious courtesy guided the faithful across the street. By the iron

gate that bars the way of automobiles—except those which arrive in quick succession bearing the maimed and the paralyzed—police herd the growing crowd into two lines. Two single files, that go up the hill, wind through the graves, and reach at the end the spot where Father Power lies.

Strong men guide ancient women who hobble painfully along. Young toughs mingle with the crowds and try to look less hard than usual. A mother carries a baby, its lifeless legs dangling like a doll's legs from beneath its little skirts. A toil-bent laborer staggers a bit; a little girl leads a woman who cannot see her way; two boys push a twisted, tortured paralytic wreck in a wheel chair; a gibbering idiot is carefully led along by his harassed but faithful mother; one man, his face all sores like the face of Lazarus, slumps down into the collar of his coat. The ground is drying from an afternoon of rain and the wind is chill. A moon sheds light palely on the gravelled walk, shines in the puddles by the roadside. The lights of a car come up the hill—another cripple on a stretcher, brought out into the night to be healed by faith where the hands of science have failed.

Two thin lines going up the hill. Hardly any talk from anyone; not a laugh anywhere; scarcely a smile, except from a mother bearing her infant whose two eyes look inward at each other; but in the faces of them all that look of dumb faith in something they cannot explain, but which they believe as strongly as it is possible for humans to believe. The line never breaks, and it never ends. At midnight it will be the same, and when the dawn comes it will be moving there, just as it is now. I fall in with the rest, and, inch by inch, creep closer to the resting place of Father Patrick Power. In front of me is a woman. She, like myself, is cold, but she stands there as patiently as centuries ago women stood to watch the passing of the Christ. In front of her is her husband. They are Italians, and his face is wet with tears. His big brown eyes are pleading, his lips move in prayer. For in his arms is the child of their union, and if the faith of these two can make her whole again—well, then there are miracles. For her eyes see not, her legs feel not, her mouth hangs open and never utters a sound. Nor can she hear the plodding, shuffling feet, nor the murmuring of prayers as the slow line moves along.

I follow these two, fascinated. Hope fills them; hope, and faith. At last the grave is reached. Two policemen, patient as Job, are exhorting the crowd. "Just touch the shrine. The chapel is open for prayer. Be quick and let the cripples have a chance." It is a singsong, repeated from morn till night. With gentle hands they lead the father and the mother and the unhuman child to a place. Crossing themselves the parents kneel. The father holds the baby over the shrine. He places a candle in her senseless hands; it falls out; he picks it up. He holds it there. With his other hand he scoops up the dank earth of the grave.

He rubs it on the withered legs, the sightless eyes, the dumb mouth. He crosses himself again and from a bottle pours holy water on the tala dress of his bambino. Tears streak down his olive cheeks and his lips are moving in continuous prayer. The child, whose tam o' shanter keeps falling off for the mother to place on again with shaking hands, grins horribly and tries to babble. Five minutes they stay there. Even the police are moved, and do not hurry them. Once more the father scoops up the earth and rubs the members of this luckless child. He puts her on her feet, his face now alight with wonder, with hope, with faith. His bambino tumbles in a heap at his feet and does not move. It is like a slap in the face to the father. He gathers her up, crying; the mother's weeping can be heard. They move off—to the chapel. To pray.

The line moves on. Twenty people at a time can kneel around the grave where vigil lights in little red tumbler flicker in the chill wind. The grave, whence the marker has been removed since the crowds began coming, is covered with coins and bills which have been dropped there by the moving mob. For a few seconds the faithful kneel, cross themselves, say a prayer, Then they are urged on by the two policemen. Others take their places. The cripples have the right of way. Some of them fling themselves down in ludicrous, pitiful positions. They babble their prayers and rub their sores with dirt that is damp and sticky. Some carry away handfuls of it and every now and then a laborer brings more in a shovel to sprinkle over the shrine. Gifts are left there, wrapped in paper. Some light tapers there and blow them out. The center of the grave is a mass of wax from the vigil lights.

A man in a wheel chair is brought up. He is lifted out. He hasn't walked for twelve years. The crowd closes in. He says his prayers and rubs his legs, from which the trousers have been removed, with dirt. He works it in around the heavy braces. He is there ten minutes. Then he is lifted to his wheel chair again. Away from the grave two friends laboriously remove the braces and with an effort lift him to his feet. He smiles and strains. They step aside—only to spring back and catch him as he falls heavily to the ground. A young man in derby hat and tight fitting overcoat says, "You must have faith. Others have walked and you can. Go to the chapel and pray and almighty God will make you walk." The man is crying, so is everyone around him. He is wheeled off to the chapel on the hill. "God, but my legs hurt," he whimpers, and he tries to choke back the tears.

I go to the chapel. The father with his bambino has just reached the altar rail. He lights a taper, he prays, he counts his beads. He rubs the afflicted baby—as hundreds of others have done—against the statue of the Christ upon the Cross. His face is hopeful again and, his prayers finished, he moves off—to visit the shrine and go through it all once more. The chapel is crowded and the air is rank with body-smells and burning paraffin. A boy in

dungarees keeps replacing burnt-out vigil lights. Firemen in uniform keep the crowd lined up. Here one may pray as long as one desires. The crowd which has gone up to the grave comes here and prays and prays. The cripples, the diseased, the deaf and the dumb, they come or are brought. Some are borne down the aisle on stretchers, some carried like drunken men between supporting comrades. There are more women, but there are hundreds of men. Babes in arms are plentiful; children, middle-aged, ancients—from every walk of life. Some just curious, but all silent and imbued with a religious hysteria that makes them all akin. The only music in the chapel is the clink of coins being cast at the altar rail.

Day and night this keeps up. For three weeks now the crowds have been growing greater and greater. The stories in the newspapers of cures have been increasing daily. In the eight hours I wandered about I saw no cripple suddenly walk, no dumb person speak, no blind man cast away his darkened glasses. But in the chapel the pile of braces and crutches, canes and spectacles grows larger all the time. The Herald has run a full-page feature story of a cure, the first that not only has taken place, but has lasted beyond the hysteria at the graveside. And while the Church has not yet spoken, except to defend shrines in general, it has not condemned. The cemetery, presided over by the brother of Cardinal O'Connell, stays open twenty-four hours a day and pilgrims to the extent of fifty thousand in one single day come flocking to the grave.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Independence of the Dominions:**—The Conference on the operation of Dominion legislation and merchant shipping legislation representing Britain, the Dominions and India, which sat in London last year has issued a report embodying its recommendations formed with the object of "carrying into full effect the quality of the status established as the root principle, covering the relations between members of the Commonwealth, and indicating methods for maintaining and strengthening a practical system of free co-operation. It expresses the opinion that the power of the Crown on the advice of Ministers of the United Kingdom to disallow Dominion legislation cannot any longer be exercised. It recommends the enactment of legislation affirming that the Dominion Parliaments are fully empowered to make laws having extra territorial operation. The Conference recommends that the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 shall cease to apply to any law, made by the Parliaments of the Dominions. It declares that inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the Commonwealth, a convention should be framed laying down that any alteration of the law touching the succession to the throne, or royal style and titles shall hereafter require the assent of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as well as the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

**Untouchables in Temple Ceremony:**—It was a red letter day in the history of Wardha when the *Janmotsava* celebration of the Shri Lakshminarayana temple belonging to Seth Jamanlalji was performed. A huge procession of high caste Hindus and so-called untouchables who mixed freely among themselves passed through the main streets of Wardha amidst great enthusiasm and

religious fervour. It was followed by a mass meeting of the processionists and others, presided over by Baba Saheb Dashmukh when Acharya Venoba Bhawe of Wardha Satyagrahashram delivered a very impressive speech. After the meeting, there was a big feast in which about 300 untouchables were fed in the temple grounds amidst singing. Then followed *harikirtan* in the Lakshminarayana temple. The whole ceremony ended late at night amidst great enthusiasm and ovation.

**Dr. Kalidas Nag:**—The *Calcutta Review* writes that Dr. Kalidas Nag M.A., D.Litt. (Paris) has been invited by the Carnegie Institute of International Education, New York, America, to deliver a course of lectures on "Indian Art and Archaeology" as the visiting Professor of the Institute for 1930. He has also been invited by a number of learned Societies of Europe, such as the German Academy of Munich and the Kern Institute of Leyden, to deliver lectures on Indian cultural subjects.

## ADVERTISEMENTS

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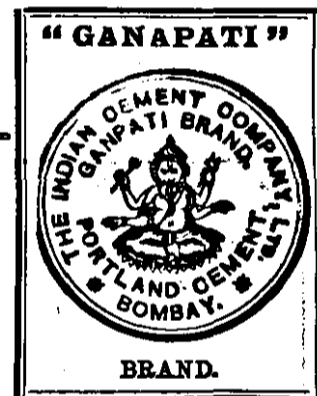
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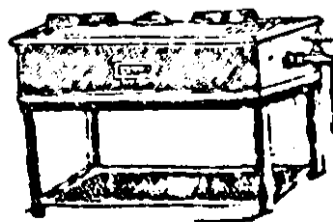
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Vol. XL.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1930

No. 25

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**The Working Committee's Decision:—**  
The Working Committee of the Congress which met at Ahmedabad during the week passed the following resolution giving full power to Mahatma Gandhi to start his campaign of civil disobedience: "In the opinion of the Working Committee civil disobedience should be initiated and controlled by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving Purna Swaraj as an article of faith, and as the Congress contains in its organisation not merely such men and women, but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential in the existing circumstances in the country, the Working Committee welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and authorises him and those working with him who believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent above indicated to start civil disobedience as and when they desire and in the manner and to the extent they decide. The Working Committee trusts that when the campaign is actually in action all Congressmen and others will extend to the civil resisters their full cooperation in every way possible, and that they will observe and preserve complete non-violence notwithstanding any provocation that may be offered. The Working Committee further hopes that in the event of a mass movement taking place, all those who are rendering voluntary cooperation to the Government, such as lawyers, and those who are receiving so-called benefits from it, such as students, will withdraw their cooperation or renounce benefits as the case may be, and throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom. The Working Committee trusts, that in the event of the leaders being arrested and imprisoned, those, who are left behind and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them, will carry on the Congress organisation, and guide the movement to the best of their ability."

**The Baroda Divorce Bill:—**The comment of the *Catholic Leader* on the Baroda Divorce (for Hindus) Bill will interest our readers: "It is a pity that one of the most enlightened and progressive States in India, Baroda, is introducing legislation to loosen the marriage bond. The indissolubility of the marriage contract is one of the best features of Hindu family life and any

weakening of that tie must have disastrous consequences on the welfare of many homes and families. The up-bringing and education of children demand the undivided attention of both father and mother and by the natural law marriage has always been regarded in civilised countries as a permanent and indissoluble union between man and woman. The existence and welfare of the State depend upon the existence of the home and divorce should never be sanctioned by civil authority in its own interests and in the general interests of its subjects. Divorce is a devastating plague and is responsible for the misery, unhappiness and ruin of many families in countries where it has been legally introduced. There is evidently room for the reform of the Hindu family life and the elevation of the position of woman. The practice of polygamy and the legal disqualification of women in matters of inheritance and succession should be done away with and equal status with men accorded to them. But divorce far from contributing to the progress and emancipation of woman will only tend to her degradation and frustrate the primary purpose of marriage." We publish elsewhere in this issue an article from Mr. Bhagat Ram who is evidently an Anya gentleman and a fervent advocate of divorce. We are surprised that, believing as he does, that the average Hindu marriage is unhappy Mr. Ram stops short at a "qualified form of divorce" and does not ask for easy divorce. To turn to the *Catholic Leader*, we should like to point out, that divorce is not contemplated with a view to break up family life but to decrease the number of unhappy families and we should say that children are more likely to benefit if they are removed from homes where they are neglected. As to civilised countries regarding marriage as a permanent and indissoluble union our contemporary may have its own meaning of the word "civilised." The attempt to introduce divorce in Hindu Society is not a mere hankering after novelty but arises from a genuine desire to alleviate suffering. It is, if we may say so, a choice between two evils and the mere possibility of a divorce may result in many cases in more consideration being shown to each other by the two parties. Even among the Roman Catholics, we believe, there is what virtually amounts to a divorce. But annulment has this disadvantage to divorce in that it works retro-actively and illegitimatises the issue of the marriage.

**The Late Dewan Bahadur A. K. Pai:—**  
In the death of Dewan Bahadur A. K. Pai, which occurred on Tuesday last, the city of Bombay loses a genuine and earnest social worker and

reformer. Possessed of a high civic sense and public spirit the Dewan Bahadur threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, of which he was a member for the last eight years, ever since his retirement as an employee from that body. His services to the Corporation led to his election as the chairman of the Standing Committee and later on as the chairman of the Schools' Committee. It was mainly through the efforts of Mr. Pai that the Scout movement was introduced in Municipal schools and he kept up his interest in the movement to the last. As a social reformer he was a staunch believer in the education and progress of women and he set a practical example by educating his daughter who is an M.A. of the Bombay University and who recently left Bombay for Rajkot to take up the principalship of the Girls' High School there. Mr. Pai was actuated by great sympathy for the poor and the oppressed and was actively engaged in the movement for the relief of helpless beggars in Bombay by directing the individual alms giving into institutional channels. A free and liberal spirit pervaded all his activities and his death leaves a gap in the ranks of public men in Bombay.

**The Late Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan:—**We regret to record the death of Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, the Vice Chancellor of the Bombay University on Thursday last. He came of an enlightened Muslim family and was himself a distinguished Persian scholar. He served the Bombay Municipal Corporation in the varied capacities of member, Chairman of the Standing Committee and President. The late Mr. Khan was a Fellow of the Bombay University for many years and for a long time an elected member of the Syndicate and Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University last year and to him belonged the privilege of ushering in the reforms in the University. Himself a staunch Muslim, Mr. Khan evinced a keen interest in the education and uplift of his community.

**Broadcasting in India:—**Broadcasting in India has been the proverbial nine days' wonder. The Indian Broadcasting Company which was started about two years ago has announced that it would close down by the end of this month owing to its financial condition. Due to several reasons the wireless in India has not been as popular as was anticipated. There is a general feeling that the Company was defrauded of its income from licences and the levy on imported wireless apparatus. On the other hand, its failure is attributed by the public to the poor standard of the programmes broadcast. The Company's appeal to the Government for financial help was turned down and the Directors had no alternative but to advise the shareholders to wind up its affairs. The potentialities of the wireless as a factor in education are great indeed. It is unfortunate that the advantage conferred by this great invention of modern science will be lost when the need for education by all available means is nowhere so imperative as in this country. We, therefore, welcome the news that some leading members of the Assembly including Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Sir Darcy Lindsay are getting up an appeal to the Government to take over the affairs of the Company. Since writing the above, it was decided at an extraordinary meeting of the company held on Monday

last to wind up voluntarily the business of the company.

**Mysore Dewan on Communal Institutions:—**Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore has always taken a true perspective of communal institutions and has regarded them as a means to an end. In his forceful speech at the opening ceremony of the Jain Students' Home at Mysore, elaborating this point, he observed: "Hostels or other institutions of a denominational kind are not altogether a blessing in a country like ours with its diverse castes and creeds, because they tend to emphasize, if not to perpetuate, those differences and distinctions which it must be the desire of every patriotic Indian—with a vision for the future—to minimise, and, as far as possible, to ignore. In the peculiar circumstances of India, however, their abolition must remain an ideal for a long time yet; and in the meantime, it is only right that the desire for the uplift of one's own community, which expresses itself in such forms as we witness to-day, should not be discouraged but fully utilised. Only, let the boys and young men living in the hostel be taught that they owe a lesser allegiance to their hostel than to their school or college, and through that, to their country. Beyond the hostel is the school or college, beyond the Jain community is the Indian Motherland. It is only by the cultivation of such an attitude; by laying stress on the wider relationships of humanity, that it is possible for a country of many religions and races to take its proper place among the nations of the world. India cannot progress if its efforts are governed by separated aspirations."

**Sarda Act Again:—**The nearer we are to the 1st of April when the Sarda Act comes into force the more frantic are the efforts made by the opponents of the Act to avoid the consequences of it. An absurd case is reported in the *Tribune*: "A girl of 6 months has been married to a boy of 3 years at a village named Kaler, in the Amritsar district. At the time of Phera ceremony the girl was in the arms of her mother and the boy was in the arms of his father. It is understood that this was due to the Child Marriage Act." These cases which have received some prominence in the press are further evidence that the greater part of the people will not go against the Act when it comes into force. We are sorry for the individuals who will suffer through these panicky measures and who have been victimised by their parents.

**"A Picture of India":—**We have received a copy of the India number of the *London Times*, for review and we have looked through the contributions in vain for one from the pen of any Indian public man. In fact there is only one on the awakening of Indian women by Miss Cornelia Sorabji. A marked feature of the issue is the numerous advertisements from the railways in this country and one might look on the publication as a Government one in many respects. Ex-Governors and ex-civil servants have contributed to fill the pages of the paper and it could more aptly have been called the "Official Estimate of British Rule in India." We greatly doubt if any Englishman will seriously learn much about India from this number to which we learn with surprise that over a year has been devoted.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1930.

## AHIMSA AND LOVE.

The Indian National Congress passed at its last session at Lahore a resolution explicitly declaring that its creed was the attainment of Independence, and the means to be employed were non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The Working Committee of the Congress met at the Udyoga Mandir at Sabarmati last Saturday and decided upon its plan of action. This, in short, is the endorsement of the proposal of Mahatmaji to give him a free hand with the help of his more intimate associates who believe in non-violence as an article of faith, to start and carry on civil disobedience, at the time, in the manner and on the issue which they consider to be most appropriate. Referring to the resolution of the Working Committee, Mahatmaji observes in his article in *Young India*: "The resolution of the Working Committee gives me my charter of freedom if it also binds me in the tightest chains. It is the formula of which I have been in search these long and weary months." At the moment we are not able to look up references, but we have a general notion that the present formula is practically an old one which he adopted in South Africa and "the long and weary search" was largely the process of recovering from the depths of the sub-conscious a past experience which had been submerged in it through lapse of time. The ensuring of non-violence was to him then as now a far more important consideration than even the object with which civil disobedience was undertaken. It necessarily follows that he could only accept as co-adjutors those who under any circumstances would not waver in their non-violence. This steadfastness is possible only to those who have realised as an experience that non-violence is the most effective weapon of victory in every struggle where right is at issue with error. Mere blind faith will not suffice. A person who can blindly believe, can believe as much in error as in truth. Peter denied Christ thrice before cock-crow because he had till then only blind faith. There must be the conviction and the faith born of conviction that non-violence is absolutely the strongest force in a conflict between an awakened sense of right and an established social or political system. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, has arrived at such faith through such conviction. We may say that we believe in it too not altogether in the abstract, as we have found it effective as a working principle of everyday life. Control of anger and other explosive tendencies of human

nature, sets free the better part of it and what began as a negative process is transformed into a positive, vitalising force making for the solution of difficult problems in the spirit of goodwill. There is one important principle to which attention may be called. Action, in the spiritual sense which is also the psychological, does not mean overt action. Thought is action. Violence in thought is as much as knocking down your adversary in its subjective effects. There is a verse of the *Gita*, among many of wonderful insight into Indian psychology, which warns the aspirant to truth that mere control of the organs of sense, if it is not fortified by the control of the mind, breeds only hypocrisy. Violence and non-violence in Mahatma Gandhi's propaganda contains, we fear, no similar warning. In any case, we have our doubts whether a principle derived from the experience of highly-developed individuals, can be applied wholesale to a group of men. The personal loyalty to a well beloved Teacher counts for much, but when his personal guidance is prevented or withheld, followers are liable to lose heart and collapse, or to break the bounds of the non-violent creed and launch into violent resistance. Sikhism provides a classical illustration. Originally a peaceful, non-violent creed, it was transformed by oppression into a militant sect, every member of which man, woman and child, is enjoined to carry on the person a miniature sword as a religious emblem. Mussolini in his autobiography writes: "In some contingencies violence has a deep moral significance. Ignorance was still astride of the workmen and peasant masses. It was useless to attempt to blaze a trail by fine words, by sermons from chairs. It was necessary to give timely, genial recognition to chivalrous violence. The only straight road was to beat the violent forces of evil on the very ground they had chosen." These sentences show that, while Mussolini held by non-violence as a general principle, he was of opinion that violence can become sanctified if used in a good cause to overcome violence. Many well-educated Hindus believe that this is precisely the teaching of the *Gita* and there are many among even Mahatma Gandhi's disciples who may not altogether discard Mussolini's doctrine as contravening their personal belief in non-violence. What we wish to emphasise is that in starting civil disobedience and before, and long before, doing it, the possibility, nay, the probability of its developing a violent side, ought to be clearly faced and provided for. Mahatma Gandhi in his article quotes a fragment, and that not correctly, of St. Paul's grand definition of charity which is Love. If he had the whole of it before him, he would have found that an essential attitude of Love is patience. Let us do it for him.

"Love suffereth long and is kind; Love envieth not; Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up;

"Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil;

"Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things;

"Love never faileth."

The true rendering of the word, *Ahimsa*, says Mahatmaji, in English is Love or Charity. We agree with him. He who is not actively kind, said Ruskin, is cruel. But as popularly understood, and we are here dealing with a popular movement, *Ahimsa* means only abstinence from physical violence. Even that in only certain conventional forms. We need not enlarge on this, as Mahatmaji himself has done so many times. We are told it is no use arguing with him now that he has crossed the Rubicon. We refuse to take this view. We have seen him (having been present with him at the time), call off the contemplated Bardoli satyagraha within a few hours of the time fixed for launching it. He had to bear heavy reproaches from his closest friends, but he did not mind. We are confident that even now if he is convinced that there is a better way or that the data upon which he has made his decision are by no means complete or accurate, he will not hesitate, cost what it might, to reconsider it. We suggest that in conformity with Pauline charity which he accepts as a true description of *ahimsa*, he should believe the Viceroy and Mr. Wedgwood Benn when they say that they intend to have a completely free and open exploration at the Round Table Conference and that he should hope that the result of such exploration will give the country what it needs. He has given an implied promise in one of his articles that, if as a result of the Round Table Conference a satisfactory settlement is reached, he would gladly relinquish his present plans. We suggest that he should wait, if he cannot indeed bring himself to join the Conference, till its results are known before launching civil disobedience anywhere or for any reason. We have seen the behaviour of the Independence young men at the Liberal meeting at Blavatsky Hall and we cannot say that it was a conspicuous example of St. Paul's definition. Love doth not behave itself unseemly. Nor can we find in the speeches of some of the younger politicians the charity which vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up. And these are the instruments with which Mahatmaji has to work.

#### INDIANS ABROAD.

The following statement has been issued by the South African Indian Congress having reference to the term "domicile" as defined in Act 37 of 1927:

Act No. 37 of 1927 enacted by the Government of the Union of South Africa, which amends the law relating to immigration of Asiatics, gives an

enlarged definition of the term "Domicile," and lays down, among other things, "that a person shall be deemed for the purposes of this Act to have lost his domicile within the Union if he absents himself from the Union and does not re-enter the Union within three years from the date of departure therefrom or from the commencement of the Act (which is the Immigration and Indian Relief (Further Provision Act, 1927) whichever may be later, whether or not he is in possession of a registration certificate or a certificate of domicile or any other document issued under any prior law permitting his entrance to or residence in or recognising his domicile in the Union or any Province thereof."

The purport of this definition is that a person shall return to the place of his domicile in the Union within three years of his departure therefrom, or within three years from the commencement of the Act, whichever may be later.

The Act came into force on the 5th of May 1927. This means that those who have overstayed in India the period of three years allowed them should return to the Union by the 5th of May 1930, if not, they shall be deemed to have lost their domicile, and, of course, will be refused to enter the Union.

This notice is issued for the information of people domiciled in the Union, but who are now in India and who come under this part of the definition of "Domicile" laid down in the Act.

#### SASTRI COLLEGE.

The following information has been issued by the Education Department:—

(1) Sastri College: This institution will open on Feb. 10, 1930, the delay being due to the inability of the teachers from India getting to Natal earlier. The classes will be from Standard V. to Standard X. Provision will be made for (a) secondary education, and (b) the training of teachers.

No pupil will be admitted who intends to pursue only a primary course. A pupil entering any Standard below VIII. will be required to give a written undertaking that he intends to stay at school until he has completed Standard VIII. at least, and must also produce a written statement from his last headmaster as to the last Standard passed by him.

The enrolment will be limited to 220, so intending applicants should take immediate steps to carry out the provisions of the previous paragraph. All applications for admission should be addressed to the headmaster, Mr. W. M. Buss, B.A., whose address is Sastri College, Durban.

Fees will be charged as follows:—

Standard V., 5s. per school month; Standard VI., 6s.; Standard VII., 7s. 6d.; Standard VIII., 10s.; Standard IX., 12s. 6d.; Standard X., 15s.

(2) Mitchell Crescent School: This will be opened on Jan. 27, 1930, as a girls' school, from Standard IV. to VII. The fees will be:—

Standard IV., 2s. per school month; Standard V., 2s. 6d.; Standard VI. and Standard VII., 5s.

The staff here will be of European women. The intention is to develop the school up to Standard X. if support is forthcoming.

(3) Carlisle Street School: This will become from Jan. 27, 1930, a primary school for boys up to Standard VI. There will be an Indian staff. Boys who do not intend in any case to go beyond Standard VI. must attend this or some other primary school in Durban.

## GOKHALE—THE MAN AND HIS WORK.\*

## GOKHALE'S HOUR OF TRIAL.

Of all professions journalism is at once the most fascinating and the most dreary. It is fascinating because of the wide variety of interests it constantly presents and because, if one happens to have some great cause at heart, it gives him the opportunity of striking a blow for it at the right time. It is dreary because, unlike the other professions such as law and medicine where the results of one's efforts are known sooner or later, the journalist may never know what the results of his efforts are. Sometimes, however, the journalist also has the gratification of knowing that what he wrote has produced some effect and there is no moment in his life so exhilarating as when he is told by some distant and unknown reader that his writing stirred in him some abiding thought or emotion. This experience happened to me with Gokhale. The *Indian Social Reformer*, published in its issue of the 16th January 1898 a letter from Mr. Gokhale, dated 7th January 1898, which concluded as follows:—

I have no doubt about the ultimate verdict on my conduct. The day will come when it will be generally recognized by my countrymen that this most unfortunate incident deserves to be thought of, as far as I am concerned, in sorrow, not in anger, and that under most trying circumstances I had taken the only course which was consistent with duty and honour. Meanwhile, I am content to wait.

The reference, of course, is to the unhappy incident which led Mr. Gokhale to withdraw and apologise for certain statements with regard to the plague operations in Poona when he was in England giving evidence before the Welby Commission on Indian expenditure. The statements related to the conduct of British Soldiers who were employed to evacuate compulsorily the inmates of infected houses in Poona. The persons who supplied Mr. Gokhale with the information, with the exception of Pandita Ramabai, refused to come forward to substantiate their allegations and Gokhale had no alternative in the circumstances except to withdraw and apologise for those allegations which had created a storm of indignation in England and in India. Mr. Gokhale's letter was evidently a long one as in the editorial comments it was mentioned that it had to be cut short to bring it within the limits of the space available in the *Reformer*. In the course of that comment which was a lengthy one extending to three paragraphs, I wrote:—

"That Mr. Gokhale was made to feel that an explanation was at all required from him for his conduct which, every honourable and honest man must admit, was the only honourable and honest course open to him, is another serious reflection on the character of those who took part or sympathised with the ill-mannered and silly demonstration with which, it is said, a proposal to include Mr. Gokhale among the speakers in the last Congress at Amraoti was met."

\* Being Mr. K. Natarajan's address on Gokhale Anniversary Day (15 February, 1930) at the Deccan Sabha, Poona.

It was two years after this that I met Mr. Gokhale in Bombay for the first time. He spoke to me with warm feeling of this comment as a thing that he would never forget, of the *Reformer* having been the only journal which stood by him in his "dark hour of trial."

## GOKHALE'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

In December 1899, I met Mr. Gokhale at the Lahore Congress over which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presided. He was still brooding over the harsh treatment he had received at the hands of his fellow-countrymen and sat with me in the backbenches and told me that he would not speak even if he was invited as they had treated him so shabbily. The position continued to remain so strained particularly with his fellow-citizens of Poona that in 1902 Mr. Gokhale had made up his mind to shift his home to Bombay and was induced to alter his plans at the last moment by the pressure of friends who wished him to become the first non-official president of the Poona Municipality. This experience would seem to have turned Mr. Gokhale's thoughts in a most important direction. The professors of the Ferguson College had the reputation of being agnostics and Mr. Gokhale being one of them shared in it and Sir Valentine Chirol in his book "Indian Unrest" has thought fit to note it. I do not know whether the professors of that College still profess that creed. If they do so they must be really very tenacious of their views as agnosticism has disappeared from the rest of the world. Anyhow Mr. Gokhale's religious views were undergoing change. I find that in a letter dated 26th July 1902, Mr. Gokhale wrote:

"I wanted to write and tell you sometime ago that I read your article on Vivekananda with great pleasure. During my stay in Calcutta, I came to understand his aims and aspirations much better than before and you exactly expressed my feelings in your article."

Some years later when I happened to be in Calcutta Mr. Gokhale who was also there attending the Imperial Legislative Council, took me into his study one day where I found on his table a glass paper weight with an inscription in bold letters "God is Love." I could not help making some remark expressive of my surprise whereupon Gokhale quietly said that was what he had come to believe. A few days after Mr. Gokhale's death, meeting Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar at the University, I mentioned this incident to him. Sir Ramkrishna observed that he had heard from Mr. Justice Ranade that Gokhale's religious views were undergoing change and that a public declaration might be shortly expected. "But," he added regretfully, "that declaration never came."

## MR. MADHAVA RAO AND THE SERVANTS OF INDIA.

An amusing incident happened during this time at Calcutta. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao who had been Dewan of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda, had a few months before retired from the last named state and was looking out



for some sphere of public usefulness in which he could utilise his vast administrative experience to the benefit of the country. The idea of joining the Servants of India Society had occurred to him and he had asked me to sound Mr. Gokhale about it. Gokhale seemed rather disinclined as Mr. Madhava Rao, he thought, was much too big a man to be fitted into the scheme of his Society which was then in its infancy. However, he made an appointment to call on the Dewan at Sir Vithaldas' house. Gokhale came at about 2 p.m. and a servant said that the Dewan was having his seista when Mr. Gokhale turned to me and said seriously that it was against the rules of the Society to sleep in the daytime. The Dewan turned up in a few minutes and I told him what Gokhale had said when Madhava Rao laughed and said that he was not sleeping but only lying down with his eyes closed and his servant thought he was asleep.

INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN GANDHI AND  
LORD HARDINGE.

The last personal experience which I might mention here was very shortly before Gokhale's death. Mr. Gokhale had asked me when he returned from South Africa to correspond with Gandhi on his behalf in connection with the fund which Mr. Jehangir Petit was collecting and of which the late Sir Hormasji Wadia was the chairman. One day, Sir Hormasji and I received a telegram from Gokhale to see him in Poona at once as he had had the previous day the first of the heart attacks to which he succumbed shortly after. We reached the Society's home at about noon and were immediately admitted to Gokhale's room where he was lying on a couch evidently exhausted. Gokhale at once sat up and insisted on himself reading to us, in spite of our protests, a large batch of telegrams and cables which had passed during the two or three days previous between Lord Hardinge who was then on a visit to Lucknow and Mr. Gokhale on the one hand and on the other between Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Gandhi in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi had refused to appear before the Commission and Lord Hardinge who had taken up a strong attitude in support of the Indian cause, was insistent that the Indians should appear before the Commission. The Viceroy's tone was unusually strong and I think he said he would wash his hands clean of the matter if Mr. Gandhi persisted in his attitude. Gokhale was evidently much distressed and we were with him for about four hours and we could see that the difficulty of mediating between these two personages was severely straining his fast failing health. That was the last I saw of Gokhale.

These are some of the incidents serious and trivial which come to mind when I think of Gokhale and which seem to me to give a true picture of the man as he appeared to one who had the privilege of his friendship till his death. A much more intimate view was presented to you by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas in laying the foundation stone of the Gokhale Hall which is rising near by, five years ago. I have

read Sir Lalubhai's speech and I think that his impressions of Gokhale the Man coincide surprisingly with my own.

GOKHALE AND BRITISH OFFICIALS.

I may now give you one or two illustrations of the impression which Mr. Gokhale made on high English officials with whom he was thrown in contact. The first one is from Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's "Letters to Nobody," Sir Guy was finance Member of the Government of India, 1908-1913, having been specially sent out from England. Writing of his first Budget experience in the Imperial Legislative Council he makes a striking reference to Mr. Gokhale, which perhaps many have not seen. It is as follows:—

It was a wonderful chance for the Indian members of the Legislative Council to upset an inexperienced Minister, and I anticipated a trying time of it in debate. The one man I frankly feared was Gokhale, the Gladstone of India.

Accordingly I endeavoured to find out what Gokhale's line of attack would be. All and everyone told me that the attempt would be futile, and that any apparent frankness on Gokhale's part would only be a cloak to his real intentions. So I left him severely alone.

Imagining my surprise at receiving on the eve of the debate a letter from Gokhale, whom I did not even know, to the effect that as he had good reason to believe that I meant to do my utmost for the good of India, he had no desire to embarrass me, and that therefore he sent me the notes of the speech he proposed to make so that I should not be taken unawares.

I do not believe that such a generous attitude has ever been assumed by the Leader of the opposition in any other country in the world.

Here is another from Lord Ronaldsday's "Life of Curzon" which testifies to the same innate chivalry of Mr. Gokhale:—

As President of the National Congress at Benares in 1905, Mr. G. K. Gokhale indulged in "a passionate and acrid onslaught" on Lord Curzon and all his works. But six months later when Lord Curzon himself lay stricken with the pain of a great affliction, Mr. Gokhale wrote to him that the heart of all India would go out to him in profound and reverent sorrow. And he spoke in touching terms of the inevitable loneliness of "such rare spirits as your Lordship who live for lofty ends and make a religion of all their work."

Most of us know Lord Morley's estimate of Gokhale, "a Mahratta Brahmin from Bombay immensely interesting." "He has a politician's head; appreciates executive responsibility; has made no secret of his ultimate hope and design—India to be on the footing of a self-governing colony. I equally made no secret of my conviction, that for many a day to come—long beyond the short span of time that may be left to us—this was a mere dream." In reading Lord Morley's references to Gokhale I made a surprising discovery, Lord Minto, while he was in India publicly referred to Mr. Gokhale in such terms as have seldom been employed by Viceroys on Indian public men but in private he was writing to Lord Morley in a

different strain. "I rather smile at your warning," writes Lord Morley to Lord Minto, "not to take Gokhale and his letters to third persons too seriously or too literally." Lord Morley went on to say that having dealt with Parnell he knew how to deal with Gokhale and "others of the political breed." I have heard before in a vague way of high English officials making fun in private of Indians whom they profusely honoured in public but this dual attitude of a Viceroy who was known best before he came to India as a typical British sportsman came upon me as no doubt it will come upon you, with a shock. Indians too will do well to take Lord Minto's warning and not take the compliments of British Governors and Viceroys too seriously or too literally. But all this is past history though not without its implications for the present or the future.

#### MR. GOKHALE'S POLITICAL CREDO.

I now come to Mr. Gokhale's views on public questions which are naturally of more practical interest to us. Political and public life before Gokhale died was materially different from what they have since come to be. But the germs of nearly all the important subsequent developments had already begun to sprout and we are fortunate in having Mr. Gokhale's considered and almost prophetic pronouncements on nearly all of them. The first and most prominent though not necessarily the most serious question debated at the present day relates to the political goal of India—whether it should be Independence or Dominion Status. On that Mr. Gokhale has recorded his deliberate opinion in unmistakable terms. Speaking in Allahabad in February 1907 Mr. Gokhale said and the words are printed on the front page of Mr. Natesan's collection of Gokhale's speeches:

"I recognize no limits to my aspirations for our motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs. I want our men and women, without distinction of caste or creed, to have opportunities to grow to the full height of their stature, unhampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science and in arts. I want all this and feel at the same time that the whole of this aspiration can, in its essence and its reality, be realized within this Empire." In some of Mr. Gokhale's later speeches he has closely argued out this question and I would specially refer you to the speech in which this passage occurs on "the Work before us" delivered at a public meeting in Allahabad at which it is interesting to note the Chair was taken by Pandit Motilal Nehru. I wish to stress this matter because I feel that the case for Dominion Status is not being presented to our young men and women in its fullest and truest form. It is too often represented as a matter of practical though unpleasant necessity and even as a temporary makeshift. The late Mr. C. R. Das who was far

above the level of the carpet bag politician perceived the true spiritual superiority of the ideal of working out our destiny within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Gokhale too I think perceived it and I feel sure that if properly presented it will appeal to young minds by its power of idealism and attraction of disinterested service.

#### THE COMMUNAL QUESTION.

On the question of Hindu-Mahomedan relations Mr. Gokhale has likewise left behind for our guidance his method of solution. Mr. Gokhale visualised the problem as it should be done as relating not only to the Mahomedans but all important minority communities. There is a speech which he made at this very Deccan Sabha in Marathi in July 1909 on the Hindu-Mahomedan question and which is of great current importance. It is not necessary to make a long quotation here as Mr. Natesan's collection is easily available to the public. Mr. Gokhale was not against special separate electorates. He said on the other hand that he had all along been in favour of special separate electorates for important minorities but he wanted such electorates to provide not the whole of the representation to which the communities were entitled but only so much of it as was necessary to redress the deficiencies and inequalities of general elections; and he wanted the same treatment to be extended to other important minorities than Mahomedans where necessary. Mr. Gokhale mentioned in this speech that the Government of India's original proposals had been very much on these lines. This is confirmed by John Buchan in his "Lord Minto." "Minto," he writes, "desired to prevent the followers of Islam from becoming a rigid *enclave* divorced from the rest of Indian life." Both Gokhale and Mr. Buchan lay the blame for the scheme as it was actually adopted upon Lord Morley's ignorant meddling which conceded a point on which Morley would make no compromise. That was about excessive representation. Mr. Gokhale in his speech said:—

When anyone said that his community was important and should receive fair and adequate representation the claim was entitled to the sympathetic consideration of all. But when anyone urged that his community was specially important and should therefore receive representation in excess of its fair share, the undoubted and irresistible implication was that the other communities were comparatively inferior and should receive less than their fair share. That was a position to which naturally the other communities could not assent. British rule was based on equal treatment of all communities and the speaker trusted that the Government would never be so weak as to lean for support on any one community in particular.

Gokhale's trust was belied by the decision of Government but all the same it is impossible to deny the justice and equity of Gokhale's attitude. The decision in this matter changed the whole basis of British rule which, as Gokhale said, was the perfect equality of all subjects without distinction of caste or creed. It is worthy of note that it was

only after Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, who was also stoutly opposed to excessive representation, passed away from the scene that the so-called Lucknow Pact accepting and endorsing the principle of excessive representation was framed at the instance, of all men, of the late Mr. Tilak! While on the subject I would call attention to diverse meanings attached to the word community in connection with constitutional reform. Applied to the Europeans it refers to race. Applied to Indian Christians it is a combination of race and religion. In the case of Anglo-Indians the test is neither race nor religion but the intermingling of two races, the result of which is the absence of racial identity. With Mahomedans the difference is pure religion. It seems to me that the only correct meaning of the word community is neither race nor religion but the existence of special marriage laws. In this sense which, I repeat is the only true sense, every Hindu caste and sub-caste is a community, and the Hindus as a whole are an aggregate of communal minorities some of them much smaller than even the Parsees. If each of these Hindu minorities claimed representation for itself the result would be extremely interesting and it would tax the ingenuity of the promoters of the All-Minorities Conference to be shortly convened at Delhi to satisfy their demands. I seriously suggest that the Hindu castes and sub-castes should apply to the Committee of the All-Minorities Conference just formed, to admit their representatives to the Conference. Someone described Socialism as a state of society in which everyone took every other's wishing. The protection of minorities on the plan of the All-Minorities Conference means excessive representation to minorities at the expense of every other.

#### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND THE INDIAN STATES.

Mr. Gokhale felt deeply about the position of the "depressed" classes and called upon the higher castes to adopt every means in their power to promote their education and facilitate their admission to honourable employment as the most important means of elevating them in the social scale. He would surely have sympathised with their claim for fair representation in the Legislative and other Councils. As regards Indian States, Mr. Gokhale's attitude was one of complete abstinence. This seems to have been the result not merely of constitutional considerations but also of Mr. Gokhale's personal temperament. He once told me that he had made it a rule not to set foot in any Indian State and this feeling was somewhat aggravated when a late Dewan of Mysore issued an order prohibiting Mr. Srinivas Sastri from making a speech at a public meeting in Bangalore. The Dewan made one or two attempts afterwards to meet Mr. Gokhale and explain his position but Mr. Gokhale I think, did not countenance them. Another occasion in which Gokhale acted similarly was one in which I was myself an intermediary. Mr. Lovat Fraser, perhaps the most brilliant English Journalist who ever came

out to India, expressed to me when he retired from the *Times of India* a wish to see Mr. Gokhale. Fraser was a staunch supporter of the Curzon regime and had not spared Gokhale who was its most powerful critic. Fraser said to me "You know we are often ashamed to read in the morning what we dash off in the night" and that he would like to make up with Gokhale, for whom he had a sincere respect before he left India. I duly conveyed the message to Gokhale and his reply was characteristic. "I have no sort of dignity or sense of humiliation in approaching any Indian but as regards Englishmen," he said, "in the present circumstances of the country I must stand on my dignity. I will not call upon Mr. Lovat Fraser." The two men however met later in London and Gokhale told me that Fraser who was then influentially connected with the *London Times* and besides was in close touch with Lord Morley was extremely helpful to him in getting into touch with leading English publicists.

#### GOKHALE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION.

Mr. Gokhale visualised Indian Politics as the task of the educated classes who had on the one side the huge mass of ignorance and illiteracy of the people to redeem and on the other to obtain from an able and influential bureaucracy practical and substantial recognition of their right to direct the policies and shape the administration of the country. This is far from the idea of adult suffrage which has become a watch word during the last year or two. The sudden extension of the franchise in the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and the thrusting of a phantom principle of responsibility to the Legislature are responsible for the general lowering of the calibre of public men and the standards of public life which are visible at the present day. Mr. Gokhale's ideas are clearly set forth in his address on "the Work before us" to which I have already referred. Gokhale laid down two essential conditions of constitutional agitation—the methods adopted should be legitimate and the changes desired should be obtained only through the action of constituted authorities by bringing to bear on them the pressure of public opinion. Three things were excluded—namely, rebellion, aiding or abetting a foreign invasion, and resort to crime. He went on to say: "Roughly speaking, barring these three things, all else was constitutional. No doubt everything that was constitutional was not necessarily wise or expedient but that was a different matter. Prayers and appeals to justice lay at one end. Passive resistance, including even its extreme form of non-payment of taxes till redress was obtained, lay at the other end." This is how Mr. Gokhale conceived constitutional agitation and I like to lay special emphasis on it as I fear that Liberal leaders now-a-days are not always in touch with the first principles of the constitutional creed. A distinguished Liberal leader only the other day spoke of the attitude of Liberals as a constitutional party in case Government took repressive measures "in self-defence." That phrase jarred on me at sight and

on reflection I found the reason why it did. In the long ago when I played at being a law student, one of the few things that stuck in my head was that there can be no "act of State" as between a Government and its own subjects. The idea is that the state has no personality apart from its own subjects. When the Government of a state for the time being finds itself seriously differing from its subjects the constitutional theory is that it should give place to a more responsible Government and not that it should repress its subjects into acquiescence with its own policies. This seems to be an elementary principle which lies at the root of constitutionalism and the idea of Government doing anything in self-defence is totally incompatible with it.

#### THE LIBERALS' ROLE IN INDIAN POLITICS.

The scene comes vividly before my eyes of Gokhale with his arms protectingly circling Mr. Tilak's person from being hustled off the platform at the Surat Congress, when the persistence of the latter in holding up the proceedings, led to indignant demands to have him bodily removed from it. It was then that a Dakshini shoe, hustling over the heads of the pressmen, glanced at Sir Pherozshah's face. Whenever I think of the duty of Indian constitutionalists to extremists when they are subjected, it may be as a consequence of their opinions or even conduct, to a regime of repression, that scene at Surat comes to my mind. The Liberals if they are true to their names cannot tolerate any encroachment on the personal freedom of political propagandists so long as their propaganda does not include commission of or incitement to crime. Mr. Gokhale was very firm on this question and in one of his speeches in the Legislative Council he made a trenchant reply to Sir Harvey Adamson who had blamed the Liberals for not condemning the Extremists at public meetings. If you concede the right of self-defence to a Government, you cannot deny it to its people, and that, of course, means civil war. The immediate duty of the Liberals, to my mind, is to act as a reconciling influence between Government and the Gandhians, to exert their full influence on the former to hasten on with reforms and to bring pressure to bear on the latter to await the result of the Round Table Conference before launching into civil disobedience and other disruptive propaganda. Mr. Gandhi has virtually promised this in one of his articles in his *Young India* and however much we may differ from him, we cannot doubt that he will keep his word. Congressmen, after all, are nearer to the Liberals in spirit and aim, than the bureaucracy, and they would do well to bear in mind in dealing with Congressmen as political adversaries, that it will not be long, if their expectations materialise, before they will have to deal with them as political friends and colleagues in carrying on the great task of Indian Swaraj! If those expectations do not materialise—there will be an end to constitutional reform and reformers, and there is no need to forecast their future relations with the Independence school.

#### DIVORCE IN HINDUISM.

(By MR. BHAGAT RAM, FEROZPORE CANTONMENT.)

Hindu marriage is considered to be a sacrament in idea. But in practice, it is generally not so observed; for such a union can be put to an end at any time by the husband, but never by the wife. Thus the sacramental obligations whatever they are, are binding only upon the woman, while the husband remains free. Even educated men contract second marriages without the least compunction, deserting their first wives often on the flimsiest possible excuses, and without making any provision for the poor deserted or superseded wives and their children. Besides, the present Hindu law has nothing to say about unfaithfulness of the husband to his wife, even illicit relations with other women kept as prostitutes. In fact, only that can be a sacrament which binds equally both parties to the sacrament.

The result of such a partiality for men is that immediately upon marriage, the men more often than not abuse their powers and indulge in brutal behaviour towards their wives, well knowing that the wives (being entirely as they are at the mercy of men) can find little or no redress for such ill-treatment.

We often hear of cases where the wife has been shut inside a room as a prison during the hot season. We often see cases where parents of the girl have not been permitted to see her in the *Sûsrâl*. We are told of a case where the wife was compelled to sleep outside in the yard during a cold winter night without bedding. Similarly by other various means and neglect, men often make the discarded wives invalid or disfigured for life. The root of such persecution is often evil desire—desire for a new bride of fairer complexion, or desire for more dowry.

If the wife happens to be rather strong-willed, then other excuses are made for turning her out of the house. It may be that she has no children, or no son—only girl after girl. The husband and his relatives may complain that the parents at a certain time used abusive language, thus seeking any occasion for a quarrel. The result frequently is that after being stripped of her ornaments and most of her clothes, the poor wife is turned out to return to her parents, or shift as best she can. The case of gross cruelty recently brought to light by a correspondent in the *Young India*, as complaining of the heart-rending treatment his sister was receiving at the hands of her cruel-hearted husband is only one of the thousands of such instances of cruelty in Hinduism.

Thousands of Hindu women have been thus turned out by their callous-hearted husbands, and because of their poverty and helplessness cannot set up any claim by going to law for alimony. If by chance any was able to set up a claim by going to law for alimony then the *Sûsrâlwâlas* did not scruple to set afloat a rumour to the effect that

"this woman is of bad character, otherwise she had no business coming here to the Court against the husband—whether good, bad, or indifferent." Because of the disfavour of Hindu society at women appearing in courts, neighbour witnesses very rarely come forward to give evidence against men. Even the respectable neighbours who know the woman to be of good character and who could give evidence for her, often remain silent or say nothing except the usual remark—"She is his wife, it is none of our business to interfere."

Indian pleaders often take double fees from the woman, and then frequently do not give their hearts to such cases, feeling that somehow it is against their custom to work against the husband and for the wife. On the other hand, some unsolicited pleaders will be often found ready to help the man free of charge, simply for the good name of keeping up the absolute authority of a Hindu husband. In the face of such difficulties, it is no wonder that the woman finds it practically impossible to get justice for herself even from the law courts—especially where almost every person of an average Hindu mentality favours the man, and does not want the woman to bring such a case to the Court. Consequently even in cases in which the life of a Hindu wife is made intolerable by the brutality of the husband, and in which separation is the only remedy, she can hardly see any way of deliverance from the whirlpools of the Hindu Law.

Again think of those of the ill-treated, deserted and disappointed wives who seeing no where to go to, and being unable to make an honourable livelihood sometimes flood the houses of ill fame in the slums of cities. If these unfortunate women had the helping hand of divorce in intolerable cases, some of them could have entered anew into married life if they had so desired, and the others after securing divorce could have consecrated their lives to some noble cause of their interests.

While cases like these are found in every part of the country, still there arise priests and prophets who would flatter themselves by saying that everything is going smoothly. It may be all well for the sheltered people who are naturally not concerned about anything which does not immediately affect their own persons or property, and who being thus self-satisfied cannot picture to themselves the sorrows and sufferings of others. Hence they do not or may not often feel the necessity of this long-needed reform.

The husband having married a second wife may have deserted and neglected the first for a dozen years, the mutual affection or sympathy which was the cement of the union may have long ceased to exist, and both the parties may have also desired long for severance of the now nominal tie; but the moment the aggrieved, deserted woman tries to contract marriage with another Hindu, all the severity of the law comes forth upon her and her spouse with the criminal charge of adultery. To talk of Hindu marriage as a sacrament is like

compromising with double standards of morality, and keeping innocent women from gaining justice which is their just right. May we then in all seriousness ask, wherein lies the superiority of the Hindu Marriage?

Would it not be a point of justice and superiority, if in order to save thousands of such helpless souls a qualified divorce on the authority of Rishi Narad be opened? It now remains for the humanitarians to come and show the way for relief from these afflictions. The result would be good. There will be greater respect for each other's feelings, and thus greater harmony between the two. Domestic quarrels would be stopped. Cruelty would be lessened. The number of such extreme cases of divorce is very likely to be far less than the present percentage of deserted wives in Hinddism.

We believe that a qualified divorce is necessary to end the inferior complexity as well as the legal subjection of Hindu women. None of the dire results which are today being conjured up by our opponents have occurred in our Brahmō sect where dissolution of marriage in urgent cases is already in vogue. We also believe that even those who are today opposed to this long-needed reform will live to bless it as the most effective and the surest remedy to stop the misery, suffering, groaning and weeping which is now going on here and there over the present situation.

#### PRESS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The following is an address delivered in Japanese at the 3rd Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations by Dr. D. C. Wu, which we take from the *Pacific Affairs* :—

Nations are like individuals. To live a life all by one's self is impossible. This is especially true in these days of easy communication. Nations or countries formerly quite apart are now brought into close and constant contact and have to live like neighbors.

It needs scarcely be said that in these elbow-rubbing days, the well-being of one country depends in a large measure upon its relations with the surrounding countries. Indeed, the well-being of the whole world often hinges upon the relations of two particular countries.

We know from history that hitherto the relation among nations assumes one of two forms; peace or war. There has been no consistent policy. War might be declared upon one neighboring country and peace concluded with another. With reference to the same neighbouring country, war might be waged during one period, and peace concluded during another. The press, or indeed any other agent of publicity, has always been instrumental in bringing about either war or peace. The press, like the government under which it operated, had no consistent policy either.

But since 1918 the wind seems to have changed its direction. The Great War proved a lesson to

the belligerent as well as non-belligerent countries. They were brought to see that modern warfare is no solution of international problems, not even a method of redressing a country's grievances, or a means for making up a country's losses sustained in other ways. Before the modern tribunal of Mars, justice is accorded to none, but penalty and punishment to all who participate. They were brought to see, therefore, that international disputes must be settled, if settled at all, through peaceful and amicable means. The Kellogg Anti-war Pact is nothing but the culmination of this slow and painful process of realization as to the futility of war, to say nothing of its destructiveness.

But the anti-war pact will forever remain a pact on paper, if no effort is made to render it a living reality in the hearts of men. So to make it will necessarily call for the service of popular education. And certainly of all organs of popular education, none is more effective and far-reaching than the press, particularly the newspaper press. Were it only possible that the newspapers of all countries devote a few paragraphs, or even a few lines, to the cultivation of what might be called the anti-war sentiment, war would become obsolete in one or two generations. Such a sentiment, like patriotism, needs to be cultivated and kept vital. Just to raise a hue-and-cry against the spectre of war when it is already imminent is not only quite useless, but may precipitate disaster all the sooner.

The newspapers can do many things for popular education. Comparative studies in culture, recent progress in science, are certainly rich fields in which to labour. But for the present, certainly no field deserves more attention than the one of international ethics. The spirit that is embodied in the Anti-War Pact must be perpetually kept alive, and made to permeate the thoughts and feelings of all men. News and discussions on international affairs will not be wanting, but they must be presented in such a way as to engender the sense of justice, the desire to understand and the feeling of sympathy. When a newspaper man will have become at the same time an educator, and truthfulness and a keen sense of justice an integral part of his professional ethics, the world will then be on the way to a better social order.

I for one would be willing to commit myself to the task of educating the Chinese people to a sense of international equity and justice, to a love of peace and of peaceful settlement of international disputes. Indeed, for about a decade past I have been largely engaged in the work of the Ta Kung Pao, (called in French L'Impartial) a daily newspaper in Tientsin, the Kuo Wen Weekly, and the Kuo Wen News Agency, all of which are well known to my compatriots in the audience. I sincerely hope that the press in this country will join us in this common enterprise of a new type of popular education.

A word more before I leave the platform. The Japanese and Chinese, both being Oriental peoples,

are richly endowed with emotions. There is then the danger in the two peoples of letting these emotions play a much stronger role in our attitudes towards each other than our reason, whereas reason after all should be the supreme arbiter of our opinions, judgments and actions. And it is here that the press may contribute toward what I may call the rationalization of our emotions. I believe the duty of the journalists of the two countries lies in supplying to the public every morning or evening something that resembles a cold shower, a potion that cools our heads and makes us rational beings, but not heated draughts that intoxicate us and call forth the basest of human instincts. I believe I am not exaggerating if I say that the happiness of all the peoples lies in the hands of the pressmen.

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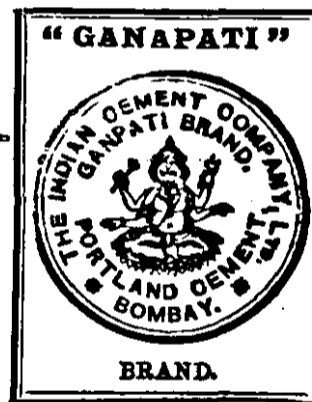
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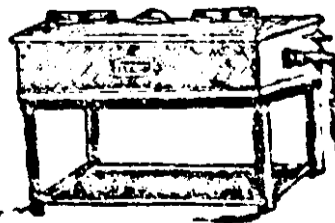
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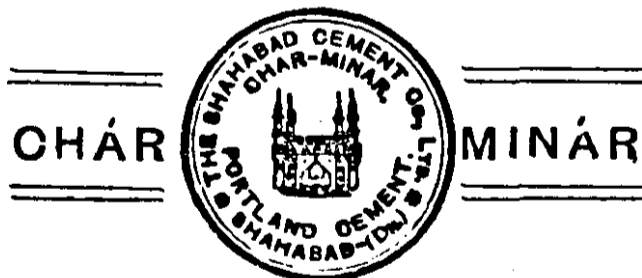
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### ANKLES PREFERED

6 Reels,

MADGE BELLAMY

Fox Picture.

Morning show at the Empress and Edward Theatres at 10 A.M.

THE

# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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No. 26

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Viceroy's Metaphor:**—There have been from time to time scandals connected with Indian States and their rulers. In some extreme cases, the Government of India have been obliged to take action and the Princes concerned have either been deposed or have "voluntarily" abdicated. Lord Irwin told the Chamber of Princes which met on Tuesday that this was done in their own interests. "One cracked bell in a peal of bells," said his Excellency, "can prejudice and often destroy the harmony of the whole. In these days of publicity the shortcomings of one unit in the body politic almost inevitably have the effect of prejudicing the reputation of all the other units composing that body." If ever there was a feeling that the Government of India intervened without adequate cause in the affairs of Indian rulers, it has now completely changed, and the complaint now, particularly of the people of the States themselves, is that the British Government does not afford them the protection from misgovernment to which they are entitled from it. There are some well-governed States which are exempt from this kind of criticism, but their number is not large. In all such States, the administration is well organised, there is no overlapping of functions, the dispensation of justice is beyond suspicion of Palace influence, and a clear line of demarcation is drawn between the finances of the State and those of the rulers. It is in the other States, and they are the majority, where these conditions either do not exist or are yet in a rudimentary stage, that scandals often arise and it is to be expected that sometimes they have but a slender basis in fact, and are exaggerated beyond reason by individuals who have personal grievances of their own. It is for this reason that many publicists in British India make it a rule to avoid as far as possible all reference to personally-governed States, though they may feel that they thereby deprive their aggrieved subjects of the only means of getting a hearing. When, however, they have before them a report vouched for by responsible public men like Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society, Mr. Lakhmidas Raoji Tairsee and others, who were members of

the Committee which investigated certain grave allegations against the Maharaja of Patiala, they cannot pass it by as of no account. The Committee admits that its enquiry had necessarily to be *ex parte*. This, of course, is a serious defect. But the Committee prints as appendices to its Report the documents and oral evidence on which its conclusions are based. The Committee demands that the Government of India should institute an independent enquiry, and we do not see how it can be refused. We do not wish to express any opinion on the allegations, but, whether Government enquire into them or not, the moral law is meant as much for Maharajas as for ordinary people, and it does not depend on human agency for its working. "The sword of heaven is not in haste to smite, nor yet doth linger." An enquiry is called for in the interests of the Maharaja himself, and we trust it will be granted at an early date.

**Spiritual Contribution Under Foreign Rule:**—We publish elsewhere a letter from Mr. Edwyn Bevan, author of "Thoughts on Indian Discontents" to which we made a reference in an editorial in the *Reformer* of January 11. A hasty perusal of Mr. Bevan's book showed us that his method was radically wrong and that it would do no good to attempt a fuller review of it. We picked out a passage which seemed to us to be typical of his line of approach to the Indian question. "It is not true to say" he says in his book "that a nation cannot make spiritual contribution to the world under foreign rule. The greatest spiritual contribution which the people of Israel made to the world was through Jesus Christ. And the contribution was made when the Jews were a subject people under a government as ungentle as that of Rome." He went on to say that Indians made the foreign rule an excuse for what is really a failure of power or will in themselves. We need not reproduce our comment on this statement. But we may say that if all that Mr. Bevan meant was that Roman rule did not prevent the people of Israel from producing Jesus Christ who proclaimed the Gospel of love, the statement was totally irrelevant either as an explanation of Indian discontent or as an explanation of British rule. As a statement of fact, too, it is wrong, because the people of Israel who crucified Jesus cannot obviously be given the credit of producing him. Judas Iscariot was also a Jew, and if the credit of Jesus belongs to that race the discredit of Judas also belongs to it and the two must be held to cancel each other. We join issue with Mr. Bevan on the underlying assumption that the political government of a country has necessarily no influence on its social and

spiritual development. The present political system in this country though it professes to be neutral, to all intents and purposes, is a force on the side of the *status quo*. The fact is so evident and has been so often pointed out by eminent reformers that it need not be enlarged upon on this occasion. From the social to the spiritual is but a short step. And we say that the spiritual evolution of the country is being deflected seriously from its normal lines by the pull of the administration, particularly since Lord Minto's reversal of the principle of non-communal citizenship laid down in the Queen's Proclamation, by the acceptance of religious belief as an essential consideration in the alignment of electorates.

**The All-India Women's Conference:**—In reply to some remarks in these columns deprecating its view of the Women's Conference held in Bombay last month as a failure, the *Subodh Patrika*, points out that some of the questions, which we had ourselves suggested for its consideration, did not find a place amongst the resolutions of the Conference. We presume that the Conference leaders must have had good reasons for not forcing to an issue questions which they found, were not sufficiently ripe for the Conference, as a body, to pronounce upon. The result of doing so would be to create a split which at the present stage of the Conference would be fatal. If so, it was wise to postpone consideration of such questions, and the leaders must be commended for their judgment. The *Subodh Patrika*, we had also said, did not appreciate at its true worth Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's presidential address. Our contemporary asks why we did not publish it at the same length as Lady Tata's address. The reason is that, in the first place, the President's address was not as long as Lady Tata's. It came at the end of a protracted programme, and was necessarily restricted by consideration of the lateness of the hour. In the next place, as we mentioned in an editorial, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's address was delivered extempore, and the reporters could not keep pace with her torrential flow of eloquence. The *Reformer's* report was the fullest we have seen. But even it omitted many points in the presidential address. The Women's movement is still in its infancy and what it needs now is helpful suggestion which, we are sure, the leaders will welcome.

**Mixed Marriages:**—The most common suggestion advanced on solving the communal problem is inter-marriage and we are not surprised to read that Malik Feroz Khan Noon is a staunch advocate of it. Mr. Khan Noon is the Minister for Local Self-Government in the Punjab and in a recent lecture at Lahore on 'Local Self-Government' he thought fit to expatiate on this topic. He is reported to have said that the system of separate electorates should be abolished and a condition of society must be effected in which each would consider the other as his brother. This desirable state of things in the opinion of the Honourable Malik can only come through 'legalised mixed marriages.' We are frankly at a loss to understand what this means but from the remark made later in the speech that Mr. Noon was aware these sentiments would be unpalatable to many and from the fact that isolated cases of mixed marriages already take place all over the country we think

the reader would be justified in concluding that this is the advocacy of wholesale mixed marriages for their own sake. It is rather strange to call this 'adapting society to modern conditions' and many of the younger generation to whom these remarks are particularly addressed, would sooner have separate electorates. If however Mr. Noon only means that society should adopt a more tolerant attitude to the intermarriages that take place we do not see how anyone can seriously object to this.

**Alcohol and Life Insurance:**—We have received from the World League against Alcoholism, London, an article with this heading by the Managing Director of an Insurance Company in Great Britain. Mr. William Bingham gives a history of the temperance movement in England and says that ninety years ago there was a general belief that the use of intoxicants in small quantities was conducive to vigour, health and long life, and frequently abstainers were severely criticised by members of the medical profession. In 1840 a young Quaker applied at an Insurance office and was told that as a result of his teetotalism he would have to pay an additional premium as the managers believed that the lives of abstainers would be shorter than those of users of alcohol. Now it is recognised that the total abstainer has the longer life. It took nearly three-quarters of a century for that illusion to die out. We wonder how long the other fallacy connected with alcohol, that the revenues of a nation of non-abstainers are better than those of an abstaining country, will live.

(Continued from the Leader page).

than Independence—it confers all the freedom of Independence and places upon it the seal and guarantee of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is not necessary, argues Mr. Acharya, to be within that Commonwealth to promote East and West harmony, and instances the case of Japan. But Japan was never a part of the Commonwealth, and need not enter it in order to help the cause. India, however, is in the Commonwealth and can do most for it not by breaking away from it but by exerting her influence in it to bring East and West nearer to each other. Mr. Acharya says that he can understand Dominion status as a political expedient, but to elevate it to the cultural domain is absurd. This is precisely where we differ from the Liberal and other politicians. As a mere political expedient, Independence is more intelligible and more inspiring. Foreign nations do not understand why we want to be a British Dominion. Young men and women who are attracted by an ideal which involves sacrifice rather than by safety even though it brings present comfort, despise it. To us, however, the working out of our destiny within the British Commonwealth, has a higher appeal. It means, to put it briefly, helping Great Britain and her group of daughter nations to become the great laboratory in which the problem of harmonising East and West will be solved for the benefit of humanity. This is a crude way of expressing it, but space is limited and we cannot develop our thought at greater length today.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 1, 1930.

### WHY DOMINION STATUS ?

It has now been settled that India is eventually to have Dominion status on equal terms with the other self-governing Dominions. The question is, when? There are British publicists who object to Dominion status being mentioned in connection with India, and there are Indian publicists who hold that Dominion status is not worth the having. It is a mistake to think that only Tory die-hards in Great Britain are opposed to Dominion status for India. Mr. Edwyn Bevan who is known as one of the friends of Indian nationalism, ridicules in his book "Thoughts on Indian Discontents", the idea of Indians being equal to the task of self-government within any calculable period of time. In the same way Indians who look down upon Dominion status, also claim to be friends of the British people, arguing that only as equals can the friendship between the two peoples become deep and enduring. These two sets of extreme thinkers may for our present purpose be regarded as out of the field. The question of time does not concern them. It is only those, Indians and Englishmen, who wish this country to become and remain a self-respecting part of the British Commonwealth, who are concerned in the question. Now, fair-minded Britishers must recognise that to expect Indians to be satisfied with a distant view of Dominion status, is to forget human nature. The late Mr. Montagu used some trenchant words to describe the hopelessly unprogressive character of the Government of India. His reforms have done something to put life into it, but they have also created new problems which unless promptly solved will leave the last state worse than the first. To expect Indians to put up with the hardships and anomalies of the present system in the hope of having self-government, say, a hundred years hence, can only be described as being either foolish or dishonest. On the other hand, it is quite obvious that the British control of India cannot be abruptly withdrawn, that there must be a transitional period between the introduction of self-government and its complete establishment in this country. If British and Indian Statesmen come to an agreement, first, that self-government should be immediately introduced, and, secondly, that it should be completely established within a reasonable period of years, all other details may be worked out by a joint Commission during this interval.

How can self-government be immediately "introduced"? The answer is simple. By amending the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, and making it clear beyond future misinterpretation that India shall have Dominion status

and nothing less. This, by itself, will not be enough. The Government of India must be made autonomous not only in name but in fact, especially in regard to fiscal policy, and the British Government must instruct the Governor-General that his duty is to look solely after India's interests from her national point of view. His Ministers must be selected from Indians of proved eminence and his personal staff must likewise consist largely of Indians. The idea that India is primarily a field of employment for Englishmen or market for British manufactures, must be given up, which, of course, does not mean that India will not employ Englishmen or purchase British goods of her own choice. We expect, on the contrary, that in both respects there will be an improvement and not falling off, and that, in a spirit of perfect goodwill. There are a score of ways in which it can be made manifest to India and the whole world, that a new chapter has been opened and that India is to all intents and purposes a self-governing unit of the British Commonwealth, though the details will take some time to be worked out. As for defence, a sort of Munroe doctrine declaring that any encroachment on India by a foreign nation will be regarded as an act of hostility to the British Commonwealth, or an agreement between the Powers to respect the independence of India, would give us sufficient time to organise our national defence. Where there is a will, there is a way. What is immediately necessary is that Britain should prove that she has the will and the wish to lead India by the shortest possible road to Dominion status. The question is quite capable and easy of solution provided it is taken out of the hands of politicians on both sides who mean one thing and say another into those of statesmen who think not only for today but for tomorrow and the days after tomorrow.

Mr. G. V. R. Acharya in a letter which we publish today points out that the harmonious evolution of Asia and Europe which, he agrees with us, is the best hope of the future, may as well, if not better, be advanced by the Independence than by the Dominion status scheme. He cites the case of Japan, Turkey and other countries. We welcome such a reasoned presentation of the objections to Dominion status, because we believe that the differences between those who stand for it and those who stand for Independence, can and must be settled by argument and not by brute force. Persecution of persons who advocate Dominion status is as useless for this purpose as prosecutions of those who advocate Independence. Coming to Mr. Acharya's letter, he has not in the first place correctly understood the implications of Dominion status. If he pays some little attention to the subject, he will find that it is not less but more

(Continued in the 2nd column of 2nd Notes Page)

## PROGRESS IN BARODA.

The administration reports of the Baroda State, one of the most progressive of Indian States, are generally of special interest and the report for the year 1928-1929 recently published is no exception. Specially noteworthy are the important steps taken in social reform and the efforts to banish illiteracy and promote education in the State during the year. The governments of many Indian states have for their ideal "benevolent despotism" and any reform in the laws or customs of the people generally proceeds from the rulers. To the extent the ruler is advanced and holds progressive views, the state benefits. Baroda State has been singularly fortunate in its ruler, His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gaikwad to whose zeal for social reform the State owes the Infant Marriage Prevention Act passed as early as 1904 when the social reform movement in India was still young. Owing to the fact that the measure had not succeeded in abolishing child marriages in the State, the Act was further amended last year so as to make marriages void in cases in which either of the contracting parties is less than eight years old on the day of marriage. It would at first sight appear that the age-limit eight years is too low when compared with fourteen fixed in the Sarda Act. But offences against the Sarda Act are only liable to fine or imprisonment, while the Baroda Amendment Act invalidates marriages performed in contravention of the Act. To mitigate the severity of the penalty the age-limit had to be set at the age in which marriages in the State take place generally. The Act empowers courts to grant exemptions permitting marriages of girls below the prescribed age in cases in which the interests of the girls themselves require such marriages to be effected. Unless this power is sparingly exercised by the courts it is bound to set at nought the main provision of the Act. It is hardly conceivable that "interests" of girls require that their marriages should be performed below the tender age of eight and expose them to all the attendant evils of child marriage. The parents who advance this plea should be made to realise that they are acting not *in* but *against* the interests of their girls. The inclusion of educated women on the Bench will be found of great help in deciding exemption cases. The Infant Marriage Amendment Act has also raised the age of marriage to twelve for girls and sixteen for boys. It is interesting to note that among the educated higher castes child marriage is seldom in vogue and the majority of the offences against the Act was among the ignorant and the illiterate.

As in social reform so in education, Baroda set the pace by the introduction of Free and compulsory education in the State in the year 1906 and since that time there has been rapid advancement in primary education. The total number of educational institutions in the State in the year under report was 2,848 showing a slight decrease over last

year's figures. The reduction was effected in the interests of efficiency in that some of the single teacher schools were amalgamated with important schools within a mile's distance from them. This has not materially affected the number of students studying in the institutions which is 2,20,561 and works out at about 13 and 7 per cents. for males and females respectively to the total population in the State. To eliminate wastage in the primary stage of education an investigation was conducted by the Commissioner of Education whose recommendations to stiffen up the provisions relating to compulsion and the improvement of machinery for enforcing it, to eliminate single-teacher schools and to effect improvement in the methods of recruiting and training teachers have succeeded in raising the standard of education in the State. The facilities afforded to teachers for training has resulted in raising the percentage of trained teachers to 61 to the total number of teachers in the State. Education in Baroda in all its stages has maintained a steady progress.

The advance in women's education is also marked. A new Girls' School was added to the existing number of schools to meet the increasing demand for higher education on the lines prescribed by the Karve's University for women. There are about 70,977 girls in 334 primary as well as mixed schools, about 500 in the secondary schools and eleven girls taking higher education in the Maharaja's College. Yet the only professional training open to them is that of qualifying themselves as teachers. Considering the great demand there is for nurses and health visitors, the State should make provision for medical training. An institution established on the lines of the Seva Sadan with a literary instruction section and another section providing medical training for nurses and health visitors will give a great impetus to women's advancement. It will also help to banish illiteracy among adult women who have not had the benefit of education in their younger days. It is satisfactory to note that physical culture is encouraged and the State spends large sums of money as grants to akhshas and gymkhanas.

His Highness the Maharaja has shown great solicitude and interest in the education of the depressed classes in the State. The number of separate schools for the depressed classes is 247 with 9269 pupils receiving instruction in them and there are many who are admitted in other schools. There are hostels for girls and boys which furnish board and lodging free. The depressed classes children are freely admitted to the Central Library to read books and papers. There are also depressed classes students undergoing training along with caste students in the Teachers' College. Special attention was devoted to rural welfare work in the State and a new Board was constituted last year for the purpose. The report records progress in all departments of the State.

## PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING.

(By Miss B. LUNDY, BROOKLYN, U. S. A.)

One of the vital factors in the development of public health today in the United States is the front rank position of the public health nurse. Some idea of her value to a community as a whole can be had from the following description by Dr. James Tobey.

"Public health nursing has as its object the saving of life, the upbuilding of family health, and the promotion of community sanitation and hygiene; it deals with individuals and families in its efforts to restore the sick to health, to find and correct physical impairments, and to teach the practice of healthful living and the establishment of hygienic habits."

How such objectives are being carried out is illustrated in the story of the development of a health program for community and industry in one of the southern states.

In 1916 a cotton mill in South Carolina hired a nurse for the mill. In 1930 they have a health center, centrally located in the town, with three nurses, a dentist and a doctor. There are ten available beds and ten children's cribs for hospital use, a good operating room and sterilizing plant. There are pleasant offices and waiting rooms for the doctor and dentist, treatment room and offices for the nurses, and a large sunny clinic and lecture room.

Every mill worker is given a free physical examination once a year and oftener if his condition seems to warrant it. Each new applicant for a job must have a physical examination before he is employed.

All the first aid work is done by the nurses and this service is free to employees. No charge is made for hospital care of employees but they pay their own doctor's bill and buy their own medicine. All the minor surgery is done at the center, but the major surgery cases are sent to the County Hospital.

The nurses visit in the village and give bedside care wherever it is needed. The first aid room is open all day long, and a nurse accompanies the doctor at all births. Three regular clinics are held each week, a baby clinic, a clinic for school children and a prenatal clinic.

Since there has been this well rounded health program there has been a great deal less sickness in the village and noticeably less contagious disease, and very little sickness among the babies. The prenatal work has been of untold value, and the instruction given the expectant mothers has been of wonderful help to them, both before and after the birth of the child.

The school children are sent from the school in groups accompanied by a teacher and are checked up as far as possible by the nurses. Any who need special attention are sent to the doctor who makes these examinations on clinic days free of charge.

The undernourished children are weighed regularly and special attention given to diet and correction of defects. The school and health center work together in trying to correct defects in children and in getting vaccinations completed.

Many special projects have been taken up in addition to the regular work. One of these was the preparation of pre-school children for school. At the end of the spring session the teachers made a survey of the village checking all children who would enter school for the first time in the fall. This list they sent in to the health center and the nurses visited the parents of these children urging that they have the children vaccinated and defects corrected before entering school. The result was that by the middle of the summer every child was vaccinated, several had tonsil operations and some had dental work done. This work continues in the fall when the children enter school so that as early as possible in the child's school life he or she may be free from as many handicaps as possible and enjoy full benefit of classroom work.

In addition to the above work several classes are taught each year at the center. There are classes in Home Hygiene and Care of the Sick, for girls and women and first aid for all the groups. The Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops received courses in junior first aid.

In addition to the cooperations between school and health center other organizations join in various health activities such as the Community Service Council, the churches, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, the County Home Demonstration Bureau, and State Board of Health.

## "THOUGHTS ON INDIAN DISCONTENTS."

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

You have done me the honour of noticing in your issue of January 11th a little book I recently put forth on present Indian discontents. I hope I am of teachable spirit and ready to receive correction where I can be shown to have misread the facts of a very complicated situation. Looking at the world as we do from different personal angles, perhaps none of us escapes misapprehensions altogether. But the only things you refute in connexion with my little book are things which are not in it at all; they are things which you affirm to be logically implicit in one particular statement. How they could possibly be inferred from that statement, passes my understanding, unless the laws of logical inference are wholly different at the longitude of Bombay and the longitude of Greenwich. The statement was that a nation is not necessarily prevented by the fact of foreign rule from making a great spiritual contribution, and I pointed to the contribution made by ancient Israel under the Romans, as an example. Surely no one who looks at the world can deny the truth of that statement, as it stands. What you combat is a wholly different proposition:—It is only



under foreign rule, or best under foreign rule, that a nation can make its spiritual contribution. This, you say, is absurd; and I altogether agree that it is. But to infer such an absurdity from my statement is to be guilty of the fallacy of which the stock example given in the text-book of formal logic I had to study in my youth was the taking of the proposition "Some swans are black" (which is true) to imply the proposition "No swans are not black" (which is false). That, I fancy, is a fallacy no less according to Gotama than according to Aristotle.

Nor, if one asserts that a nation sometimes makes a contribution under foreign rule, does one thereby assert that foreign rule is a help to a nation making its contribution. To point, as I did, to certain eminent Indians of our own day, born under British rule, is not to represent them as "products of British bureaucracy." Was Jesus Christ, because he appeared under Roman Rule, a product of Roman imperial bureaucracy?

But the statement that a nation can, even under foreign rule, sometimes, make a great spiritual contribution, although true in itself, might, I fully recognize, be given "unwholesome" application, if it were used as an argument for Indians today acquiescing in foreign rule. Does my book so apply it? Far from that, if I indicate where Indians have a free field of action and production under existing conditions, the whole point of the book is to express a hope that Indians will so use that field as to get rid of the limitations which at present circumscribe it, get rid of them in the only way in which I believe they can effectively be got rid of. You describe the gist of my book as being that "Indians have no reason to be discontented as their grievances are more or less of their own making." On the contrary, the book recognizes emphatically that every patriotic Indian ought to be discontented with things as they are. What it does is to suggest the line along which, as I believe, Indians could remove their grievances which *might be* of their own making. That is quite another thing, and, if true, is surely a cheerful consideration.

There may be many statements in my book which, as they stand (apart from the inferences which you think may be drawn from them) you hold to be untrue: very likely there are some which *are* untrue. The *Indian Social Reformer* is just one of the quarters to which I might have looked to set me right, where I am wrong, and frankly I am disappointed; it does not help much if only propositions are bowled over which I never dreamed of advancing, and regarding whose absurdity there is no disagreement between us. Both our peoples by the actions of former generations, through no fault of any one alive, are tangled up in this present business, and it is inevitable that Indians and Englishmen should both discuss what is now the best way to get along. It is only humanly natural that when we encounter statements we do not like we should become too irritated and impatient to apprehend clearly what the thing stated is and is

not. Yet surely, if some disagreements, even with the best will on both sides, may prove to be not immediately removable, we can at any rate, even now, try to envisage without distortion what the statements, which we do not agree with, mean. If ever a happy day is to come when between men of good will disagreements disappear, that is what we must do meanwhile to bring it nearer.

The Athenæum Club,  
London.  
5th February 1930.

Yours, etc.,  
EDWIN BEVAN.

(We refer to this letter in our editorial note.—Ed. I. S. R.)

### "THE BACKGROUND OF OUR POLITICS."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the Editorial of the 15th of this month you have sounded the right key for the failure of the civilisations of the East and the West. It is but right to say that the failure is due to the absence of a "catholicity of out-look." The lack of a comprehensive perspective certainly contributes to such a failure. You further deplore that the contact between the two cultures is "anti-pathetic" in India, in spite of the fact, that many European individuals are sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. It is very necessary that the East as well as the West should evolve out of this conflict a harmonious culture to the ever-lasting happiness of both. But to say that the back-ground of the politics of Dominion status (as the goal of India) is the attainment of this harmony betrays a confusion of thought. It is true that the contact with the West is necessary to arrive at this harmony. But I think it is not necessary that that contact should be of a political nature (as contemplated by Dominion status). Further, will India lose all contact with the West if she does not maintain a political relationship with England? Does the independence of India mean such severe isolation as to preclude all contact with the West? God forbid such independence. I think an independent India will be better equipped to associate voluntarily with the West to solve the problem of the conflict between Eastern and Western cultures.

Assuming for a moment that such a political contact is necessary for the solution of the problem one may ask why should it be with England only. Is it because that India has been benefitted by England from the last 200 years? I am not one of those who belittle the advantages of contact with the British. But it may fairly be asked does the achievements of the British in India entitle them to such an honour as India to voluntarily choose England only, as a partner to evolve the so-called harmony in cultures. It is perfectly true that the credit of bringing the principles of the 19th century civilization of Europe to India goes to the British. But this civilization which has been characterised by an author as a "belligerent, crusading, conquering, exploiting and proselytising

civilization" did more harm than good not only to Asia but also to England herself. A time has come today when England herself has got to take stock, of the principles which has guided her from the last two centuries and evolve a humane and a comprehensive culture. India will not be nearer to the solution of the problem by simply asserting her contact with the British Crown. Civilizations do not grow entirely on political contacts and the absence of such a contact does not deter a nation's growth in its attempt to evolve a "harmonious culture." It is the swaying power of ideas when understood with sympathy that contributes to the solution of the problem. Therefore the background of the politics of dominion status can not be the harmonisation of the cultures, East and West. The problem of the solution of the conflict between East and West is a world problem irrespective of the nature of the contact that subsists between the two. China, Turkey, Japan, even Russia are faced with the same problem. They do not solve it by joining the British Empire or maintaining a contact with Britain. The point that I wish to bring to your notice is that one can argue for Dominion Status from the standpoint of practical politics but to elevate the problem to the cultural domain and justify Dominion Status is illogical and unscientific. England would be contributing a lot to the solution of the world problem if she severs her political connection with India. It will speak of her broad-mindedness and magnanimity. It will be an epitome of her sincerity to establish peace on this earth. Just as nations have begun to realise the futility of wars, they have got to realise the baseness in holding another country in subjection by the force of arms. England's abandonment of the hold on India will be the brightest page in the book of International morality. :

Poona,  
17th February, 30.

Yours truly,  
G. V. R. ACHARYA.

#### STERILIZATION.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

A friend sent me a clipping of an extract from the speech of a Harvard professor, that reads as follows:—

When sterilization is considered, it is always easy for one to point out who should be sterilized. We all know the personalities about us who are objectionable, and we can quickly point out the stocks that should not reproduce. But sterilization is an operation that should not be allowed to proceed excepting in proper hands. It is an operation that should be permitted only through a court medically advised.

My friend wrote on this clipping: "An educated fool," surely a just characterization of a man so culpably stupid as to assert in a lecture to educated men, "we can quickly point out the stocks that

should not reproduce." Every person is objectionable to somebody or other, and we should have a nation of eunuchs if this professor's vagaries were to be adopted. As for "courts medically advised," we all know that "doctors disagree."

The very fact that "sterilization" is favored and advocated by men with such notions as this Harvard professor entertains, should make us suspect and condemn the obnoxious doctrine and practice of "sterilization." Luckily, Nature is the best "sterilizer," for she bestows few or no children upon many of these "honourable" and "high-class" professors, eugenists, and other "high-stock" gentry. Can it be that they speak through envy of more lowly-placed people who are more blessed with children than they are themselves?

Let the Harvard professor and others like him heed these words spoken to the hard-hearted Scrooge in Dickens' "Christmas Carol":

Will you decide what men shall die? It may be that in the sight of heaven you are more worthless and less fit to live than millions like this poor man's child. Oh, God! to hear the Insect on the leaf pronouncing on the too much life among his hungry brothers in the dust!

Coeur d'Alene,  
Idaho, U. S. A.,  
Jan. 9, 1930.

Yours, etc.,  
CHARLES HOOPER.

#### PROSTITUTION ACT, BOMBAY.

The Bombay Government Gazette, dated February 19, published the text of a Bill further to amend the Bombay Prostitution Prevention Act, 1923.

The statement of objects and reasons runs:—The objects of amendments are explained in the following notes on the clause of the Bill:—The present definition of "brothel" has been found to be defective. According to it a house, room or place could be a "brothel" only if outsiders are permitted by the occupiers to use it for the purposes of prostitution. The proposed amendment is intended to remove this defect. A place occupied by a woman who permits no other woman but herself to be there for immoral purposes but who herself is accustomed to receive men for such purposes, will not come within the proposed definition of "brothel."

The object of amending section 5 of the act is twofold:—Firstly under section 5 as it stands at present only males who are found to live on the earnings of prostitutes can be punished. The Bombay Prostitution Committee had recommended that the keeping of brothels whether by males or females, should be made illegal. Experience has also shown that although some brothels are really controlled by men, they are nominally kept by women and hence it was found difficult in practice to take any action against those brothel keepers. The principal aim, of the Act, which was to discourage by penalties, panders and all those who make or try to make a living out of the prostitution of others is thus defeated. Also there appears no strong reason why

women who live on the earnings of prostitutes should escape punishment. It is therefore proposed to add the words "of another person" after "prostitution" in section 5 (1) and to omit the word "male" so as to make the section applicable to persons of both sexes. Persons below the age of 16 years are excluded from the operation of this provision in accordance with the recommendation of the Prevention of Prostitution Committee 1929.

#### ENHANCE PUNISHMENT.

Secondly, it is proposed to enhance the punishment to three years so as to make the offence under section 5 cognisable and non-bailable. Under the law as it stands if the police find a pimp or a procurer who is living on the earnings of a prostitute, they can only proceed against him by summons. He is thus left free to terrorise the girls in the house who may probably be the only witnesses against him thus enabling him to break up all the evidence. It is, therefore, desirable that in such cases the police should have the power to arrest without warrant.

The amendment in clause (4) (b) (ii) of the Bill is proposed in order to make it clear that those who keep or manage or assist in the management of a brothel can be prosecuted under section 5 of the Act.

The object of inserting new sections 8B, 8C and 8D in the Act is to suppress brothels by penalising not only the brothel-keepers but also landlords who allow their premises to be used as brothels. Provision is however made to enable a landlord to determine the tenancy of a tenant who uses his premises as a brothel but at the same time the landlord is made liable for abatement if he fails to take action against his tenant. One of the main recommendations of the Bombay Prostitution Committee of 1921 was that the letting of houses for purposes of prostitution should be made illegal.

As the offences under section 5 to 8 mentioned in section 11 are all cognisable offences the police have power to arrest without warrant and to conduct the necessary investigation. Section 11 is therefore no longer necessary and it is proposed to repeal it.

#### CHILD MARRIAGE ACT IN BARODA.

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, writes a correspondent in the *Hindu*, have announced their decision in the latest issue of the *Adna Patrika* (the Government Gazette) dismissing the number of applications received from the 'Kudva Kanbi' community by His Highness and the Dewan Sahib praying for relief from the operation of the recently amended Child Marriage Prevention Act, in view of the peculiar marriage customs prevailing among their community. The applicants pointed out that the community had been exempted from the application of the Act since 1922 but when the Act was amended last year, the privileges enjoyed by the caste were withdrawn, while besides raising the minimum permissible age of marriage, the penalties in connection with the

violation of the Act were considerably stiffened by invalidating all marriages below the age of 8 and 6 for boys and girls and the parties responsible for all marriages below the age of 16 and 14 made punishable not only by fines but imprisonment. The application of the Act was therefore a great hardship to the community and they prayed for the continuance of the exemption enjoyed by them till last year.

In dismissing the application, the Government held that the community had not been granted exemption from the operation of the Sarda Act which would come into force shortly in the British territories, and there were no strong grounds for making an exception for the community to the general rule in the State also.

#### CUSTOMS OF THE KUDVA KANBI SECT.

The Kudva Kanbi community which forms a large part of the population of the State celebrate the marriages of their children at certain intervals of years "when their Goddess announces the dates to hold the ceremony" so that very often from two to three thousand marriages are performed in a single night. The result is that instead of waiting for a number of years, marriages are celebrated between children of one or two years of age. The practice is that the parents perform the ceremonies on behalf of their children—(a sight which will give an erroneous impression that the old couples were celebrating their wedding anniversary, while in reality their children are being married so to say, by proxy). If a suitable husband cannot be secured for a girl, she is married to a bunch of flowers which is afterwards thrown in a well or a river so that the girl who thereby becomes a widow can at any time be remarried according to the simple 'Nattrā' form. It is understood that the Goddess has spoken this year and as the date is approaching very near people are anxious to find a way out of the dilemma.

#### WORK OF THE MARRIED WOMAN.

The discussions on the very acute question of the work of married women which took place at the last meeting of the International Committee of Trade Union Women were based on a full report compiled by the Secretariat, which dealt very thoroughly with the various aspects of the question. We give below the substance of the report on the subject published in the December number of the *International Trade Union Movement*.

For years the heavy unemployment has turned public attention to the problem of married women's work. From various quarters attention has been emphatically called to the unfair division of work resulting from this condition: on the one side unemployed fathers of families, whose children are starving, and unemployed women and girls who have no one to depend on to support them; on the other, married women doing work which they do not actually need to do to earn their own living.

Without taking account of the wide scope and the manifold details of this problem, a cry was raised here and there for the prohibition of the work of the married woman in the factory.

It cannot be denied that vacancies are sometimes taken by married women who do not need to earn their own living. The Trade Union Movement cannot disregard the fact that in these circumstances there has been social injustice towards those who are suffering economic distress for lack of work, or who are delivered over to the tender mercies of poor law or other such authorities.

What standpoint must be taken in this question in view of the prevailing unemployment by the Trade Union Movement, which has always pleaded for the right of each man to work, for the equalisation of men and women in economic life, and for the right of every woman to determine her own place in society?

An attempt to answer this question leads inevitably to an enquiry into the causes of the married women's work and we must ascertain to what extent it is just to use the term "double subsistence" in such cases, and further, investigate the possible results of measures to put an end to clearly-proved cases of injustice in the distribution of work.

The consensus of opinion among competent persons and institutions as to the causes of the married women's work is that in most cases married women are driven by necessity to do work for wages, in which cases there can be no question of "double subsistence." This is the view held by Gertrud Hanna, the specialist in women's work of the German national trade union centre, Helene Buriaux of the Belgian national trade union centre, Julia Varley, specialist in women's work of the British trade union movement, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labour, Miss Anderson, American specialist in women's work (head of the Women's Bureau of the United States), and of the Bureau of Labour Statistics of the United States. We may quote here the very interesting results of an enquiry conducted by the last-named institution in the district of Binghamton, U. S. A., covering 12,000 families of wage-earners and salaried employees with low wages and salaries. In cities where the husbands' average earnings were equal to or fell only slightly below the average expenses 6 per cent. of the wives were at work. In cities where the husbands' average earnings fell below the average expenses by \$ 50 and under \$ 150, 9 per cent. of the wives were at work. In cities where the husbands' average earnings fell below the average expenses by \$ 150 and under \$ 250, 18 per cent. of the wives were at work. In cities where the husbands' average earnings fell below by as much as \$ 250 or \$ 300, 20 per cent. of the wives were at work."

In examining the question of the work of married women, the first point brought out is that a prohibition would be in direct contradiction to the principles

of the "free" trade union movement. Here we may quote the resolution passed at the International Trade Union Congress at Paris, in 1927, which runs as follows: "Economic and social progress necessitates in all countries a steady increase in the number of women working for wages. All efforts to exclude women from specific trade work are in contradiction to this line of development." Prohibition cannot as a rule be based on justice, for most married women are compelled by necessity to do work for wages. Nor can the family duties of the married woman ever give the trade union movement the right to bring her under exceptional rules, which would run counter to the principle of the equal status of the woman, which is now recognised by all parties. Moreover, prohibition could not be restricted either to married women or to women of any kind, but would have to be extended also to all men who cannot claim the aid of the public welfare system when they have no means of subsistence. Legal prohibition would have to contain so many exemptions that little would be left of the original law and its intention. Gertrud Hanna asserts that the best marriages are those in which both husband and wife work for wages. A prohibition of the work of married women would mean fewer marriages and more illegitimate children: frequently, it would mean that after marriage the woman would have to give up any further development of her personality. In conclusion, it is pointed out that after the War Germany tried the experiment, at the time of the demobilisation, of issuing orders that those who did not absolutely need to work should give up their places in favour of those who did. The experience was that legal measures were powerless: in numerous cases nothing was done towards obtaining work for the unemployed: the empty places were not filled, and the total unemployment figures were raised, for which reason the order was repealed in 1923.

We give below the standpoint of some of the trade union centres affiliated with the I. F. T. U. The Belgian trade union centre is of opinion that there can be no question of prohibiting the married woman from earning her living by her work. But although this is unthinkable, *it is desirable that the husband's wages should secure a decent standard of living for his family and enable his wife to give her whole time to her household work and to discharge as she should her duties as a wife and mother.*

A General Council Meeting of the German National Trade Union Centre passed a resolution dealing with this question. The Executive took the standpoint that in times of great and protracted unemployment *it is unavoidable that the principle established by the Constitution that everyone shall be guaranteed a right to work shall be limited in so far, that posts held by persons who are not absolutely obliged to earn money shall be relinquished to those unemployed who need to do wage work in order to earn their own living.* This principle must be

applied in such manner as to avoid cases of unjustified inhumanity. It is not the idea of the Executive of the National Centre to deprive married women of their posts either primarily, or exclusively. The fundamental right to work must not be infringed, especially by members of Trade Unions.

The Canadian Trade Unions do not regard the matter as an important one. It writes: "The tendency has been to discourage the employment of married women in industry unless there were specific circumstances demanding the same."

The Latvian National Trade Union Centre is in general of opinion that it would not be advisable to limit the right to work of the married women.

The Spanish Trade Union Centre takes the standpoint of the general principle of "equal pay for equal work."

At its meeting of the 1st and 2nd October, 1929, the International Committee of Trade Union Women of the I. F. T. U. defined its attitude to the work of the married women, taking the standpoint that special measures against the wage-work of the married women are unjust and contrary to the principles of the Labour Movement. It was further recognised, however, that there might be cases in which trade unions, in cases of mass unemployment, are compelled to take measures to give the preference to persons in financial need rather than to persons who are in easy circumstances. *The Guardian, Calcutta.*

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**A Royal Dowry:**—The world has been interested in the royal wedding in Rome. We believe the bride to be a charming and gracious lady and that the Prince is brave. We wish them long life and happiness. Being a Crown Prince is not what it used to be in Europe. And if long life is their portion it is quite probable that their happiness will have to come from a very depleted royal status. But if reports are to be believed their happiness will not have to depend upon a depleted personal fortune. Princess Marie Jose is said to have brought from Belgium 150 million francs, which added to the Prince's private and public income, makes them one of the richest royal couples in Europe. They will live in one of the largest castles in the world. With Europe on the verge of bankruptcy as the outcome of a war engineered from the palaces, with taxes that touch every phase of life, we wonder how the rate payers feel when they read of such wealth securely possessed by those who are their rulers only in name. It was only a few years ago that subscription lists were being circulated in England and America to raise funds to feed the starving women and children of Belgium. These funds came largely from those who had little money but who could not shut their ears to the appeal. Where were the 150 million francs then? We fancy the world would take a different interest in this royal wedding had the King of Belgium been able to say to Italy's King: "The 150 million francs that might have been my daughter's dowry were used to feed Belgium's starving millions and build again the homes shattered by the War." *The Indian Witness.*

**Maratha Scholars Honoured:**—At a special darbar held at Baroda by the Gaekwar on February 14, Mr. R. B. G. V. Vaidya and Mr. Damodar S. Yande formerly proprietor of the Shree Sayaji Vijaya, were presented with medals of merit for their long and invaluable services in the cause of Marathi literature. His Highness expressed appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. Vaidya in the field of historical research, particularly referring to Mr. Vaidya's history of medieval India. Paying a tribute to Mr. Yande's literary work the Maharaja said that had it not been for his public spirit and enterprise many works expressive of the best elements of Marathi thought, which are read to-day with admiration and profit by the Marathi speaking world, would not now be available to convey their special message to an increasingly wide circle of readers.

**Franchise to Ceylon Women:**—The London correspondent of "The Ceylon Morning Leader" telegraphs to his paper of the 10th instant the following message from Miss Isabel MacDonald, daughter of the Prime Minister:—"I congratulate the women of Ceylon on having obtained the Franchise. It is a great step forward and opens up opportunities for great achievements. I feel sure, that with their co-operation the aspect of Government in the country will be broader than it has been in the past. I hope, that when they find their feet, they will take up responsible positions in the governing bodies of the Island. I am particularly anxious to see how they stand for the health and education of the children, because no country should be afraid of enlightenment, and should not allow its citizens to grow up without proper opportunities for health and education."

**All Asia Educational Conference:**—The All Asia Educational Conference will be held under the patronage of the World Federation of Educational Associations on the 26th—30th December, 1930, in the compound of the Hindu University at Benares. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Pandit Ram Narain Misra (the Head Master, Central Hindu High School, Benares) is the Secretary. The Conference will be divided into a number of groups dealing with Health, Illiteracy, Adult Education, Library Service, Moral and Religious Education, Paternal Co-operation, Teachers' Training, and the problems of Primary, Secondary and University Education. It will hold an All India Educational Exhibition and will arrange for a number of public lectures. It is expected that Dr. Rahindra Nath Tagore will deliver the Inaugural Address and that His Highness the Maharaja of Benares will open the Exhibition. Educationists of all types connected with Primary, Secondary and University Education or with Educational Administration in British India and Indian States, may become members of the Reception Committee by paying a fee of Rs. 2 only. The All India Federation of Teachers' Association appeals to all those who are interested in education to join the Reception Committee in large numbers and thus make the Conference an unprecedented success. All enquires should be addressed to, Pandit Ram Narain Misra, Head Master, Central Hindu High School, Benares.

**Journalists and "Privilege":**—Mr. Pirow, the Minister of Justice, speaking at Potechefstroom, referred to the case of a reporter, Mr. Louw, who had refused to divulge to the police confidential information about an

illegal lottery, which was the subject of an article he wrote in the *Rand Daily Mail*. Mr. Louw was recently convicted under the Police Administration Act, but sentence was suspended pending a possible appeal. Mr. Pirow said journalists were often entrusted with confidences and where these were within the law it might reasonably be claimed that they were sacrosanct. There was, however, a very clear difference between a confidence of this description and a confidence in which a crime or a breach of the law was involved. A journalist was as amenable to the laws of the land as any other citizen. There could thus be no standard of journalistic honour which made it necessary for a journalist to refuse to assist the properly constituted authorities of his country in maintaining the law of the land. He thought that public opinion would not tolerate the kind of privilege that Mr. Louw claimed, but it was possible that an exception might be made in cases where a journalist pledged himself in connexion with a matter which was not illegal. Should journalists seek privileges similar to those enjoyed by lawyers, such an attitude might well be endorsed by public opinion, and even find a majority in the House of Assembly. The difficulties in this connection did not appear to him insuperable. The Transvaal branch of the South African Society of Journalists decided that no appeal would be entered in behalf of Mr. Louw, of the staff of the *Rand Daily Mail*, who was sentenced to eight days' imprisonment for refusing to divulge special information regarding an illegal lottery. It was stated that counsel had been consulted, who advised the committee that there were no grounds for an appeal.

**Gujerati Women's Education:**—Under the auspices of the Gujerati Hindu Stree Mandal the opening ceremony of the "Stree Vidyalaya" (Women's School) was performed by Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai on Saturday evening at Girgaum Back Road, Bombay. The School has at present started a three years' course for the benefit of those Gujerati women, above the age of twelve, who being occupied with domestic work are unable to attend whole-day schools. Lady Laxmidas Jagmohandas, President of the Gujerati Stree Mandal, Miss Dahibai Desai, Mr. Nagindas Master and Mr. Ralchura addressed the audience on the subject of women's education.

**Government And Broadcasting:**—The Standing Finance Committee approved of the proposal of the Government of India to acquire the Broadcasting Company for a minimum period of two years. Nawab Ismail was the only dissident. The annual recurring expenditure is estimated at Rs. 2,67,000. The net charge against revenue is Rs. 1,41,000. As a result of the decision the Government is immediately taking over the broadcasting stations at Calcutta and Bombay and will run them as required by commercial interests and as represented by leaders and deputy leaders of the principal parties in the Assembly without any interruption of the service. Government will be aided in the management of this service by an advisory committee consisting of two members of the Assembly and two businessmen of Calcutta and Bombay presided over by the Government Member in charge of Industries and Labour.

**Preparation For All Parties Conference:**—The informal conference of leaders, convened by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to discuss mainly the communal question in its relations to the constitutional problem as a preliminary to the holding of the All-Parties Conference

next month, met to-day at Birla House. Sir A. P. Patro, Chairman of the Madras Provincial Committee, which co-operated with the Simon Commission, was voted to the Chair. The Press has been excluded and the Conference has decided to issue its own "communiqué." Those present were Mrs. Basant, Mr. Jinnah, the Maharaja of Mahumudabad, Sir Ali Imam, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Mr. Mahomed Ali Sir Mahomed Shaffi, Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan, Moulvi Yakub Hasan, Sir Muzam Ullah Khan, Pandit Malaviya, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir O. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Sir Parshottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Jayakar, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Kelkar, Mr. Gokulchand Narang, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Hari Hingh Gour, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sardar Shivedev Singh, Col. Gidney, Rai Bahadur Ralliam, Raja Sir Daljit Singh, Mr. K. O. Roy, Raja Ghaznafarali, Dr. Shafat Ahmed Khan, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Sir Abdul Qayum, Pandit Kunzru, Pandit Nanakchand (Panjab), the Raja of Kollengode, Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri, the Raja Sahib of Tervi, Rev. Mr. Chatterji, M.L.A., Mr. Sriram (Madras), Mr. Jagat Narainlal (Patna), Pandit Devaratna Sharma, (Secretary of the Hindu Sabha), Mr. Liaqat Ali, Mr. Mahomed Jamal (Madras), Mr. Muhammad Hussain, (Jaunpur), Mr. Ujjal Singh, Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhry, Mr. Fazal Rahimtullah, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, Sardar Gulab Singh, Mr. Shafi Daudi, Mr. Badiuz Zaman, Mr. Umanath Bali, Mr. A. N. Attal. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was present on special invitation, as she had taken throughout a leading part in the solution of communal questions.

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No. 27

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Mahatmaj's Letter To The Viceroy:—**  
The next paragraph was written on Thursday morning and was in type when the same evening Mahatma Gandhi's letter was released for publication:—We reprint the letter in another part of this issue. We have preferred to keep what we wrote on Thursday, as it represents a view which was formed by a sympathetic friend in anticipation of the contents of the letter. The text of the letter shows that in one important respect, we made a mistake. We expected that Mahatmaj will not ignore the official position of the Viceroy and the procedure which it imposes on him. Even if Lord Irwin agreed with every one of Mahatmaj's eleven points, it is quite impossible for him to give "substantial" effect to them as Mahatma Gandhi wants him to do, without much consultation and discussion with authorities in England and India. We are surprised that Mahatmaj should appear completely to overlook this very palpable fact. Then, too, the language of the letter suggests that the writer, not finding sufficient impetus in a reasoned statement of his views, makes use of strong words which serve no purpose except that of lashing himself into a fury of indignation which enables him to escape from practical issues involved in his letter. The British system of rule in this country has outlived its beneficent possibilities and lies now like a deadweight on the people, with repression for its sole instrument. Its fiscal policy in particular since 1875 has been one of increasing exploitation of the resources of the country with just sufficient consideration for the people to keep them going as tax-producing units. The lofty intentions of the founders of the British Indian Empire have evaporated under the scorching sun of latter-day Imperialism. Mahatma Gandhi's letter inasmuch as it calls world-wide attention to this fact, is a distinct service to England no less than to India. For all that, we cannot accept his definition of British rule as a "curse" because in any candid estimate of the sum-total of its results it must be admitted that much good has to be credited to it side by side with its defects. Professor S. Radhakrishnan in his address to the Indian students in London last week stated the gains from British rule in terms

which are both just and accurate. He believed that when the dust and din of controversy were over it would be put down to the credit of Great Britain that she administered the affairs of a great and diversified people, had evoked a sense of proud self-respect and had made them conscious of the humiliation of being a subject nation. When the final stock-taking took place it would be recognised that India's greatest gain from her association with England was the love of liberty, not in the political realm alone, which she had instilled into the minds of the people. These are important gains, and to describe the source and inspiration from which they have come, as a "curse" is an unwonted lapse into the rhetoric of invective for Mahatma Gandhi. People are asking what chances are there of the success of Mahatmaj's plan? Success and failure have only a relative significance in history. That the particular measures which Mahatmaj has devised, will not succeed, is pretty clear. But it is equally clear that the great underlying purpose of the demonstration, namely, focussing the world's attention on the poverty of the Indian masses, their ignorance and their helplessness under British rule, will succeed, indeed, it has already succeeded, to an extent never before thought possible. It is the fate of reformers always to be frustrated in their immediate plans. But their reforms survive and become incorporated in the texture of the human mind for all time.

**An Anticipation:—**On Monday, Mahatma Gandhi sent by the hand of Mr. Reginald Reynolds, a young Englishman who became an inmate of the Sabarmati Ashram last October, a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy at Delhi. The letter was delivered on Tuesday to the Private Secretary. Its contents are kept secret for the time being, at the time of writing. It is understood, however, that the Viceroy has been informed that Mahatma Gandhi will wait eight days for a reply and if by that time none is forthcoming, or if it is a blank negative, he will himself lead a march on foot to offer civil disobedience to, it is believed, the salt monopoly of Government. The object in selecting an Englishman to deliver the letter was, no doubt, to demonstrate that the movement led by Mahatmaj is not directed against the British people, that there is no racial element in it. When Mahatmaj published his article in *Young India* offering to suspend or give up civil disobedience if certain reforms—eleven in number—were taken in hand, we strongly hoped that the Viceroy will not ignore the proffered opening for further communication.

His Excellency not having done so, Mahatmaji, following his usual practice, has himself taken a further step to call the Viceroy's attention to his contemplated proceedings. If Lord Irwin has understood Mahatmaji, how really anxious he is to befriend the British connection, and how he is being forced, as the only means of preventing a physical force movement of which there are ominous signs from raising its sinister head in Indian politics, to adopt his present policy His Excellency will respond to the letter in a sympathetic manner which will enable Mahatmaji to feel justified in opening further negotiations. We most earnestly hope that Lord Irwin, who is one of the finest spirits in the public life of Great Britain, will be guided to do so. As we have said before, Mahatma Gandhi knows full well that the eleven important questions he has raised, cannot be decided by a stroke of Lord Irwin's pen, and that they will require time and thought to be settled in a manner which will cause the least dislocation to the general administration. The Viceroy's position and the prestige of Government deserve consideration, but so do the authority and obligations of the leader of a national movement who has to take with him the mass of his followers at varying stages of political education.

**Dominion Status Conference:**—Commencing from the 20th February meetings were held at Delhi of representatives of parties other than the National Congress with a view to arriving at an agreed scheme for presentation at the proposed Round Table Conference between India's representatives and the British Government. Except for the small but influential Liberal group, nearly all the other members represented communal organisations whose primary interest is to secure the maximum concessions for their own constituents. This was the rock on which the Nehru Committee's labours was shattered. The present Conference is a reproduction of the All Parties Conference which appointed the Nehru Committee, with the National Congress left out. As against this defection, the Conference has the advantage of the Viceroy's statement declaring that Dominion status is the definite goal of Indian constitutional reform, and inviting Indian representatives to confer with His Majesty's Government about the next step in Indian constitutional reform with that definite assurance in view. Notwithstanding Lord Irwin's belated explanation that he did not mean that Dominion status was in the region of practical politics, Indian politicians are completely agreed that there can only be a short transitional stage to full Dominion status, which must be in the nature of a preparation for and progress to it without any further impediment. On the assumption that the British Government will raise no objection in principle to this condition, the Conference was called to consider the nature and extent of the safeguards for the protection of minority interests in the future constitution. Owing to the intervention of the Budget discussion in the Legislative Assembly, the committee appointed by the Conference to consider detailed proposals, had to be adjourned till the end of the month. Meanwhile, Sir Parasuram Patro who presided, has issued a statement to the Press of the proceeding so far, which is encouraging.

**Imperial Preference:**—Faced with a deficit of five crores of rupees in the Budget for the next year, the Finance Minister of the Government of India has proposed some increases of taxation, prominent amongst which is the raising of the revenue duty on imported cotton goods from 11 to 15 per cent, and a special protective duty on non-British goods of 5 per cent. over and above the revenue duty. The Government of India wished to levy the special duty on British goods also, but the British Government made strong representations and in deference to them, it has exempted British goods in its proposals. In doing so, the Indian Government expressly made it clear that the principle of Imperial Preference was not in issue and that it could not ask the Legislative Assembly, which has repeatedly refused to accept that principle, to accept it now. The Indian, especially the Bombay mills, were immediately suffering most from the competition of Japanese goods, and it was solely with a view to protect them from it that the special duty was being proposed. The Bombay mill-owners agree that the increase in the revenue duty with the additional special duty on non-British, mostly Japanese, imports, will give them the much needed protection and they are apprehensive of the Legislature throwing out the special duty on the ground of its involving Imperial Preference. An adequate duty on all imported cotton goods irrespective of the place of origin which compete with Indian goods in the Indian market, seems to be the obvious and simple means of helping the Indian industry if that is the main purpose in view. The present proposal has the appearance of taking advantage of India's necessity to exact a concession for the British manufacturer. In the beginning of the century, when Imperial Preference was first mooted, it was pointed out that the British Government cannot accept any preferential treatment in the face of the treaties with Japan and other foreign countries. This was before the War, when Dominion status was a rudimentary matter. The Dominions now are independent States with the power of entering into diplomatic relations with foreign countries. They can make their own arrangements without involving the British Government. India in some external matters is on a par with the Dominions, and it is to be presumed that if the Indian Legislature sanctions preference, the British Government will not decline it, though the present Government is, on principle, opposed to any kind of Imperial Preference. It may be added that British imports of iron and steel already enjoy a preference in the Indian tariff, so that the proposed special duty will not be altogether an innovation. India, while being opposed in principle, is obliged to concede in detail, preference to British manufacturers.

*(Continued from the Leader page).*

flush of their triumph. It may mean the disappearance of the present form of temple worship and perhaps it may prove to be the salvation of the Hindu religion. We must say, however, that we should like the reform of temple worship to come from spiritual influences than as the result of what is really an assertion of an equal right conceived in the spirit of politics.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 8, 1930.

## ANTYAJAS AND TEMPLE ENTRY.

After a period of quiescence, attempts have been revived last week to force an entry into Hindu temples by antyajias. This time the venue is in Nasik one of the most ancient of Hindu places of pilgrimage, and a stronghold of orthodoxy next only in importance to Benares. The attempt to enter the Parvati temple in Poona, did not succeed. In Bombay, the big temples are owned and managed by private trustees who pleaded that the terms of their trust prevented their acceding to the request of the antyaja leaders and suggested that the latter should move the High Court to vary those terms so as to allow of the admission of antyajias on the same footing as other Hindus. We see that the Nasik temples also allege the same difficulty, and we expect that the result of the attempts there will be the same. In theory every one admits that all Hindus must have the same right of entry into temples as every one admits that all Christians must have the same freedom to worship in the churches. Just as, however, in parts of the United States and in South Africa, Negroes are not allowed to worship in the churches of white men, in India the antyajias are not allowed to worship in the temples of the higher castes. As the white man is the ruling race in the United States and South Africa, the black man has built separate churches for his people, realising the futility of trying to force himself into the white man's churches. The high caste Hindus are, however, a subject people as much as the antyajias and the British Government look on while the two parties fight it out, interfering only when there is a breach of the public peace. It is worth noting that since the abortive attempt at the temple at Vykam in Travancore, there has been no instance of a trouble of this kind in any Indian State.

The Government of Bombay recently appointed a Committee to enquire into the disabilities of the antyajias in the Presidency including Sind. One of the members of the Committee, Brigadier Dayasagar of the Salvation Army, told us the other day that what surprised him most was that nowhere was there any sign of the antyajias trying to pass themselves off as caste Hindus, as the paler sort of Anglo-Indians try to pass for Europeans. The fact is that the caste system is so ingeniously planned that until political ideas broke upon it, every caste, including the lowest, felt a pride in itself and never coveted a position in any other caste. Panchamas would suspect the motives of a Brahmin who was found in their part of the village and resent his presence as much as the Brahmins would if they found Panchamas trespassing in

their locality. Their exclusion from Hindu temples was not felt by them as a hardship as they had their own village shrines at which they worshipped in their own way. When a spiritual genius arose, as was not seldom the case, among the antyajias, a special dispensation was made on his behalf. A typical instance of this is the *dwaja stambha* or flag staff which is usually in a straight line with the image in the central shrine facing the gate-way but which in Chidambaram is slightly removed to one side, removed, it is said, by a miracle in order to enable the antyaja saint, Nanda, to have a view of the Deity from outside the temple which, as a Panchama, it was not permitted to him to enter. Even caste Hindus, in certain circumstances, cannot enter temples and no one in his senses thinks of forcing an entry. Mahatma Gandhi when he visited Travancore, was prevented from entering the great temple at Cape Comorin, as he was a foreign-travelled man. He gracefully submitted, though he knew well that there was more spirituality in him than in all the temple pujaris put together.

Temple worship is really not an integral part of Hinduism. It is an excrescence on it, dating from the decline of Buddhism in imitation of the shrines of that faith. If the antyaja leaders who are promoting the present movement are really inspired by religious enthusiasm, the traditional Indian way is for them to found, as the Ezhavas and Thiyyas have done in Malabar, their own temples with pujaris of their own castes. Their exclusion from temples is against the essential principles of Hinduism, as the exclusion of Negroes from Churches is against the essential principles of Christianity. Those who persist in preventing their entry are merely following an established custom with scant consideration for the fundamental principles of their religion. The wise man, says the *Gita*, looks with an equal eye on the panchama and the Brahmin. It is degrading the Hindu religion to exclude any one who professes to follow it from the benefits of worship in temples. We utterly condemn the attitude of the temple worshippers who present an uncompromising opposition to the entry of antyajias. At the same time, however, we cannot think that the movement to force an entry into temples, notwithstanding its non-violent character, is either the best or most dignified method of vindicating the zeal of antyajias for the Hindu religion. If they do succeed in forcing their way into some temples, we are practically certain that these will be deserted by their present worshippers, and as the antyajias have no tradition of worship, they too will cease to go to them after the first

(Continued in the 2nd column of 2nd Note Page)

THE HINDU GAINS OF LEARNING  
BILL.\*

(By Mr. M. R. JAYAKAR).

The Bill before the House is nothing very new in principle. It is a repetition of a measure which was introduced and passed in the Madras Legislative Council nearly forty years ago. It was then introduced by a very distinguished member of the legal profession, the late Sir V. Bhashyam Iyenger, and had received a certain amount of public support. Later on Government discovered that there were certain objections to that Bill and that Public sentiment was not ripe for its acceptance. On that ground mainly the Bill was scotched. That was forty years ago, and I submit that public sentiment in this matter has progressed during the forty years, so that it cannot be said now that this Bill is in advance of public sentiment. Stating the principle quite briefly—and I am purposely getting rid of all technical legal language—I may say that the Bill applies to Hindu joint families and its effect will be that the earnings of members of a Hindu joint family which are the result of any special education received while they are members of the joint family and which are now regarded as earnings of the joint family will be regarded as the earnings of the member who makes them.

OBJECTS OF THE BILL.

My principal object in introducing this measure is this that I intend it to be one of those remedial measures which I have in view, the object of which is to improve the status and general condition of the dependent female members of a joint Hindu family. This is the main object of my measure, and, if passed, it will mean that, if a member of a joint Hindu family dies leaving his own acquisitions, they will pass to his own heirs, his widow or daughter. Supposing he was a member of the Bar or in Government service, or worked in some such capacity, and he earned money with the aid of his own brains, and supposing he dies leaving a widow or a daughter—not a male child—then under the present law, his widow and daughter get only very meagre and limited rights, namely, the widow gets maintenance and residence, the daughter only gets a provision for her marriage, if she is unmarried at his death. But the entire bulk of his property passed to other members of the joint family. I submit, Sir, from my knowledge of the working of this rule of the Hindu law that it is an extremely unjust principle, especially so, in modern days when the disintegration of the family is taking place very rapidly, and new methods of making acquisitions are now coming into vogue. This law might at one time have been sound when individual enterprise and new methods of making acquisitions were

unknown to society. But with the growth of individualism and new methods of making acquisitions, I submit, Sir, the time has arrived when the women of the family, namely, the widow and the daughter of the acquirer should be particularly protected.

UNCERTAINTY OF THE PRESENT LAW.

The second reason why I am anxious that this measure should go through is—and all lawyers will appreciate my point of view—that the present law causes considerable uncertainty and consequent litigation. I shall just explain to the House how this is caused. The old law was absolutely clear. I do not wish to weary the House by going into ancient rules, but the old Hindu law was perfectly clear. Again I do not wish to confuse matters by quoting authorities; they are mentioned in my Statement of Objects and Reasons. I say that the old law was perfectly clear, namely, that a man's earnings made by his learning while a member of a joint family, all that he earned with the aid of his own brain and intellectual powers was regarded as his personal property. I have given references in my Statement of Objects and Reasons to Sanskrit writers like Manu and others. That was the old law with the one exception of a *rishi* called Katyayana. All these lawgivers in ancient times combined to lay considerable premium upon the power of initiative and declared that all that a member earned by his own intellectual powers should be regarded as his own self-acquisition which passed to his widow and to his daughter. Then came the intermediate stage with which we are concerned,—the stage of adjudication by British Indian Courts, the result of which has been to confuse the law. The law as it stands now—Honourable Members will be surprised if I state the law as it stands—is that if a member of a joint family—whom I shall in the course of my speech call a "co-parcener"—if a co-parcener earns something which is the result of his *general* education as against *special* education, though given at the expense of the family, it is his self-acquired property; but all that he earns as a result of his special education, whatever that term may mean, which qualifies him for a profession or an avenue of employment in life, becomes joint family property, if the expenses of that education are borne by the joint family. But this rule is even carried farther and is extended to cases where for instance a co-parcener was living in England for education and during his stay there his wife and children in India were maintained by *one* of the members of the joint family out of his *own* funds and not out of the joint family funds. Even in such cases, when he returns from England and earns, all that he earns becomes the earning of the joint family. To clarify the unreasonableness of the present law, I shall give one characteristic illustration. If Honourable Members will turn to my Statement of Objects and Reasons, they will find it on page 2, and I do invite the attention of the House to the characteristic injustice of that illustration.

\* Being Mr. M. R. Jayakar's speech in the Legislative Assembly in moving his Bill to declare gains of learning by a member of a joint Hindu family to be his separate property.

which is still the law. I am referring to paragraph II of my Statement of Objects and Reasons, I had better read it to the House :

‘ Likewise, the present rule is not favourable to the growth of self-reliance among the dependent members of the family. In a rich family, it offers a premium to extravagance, idleness and perpetual discord. Its injustice is manifestly galling.....’

Now comes the illustration. Non-lawyer Members of this House will be surprised to learn that such is the law :

‘ Take for example, the case in which a father has three sons and incurs the same expenditure on their education. He sends them all to England to be educated for the Indian Civil Service. One is successful, the other two fail. Of the two who fail one takes to trade and the other is unwilling to do any work and remains idle. The trader earns a large fortune, which the present law allows him to keep to himself, because his education in England was for the Civil Service and not for trade. But, out of the earnings of the Civilian, two shares are claimed, one by the trader and the other by the brother who has been idle. The trader keeps his own earnings and also takes a share of the civilian’s earnings.’

That is the state of the law at present, the principle being that the huge fortune which the trader earned after being educated in England was earned in trade for which avocation he was not educated in England. His education in England was for the Indian Civil Service. Therefore the trader keeps his own earnings and wants a share of the earnings of the Indian Civil Service man who was equally with him educated in England. That is the present law. It may seem surprising to non-lawyers, but it is so ; and the result of that is that there is a great uncertainty in joint Hindu families ; nobody knows what is going to be the result of his earnings ; after a member earns money up to the last moment of his life, he does not know what law is going to apply in his case, whether after his death, his widow or daughter may get the money or his co-parcener. The result of such uncertainty is that an amount of subterfuge is practised. It is naturally the co-parcener’s desire that his earnings should be shared primarily by his widow and daughter and not by distant co-parceners, and therefore he takes to subterfuges and invests the money in the name of somebody else ; *benami* transactions take place, and the money which would otherwise have been invested in open and easily convertible channel is put in concealed investments making detention and conversion very difficult. I need not here refer to the embitterment which is caused in the family by the state of the law ; those who are members of joint Hindu families or who, in the course of their practice have to advise Hindu joint families, will bear me out when I say that a perpetual sense of irritation is kept up which often finds its way into the courts. I do not want to exaggerate, but after careful scrutiny it will be found that at least 15 or 20 per cent,— and the Honourable the Law Member will vouch

for the accuracy of this figure—of the cases which relate to joint Hindu families spring out of this uncertainty and unreasonableness of the law. Therefore at present there is considerable need of making the law clear and rational.

#### GENERAL AND SPECIAL EDUCATION.

I have so far explained to the House the distinction between general education and special education. Another distinction is made by present adjudication, viz., *ordinary* gains and *extraordinary* gains of such education, ordinary or special. So we get four cross divisions, and between them nobody feels certain in Hindu families as to what particular category his own earnings may fall under, after his death. To give one illustration ; out of many : If a co-parcener becomes a B.A., at the expense of the family, it is general education. Therefore if he stops there and makes money as a B. A., it is regarded as the ordinary gains of ordinary education and therefore it belongs to him ; but if he should be so badly advised—and people do not always go to good lawyers—as to proceed to become an LL. B., which is the next stage after the B. A., that is special education ; and all that he earns as a lawyer as a result of his LL. B. degree, becomes joint family property. I have merely to state this proposition to make clear the absurdity and the uncertainty of the present law. If he earns as a B. A., it is not joint family property ; if he goes one step further and becomes an LL. B., it becomes joint family property. I can go on multiplying these instances which arise out of the present law. The result is a considerable amount of bitter and wasteful litigation in courts. I can give at least a dozen instances of my own knowledge where a small estate was wasted by the employment of counsel and attorneys, in the city of Bombay [and of vakils in the mofussil.

My Bill, Sir, is not intended mainly as a progressive social reform measure, as some critics may describe it ; this is a most elementary measure necessitated by two main considerations namely, the improvement of the status of women in the family and putting a stop to the uncertain and unreasonable nature of the present law and thereby saving the wealth of poor Hindu families.

Now, Sir, let us take another uncertainty that is contained in the word “ general education ”. It is a very indefinite word. What may be general ordinary education in one class of society may not be so in another. The result is that an amount of evidence has to be led to show the character of the education which is the subject matter of the dispute in court, having regard to the status of the family, the community of the parties and all other surrounding circumstances. Honourable Members can imagine the amount of money which is generally wasted in such bitter inquires, and the consequent harassment. Therefore my submission is that the time has come when all this uncertainty should be removed ; and if this measure is passed, as I hope it



will be before long, it will certainly have a very good effect in quieting the litigation which takes place now. A co-parcener will know exactly what will happen to his fortune. If Honourable Members turn to the provisions of my Bill, they will see that I have tried to remove this uncertainty in clause 2, where I say :

"(a) the expression "learning" shall mean education, whether elementary, liberal, technical, special or scientific, and training of every kind, which is usually intended to enable a person to pursue any trade, industry, profession or avocation in life ;"

"(b) the expression "gains of learning" shall mean all acquisitions of property made substantially by means of learning, whether such acquisitions be made before or after the commencement of this Act and whether such acquisitions be the ordinary or the extraordinary result of such learning ;"

All these wasteful inquiries will not have to be made.

#### DEPENDENTS OF THE EARNING MEMBERS.

I should like to mention one more circumstance before I sit down. All this harassing litigation generally takes place after the earning member is dead. During his lifetime his co-parceners have not the courage to fight him. They live together; but they do not raise the question that it is not the self-acquisition of the deceased; they wait until he dies. Very often he lives for a long time; very often after his death the inquiry does not take place until at the end of the period of limitation which in certain cases of immoveable property may be 12 years. The inquiry generally takes place with the widow or daughter on the one side and all the family on the other. The Honourable Members can imagine what an uneven fight this often is. The evidence is gone, account books long lost, the acquirer himself not present to say how the money was acquired; all these things together with the fact that the onus is on the unprotected woman to prove that it is the self-acquired property of her husband or father—it is a most unequal fight for the poor woman. The result is that a lot of money is wasted; and in 90 out of 100 of these inquiries, they terminate in the defeat of the widow or the daughter, because it is a very big handicap under which she labours. The case goes before a Commissioner in the case of a High Court; the Commissioner calls for accounts; no accounts are forthcoming; the acquirer is dead; he cannot come back to life and give evidence as to how he acquired the money. Perhaps his education was acquired fifty years back, of which no records are kept; it is not known where the money came from—whether the money came from the joint family property or whether it was the property of a particular member of the family—all these questions are absolutely impossible to determine at the stage when they arise; no record of them is kept, with the result that very often the doctrine prevails for sheer want of evidence that what is not proved to the contrary is joint family property.

The result is—and I have seen many cases,—that destitute widows, destitute daughters of the acquirer have been thrown into the streets with a bare maintenance or residence, all his huge earnings, sometimes amounting to lakhs of rupees, going into the hands of the drones of the family, I mean the non-earning co-parceners. I think, Sir, the time has come when this should be stopped. I am one of those who believe that, within proper limits, full advantage should be taken of the powers of this House to legislate for evils which are troubling the society. I say, within proper limits, and the limits are that any thing, which is an urgent need of society ought to be redressed. On that principle, and with abundant faith in the wisdom of this House in allowing this measure to go through, I move the motion that stands in my name.

#### MR. GANDHI'S LETTER TO THE VICEROY.

The following is the full text of Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy :

"Dear friend,—

"Before embarking on civil disobedience and taking a risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out. My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow human-beings, even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine. While, therefore, I hold British rule to be a curse, I do not intend to harm a single Englishman or any legitimate interest he may have in India. I must not be misunderstood. Though I hold British rule in India to be a curse, I do not, therefore, consider Englishmen in general to be worse than any other people on earth. I have the privilege of claiming many Englishmen as my dearest friends. Indeed much that I have learnt of the evil of British rule is due to the writing of frank and courageous Englishmen who have not hesitated to tell the unpalatable truth about that rule.

"And why do I regard British rule as a curse? It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by the ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country never can afford. It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture and by the policy of disarmament it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking inward strength, we have been reduced by all but universal disarmament to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness.

#### DOMINION STATUS.

"In common with many of my countrymen I had hugged the fond hope that the proposed Round Table Conference might furnish a solution but when you said plainly that you could not give any assurance that you or the British Cabinet would pledge yourselves to support a scheme of full dominion status, the Round Table Conference could not possibly furnish the solution for which vocal India, is consciously and the dumb millions unconsciously thirsting. Needless to say, there never was any

question of Parliament's verdict being anticipated. Instances are not wanting of the British Cabinet in anticipation of a Parliamentary verdict having pledged itself to a particular policy. The Delhi interview having miscarried, there was no option for Pandit Motilal Nehru and me but to take steps to carry out the solemn resolution of the Congress arrived at in Calcutta at its session of 1928.

"But the resolution of independence should cause no alarm if the word "dominion status" mentioned in your announcement has been used in its accepted sense; for, has it not been admitted by responsible British statesmen that dominion status is virtual independence? What, however, I fear, is that there never has been any intention of granting such dominion status to India in the immediate future. But this is all past history. Since the announcement many events have happened which show unmistakeably the trend of British policy. It seems as clear as daylight that responsible British statesmen do not contemplate any alteration in British policy that might adversely affect Britain's commerce with India or require impartial and close scrutiny of Britain's transactions with India.

#### THE RUPEE RATIO.

"If nothing is done to end the process of exploitation, India must be bled with ever increasing speed. The Finance Member regards as a settled fact the 1s. 6d. ratio which by a stroke of the pen drains India of a few crores, and when a serious attempt is being made, through a civil form of direct action to unsettle this fact, among many others, even you cannot help appealing to the wealthy landed classes to help you to crush that attempt in the name of the order that grinds India to atoms. Unless those who work in the name of the nation understand and keep before all concerned the motive that lies behind the craving for independence, there is every danger of independence itself coming to us so charged as to be of no value to those toiling, voiceless millions for whom it is sought, and for whom it is worth taking. It is for that reason that I have been recently telling the public what Independence should really mean. Let me put before you some of the salient points.

#### LAND REVENUE AND SALT TAX.

"The terrific pressure of land revenue which furnishes a large part of the total revenue, must undergo considerable modification in Independent India. Even the much-vaunted permanent settlement benefits a few rich Zemindars, not ryots. The ryot has remained as helpless as ever. He is a mere tenant at will. Not only, then, has land revenue to be considerably reduced, but the whole revenue system has to be so revised as to make the ryot's good its primary concern. But the British system seems to be designed to crush the very life out of him. Even the salt he must use to live, is so taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him, if only because of the heartless impartiality of its incidence. The tax shows itself still more burden-

some on the poor man when it is remembered that salt is the one thing he must eat more than the rich man both individually and collectively. The drink and drug revenue, too, is derived from the poor. It saps the foundations both of their health and their morals. It is defended under the false plea of individual freedom. But in reality it is maintained for its own sake. The ingenuity of the authors of the Reforms of 1919 transferred this revenue to the so-called responsible part of dyarchy so as to throw the burden of prohibition on it, thus from the beginning rendering it powerless for good.

"If the unhappy Minister wipes out this revenue, he might starve education since in the existing circumstances he has no new source of replacing that revenue.

"If the weight of taxation has crushed the poor from above, the destruction of the central supplementary industry, i. e., hand-spinning, has undermined their capacity for producing wealth.

#### EXPENSIVE ADMINISTRATION.

"The tale of India's ruination is not complete without a reference to the liabilities incurred in her name. Sufficient has been recently said about these in the public press. It must be the duty of a free India to subject all liabilities to the strictest investigation and repudiate those that may be adjudged by an impartial tribunal to be unjust and unfair. The iniquities sampled above are maintained in order to carry on a foreign administration, demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is over Rs. 21,000 per month, besides many other indirect additions. The British Prime Minister gets £ 5,000 per year, i. e., a little over Rs. 5,400 per month at the present rate of exchange. You are getting over Rs. 700 per day against India's average income of less than two annas per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs. 180 per day against Great Britain's average income of nearly two rupees per day. Thus you are getting much over five thousand times India's average income. The British Prime Minister is getting only ninety times Britain's average income. On bended knee I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon. I have taken a personal illustration to drive home the painful truth. I have too great a regard for you as a man to wish to hurt your feelings. I know that you do not need the salary you get. Probably the whole of your salary goes for charity. But a system that provides for such an arrangement deserves to be summarily scrapped. What is true of the Viceregal salary is true generally of the whole administration. A radical cutting down of revenue, therefore, depends upon an equally radical reduction in the expenses of administration. This means a transformation of the scheme of Government. This transformation is impossible without independence. Hence in my opinion the spontaneous demonstration of January 26 in which hundreds of thousands of villagers instinctively participated. To them independence means deliverance from a killing weight,

## A REMEDY MUST BE FOUND.

"Not one of the great British political parties, it seems to me, is prepared to give up the Indian spoils to which Great Britain helps herself from day to day often in spite of the unanimous opposition of Indian opinion. Nevertheless if India is to live as a nation, if slow death by starvation of her people is to stop, some remedy must be found for immediate relief. The proposed conference is certainly not the remedy. It is not a matter of carrying conviction by argument. The matter resolves itself into one of matching of forces. Conviction or no conviction Great Britain would defend her Indian commerce and interests by all the forces at her command. India must consequently evolve force enough to free herself from that embrace of death.

## VIOLENCE OR NON-VIOLENCE?

"It is common knowledge that, however disorganised and for the time being insignificant it may be the party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt. Its end is the same as mine, but I am convinced that it cannot bring the desired relief to the dumb millions, and the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but unadulterated non-violence can check the organised violence of the British Government. Many think non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organised violent force of British rule as against the unorganised violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces above mentioned. Having unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer. This non-violence will be expressed through civil disobedience, for the moment confined to the inmates of the Satyagraha Ashrams, but ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the movement with its obvious limitations. I know in embarking on non-violence I shall be running what might fairly be termed a mad risk, but the victories of truth have never been won without risks, often of the gravest character. The conversion of a nation that has consciously or unconsciously preyed upon another far more numerous, far more ancient, and no less cultured than itself, is worth any amount of risk. I have deliberately used the word conversion. For my ambition is no less than to convert the British people, through non-violence, and thus make them see the wrong they have done to India. I do not seek to harm your people. I want to serve them even as I want to serve my own. I believe I have always served them—served them upto 1919 blindly. But when my eyes were opened and I conceived non-cooperation my object still was to serve them. I employed the same weapon that I have in all humility successfully used against the dearest members of my family. If I have an equal love for your people with mine it will not long remain hidden. It will be acknowledged by them even as the

members of my family acknowledged it after they had tried me for several years. If people join me as I except they will, the sufferings they will undergo unless the British nation sooner retraces its steps, will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts. The plan through civil disobedience will be to combat such evils as I have sampled out. If we want to sever the British connection, it is because of such evils. When they are removed the path becomes easy. Then the way to friendly negotiation will be open. If British commerce with India is purified of greed, you will have no difficulty in recognising our independence.

"I respectfully invite you, then, to pave the way for the immediate removal of those evils and thus open the way for a real conference between equals interested only in promoting the common good of mankind through voluntary fellowship and in arranging the terms of mutual help and commerce equally suited to both.

"You have unnecessarily laid stress upon the communal problems that unhappily affect this land. Important though they undoubtedly are for the consideration of any scheme of government, they have little bearing on the greater problem which are above communities and which affect them all equally. But, if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the 11th day of this month, I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take to disregard the provisions of the salt laws. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's standpoint. As the independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, a beginning will be made with this evil. The wonder is we have submitted to the cruel monopoly for so long. It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope there will be tens of thousands ready in a disciplined manner to take up the work after me and in the act of disobeying the Salt Act, lay themselves open to the penalties of the law that should never have disfigured the statute-book."

## LETTER IS NOT A THREAT.

"I have no desire to cause you unnecessary embarrassment or any at all so far as I can help. If you think there is any substance in my letter, and if you will care to discuss matters with me and if to that end you would like me to postpone the publication of this letter I shall gladly refrain on receipt of a telegram to that effect, soon after this reaches you. You will, however, do me the favour not to deflect me from my course unless you can see your way to conform to the substance of this letter. This letter is not in any way intended as a threat, but is a simple and sacred duty peremptory on the civil resister. Therefore, I am having it specially delivered by a young English friend, who believes in the Indian cause and is a full believer in non-violence and whom Providence seems to have sent me as it were for the very purpose."

I remain your sincere friend,  
M. K. GANDHI,

## ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

A General Meeting of the members of the Reception Committee of the 4th Session of the All India Women's Conference that was held in Bombay in last January, was held on Tuesday the 25th February 1930, at the Malabari Memorial Hall, Seva Sadan, under the Presidentship of Lady Tata, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

## SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The Secretary's report was read by Mrs. Hansa Mehta and was unanimously adopted on the motion of Miss Contractor seconded by Miss Amy B. Rustomji.

"The Bombay Session was the biggest we have so far had as the number of the delegates was considerably larger than it was at any of the preceding Sessions, though all the delegates whose names were sent up did not come. Out of nearly three hundred delegates whose names we had originally received, the actual number as registered was two hundred and eight. The income received from the membership fees plus half the amount of receipts from the delegates' fees, enabled us to meet only half the expenditure incurred namely about Rs. 3,000. The amount covering the other half of the expenses plus the balance in our hands at present—altogether a sum approximately amounting to six thousand—was collected through donations. But for the help that we received from so many people we would not have been able to carry out our obligations towards our guests so satisfactorily. As so many delegates did not come at the last moment and many others made their own arrangements for staying with their friends without letting us know, the number of delegates we had ultimately to provide for was much less than anticipated and hence the balance in our hands. The delegates were drawn from all castes and creeds, from the very orthodox, as also from the very advanced and from all parts of India. We had therefore to make arrangements for all of them bearing in mind all the different requirements of various habits and customs of the different delegates. As early as October last, the Hospitality Committee appointed by the Bombay Women's Committee on Educational and Social Reform approached various ladies requesting them to become hostesses and accommodate as many guests as they could. The arrangements for our Muslim guests were entirely undertaken by Mrs. Faiz Tyabji along with Mrs. Shuffi Tyabji. We take this opportunity of thanking all those ladies who were kind enough to extend their hospitality and accommodate these delegates and thus lighten our burden to a great extent.

"The programme arranged by us though a trifle over-crowded was very much appreciated by the delegates. The Exhibition—Industrial and Educational—was a distinct success. The All India Women's Committee have decided to make it an annual feature of the Conference. Our cordial thanks are due to Miss Engineer and Mrs. Choksi

and all those ladies who helped them in organising it so successfully. Visits to the various institutions was another instructive part of the programme. To quote a writer who has written her impressions of the Conference, "the effect cannot be measured of the inspiration which women received from these practical object-lessons in women's work for women." Our thanks are due to the managements of these institutions for their kind cooperation. We are also grateful to Lady Sykes, to Lady Tata and to the Bombay Presidency Women Graduates' Union and the Association of the British University Women for the 'At Homes' they gave which provided a very necessary part of the programme and must have been a source of relaxation and pleasure to our hard-worked guests. They also gave every one an opportunity of meeting and knowing one another and exchanging views on important problems which would not have been possible without social intercourse of this kind. The item most enjoyed by the delegates as far as our information goes, was the excursion to the ancient caves of Elephanta.

"We should also put on record our grateful thanks to the University of Bombay for giving us the use of the Convocation Hall as well as the Ground Floor of the South Wing for a whole week free of charge; to the Scout-masters, Guiders and Rangers for their prompt and willing service so untiringly given and to all those ladies and gentlemen who helped in various ways to make the Conference a success. Last but not least our thanks are due to the Working Committee and to our Chairman Lady Tata to whose unflagging energy and great work we owe the success that the Fourth Session of the All India Women's Conference has proved to be."

## THE TREASURER'S REPORT.

The Hon. Treasurer's report was submitted by Dr. Mrs. Sukthankar and was unanimously adopted on the motion of Mrs. Faiz Tyabji, seconded by Mrs. N. M. Raiji.

"I am glad to say that not only have we met the expenses of the Conference ably and successfully, but we have got a balance of Rs. 2,744-1-11 to our credit. In the beginning, when we started collecting the funds, we had doubts as to how we would be able to meet the expenses of the Conference, which were expected to reach eight to nine thousand rupees. As late as the end of November the money collected by us was only about Rs. 1,100 and the number of Reception Committee members was little over 100. By the end of December, we had collected only about Rs. 500 more; but due to the generous response of the Bombay Public to the appeals sent out by our Chairwoman and by the Honorary Secretary, more than eight thousand rupees came in within three weeks and a deficit was avoided.

"The total expenditure has come to Rs. 7,163-0-1 as shown later on leaving a balance of Rs. 2,744-1-11 in hand as upto date. The largest item of expenditure is for the boarding and lodging charges of the Delegates which have come to Rs. 3,994-0-0."

It was decided that the balance of Rs. 2,744-1-11 due to the receipt of generous donations from several people, should be handed over by the Hon. Treasurer to the Bombay Women's Committee, on Educational and Social Reform which had undertaken the organisation of the All India Women's Conference in Bombay.

The Reception Committee was then dissolved.

#### DIGNITY OF WOMEN IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIP.

Presiding at the prize distribution of Maharani's High School Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in the course of his address said :—

Speaking in Mysore, I can never forget the excitement which we young people in Madras had about the year 1906 when the first lady graduates of this State were honoured and feted all over the city of Madras. I have the happiness now of knowing both of them and one of them I see here before me, (Srimathi Ruckminiamma, Principal, Maharani's College). That was the time when the city of Madras could not boast of much progress in women's education. It is a wonder to think what great changes have come over India in respect of what used to be lamented from time to time as our greatest deficiency in the social sphere. I do not think I am doing anything wrong to express what I have often told people in private that Mysore which then took the lead in respect of women's higher education has failed somehow or other to maintain that proud position. Madras, it seems to me, and Travancore, for instance, and many other parts of India have forged ahead and it has always been a standing puzzle how Mysore is rather taking a backward place in respect of that matter. It is a problem to consider how Mysore which in many respects holds a place of primary importance among Indian States should have lost the very proud distinction that it has started with. In these matters time is a great factor and those who start well in the race must consider themselves somewhat to blame if they have not maintained the advantage with which they started against other people. I have however observed with a great deal of wonderment how the problem of women's education has changed in its out-look from time to time.

#### THE SARDA ACT.

At the present moment the passing of an act regulating marriage by the Central Legislature of India has drawn very prominent attention to the position of women in our society. The orthodox section who quite naturally feel that some of their ancient institutions are imperilled have taken up with regard to this innovation an attitude, which I cannot but regret, with a great deal of alarm. Instead of meeting the new time and the new spirit with a certain amount of sympathy, they express themselves dissatisfied with the state of things even as it is to-day and they speak as though, if they

had their way, they would put the clock back in every possible way and abolish women's education and put her back where she was, say, forty or fifty years ago in this country. To me the sign is one of evil portents of the time. I am a firm believer in the progress of India being dependent almost entirely upon the way in which the woman in India comes to take her place alongside of man. To keep the two apart, as we have done hitherto, is to perpetuate the miserable condition in which we were a good long time ago. The Sarda Act, it seems to me, is going to be followed in India by other acts of a somewhat more drastic complexion. Orthodoxy will find itself sorely tried and it may be that instead of our efforts being wholly confined to one sex we should reconcile ourselves in future to the view that progress is possible only if woman struggles for her place as man has struggled for his. That is sure to be one of the steps that we are going to take and it seems to me that schools of this kind have a high mission in enabling a woman to prepare herself for this great part. I have no wish to dwell upon the peculiar features that some people wish to attach to women's education. I am somehow or other of that small category of people in India who believe that all through history there has been a recognition—theoretical it may be—but there has been throughout a recognition of the dignity of woman in human relationship. I have never known a period of our ancient literature when woman was not deferred to with respect and her position in society treated as one of the highest consideration, but a new spirit has come over us. The very word dignity has an expanded meaning and we are unable to appreciate the dignity and the respect which we neither understand nor are able to protect.

#### "FEAR NOT THE TIME SPIRIT"

Unassisted by man, woman must be able to hold her own and it seems to me that it is only in an atmosphere of enlightenment and freedom that dignity and that respect can receive their highest meaning. Without further dwelling on these high topics, I will say this much, namely, that the future of this country is great and full of importance and may I say one word to my audience here, namely, let them not be afraid of education, let them not be afraid of what they call the modern spirit. They may be carrying it to excess in other parts of the world. I doubt that proposition myself. I have seen those parts of the world which in the opinion of the orthodox people of this country are going too far in the direction of woman's emancipation. With all respect to our ancient institutions—I think I know some of their inner spirit—I cannot join in the unmitigated condemnation that is sometimes passed by ignorant people upon what they call the western standard in this matter. Western standard in this matter has good and bad aspects as everything in this world has. Believe me that woman at her best in the western countries is an object deserving of our best admiration and of our best respect,

I say this with entire conviction and I regard it as rather an ominous sign that so many of our un-travelled people upon superficial examination of things should consider themselves free to pass uncharitable remarks upon a civilization of which they have not fathomed the secret. There is no doubt whatever that the power of western nations, their success in the material sphere is paralleled—I say this as emphatically as I can—by similar achievements in the moral and in the spiritual directions. I have seen in the west men and women of the highest and the noblest character, and not by any means rarely. I cannot say with any truthfulness that the good men of this world, that the pious men of this world, that the devoted men of this world are to be found exclusively or mainly in India. They are found all over the world. Thanks to our ancient civilization, our ancient literature and our ancient philosophy which yield to none in the exaltation of human character and human judgement, we are not without our share, but in the highly complex and highly evolved society of the west where life is far more complicated than here and where the problems are more intricate than we understand, where everything is upon a higher plane of efficiency and rapid movement, even spiritual and moral character have meanings and significances which in this land I think we occasionally miss. I am not therefore inclined to join in the self-satisfaction which forms the main feature of many, far too many, of our educated men and women, I wish they could realise that they have a good deal to learn in this sphere of woman's education and woman's uplift, no less than in other spheres. That is a thought that I leave with you before I go away from Mysore.

"I wish you all a happy and prosperous time and I do hope that the work you carry on will be but the foundation upon which higher and nobler work will be continued to be performed even in this land where women and men are alike or meant to be alike and are meant to play their part together for the welfare of a common motherland."

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Compulsory Education in Mysore:**—The Government of Mysore presented a bill during the recent Dussarah Session of the Representative Assembly with the object of making primary education available to every child within the State between the ages of six and twelve years on a voluntary basis within a period of ten years after the provisions of the bill come into operation and,

if the efforts on a voluntary basis did not yield the results anticipated to make the entire scheme compulsory for all children between the ages of six and ten years. The bill received the unanimous assent of the Assembly and was presented in due course before the Legislative Council, where after much discussion it was referred to a Select Committee, consisting of well known educationists, whose Report has just been made available. According to the Committee's recommendations, the provisions of the Bill are to come into effect from the 1st of January, 1931.

## ADVERTISEMENTS

### BOOKS ON BIRTH CONTROL.

	Rs.	s.	p.
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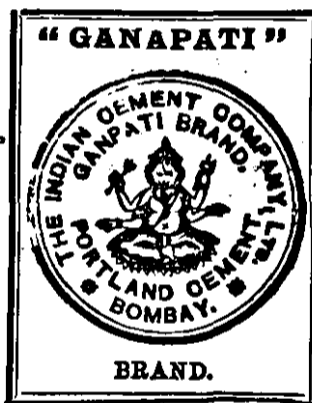
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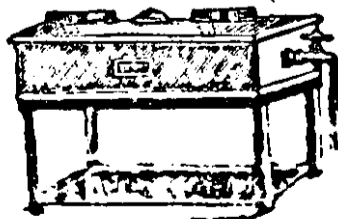
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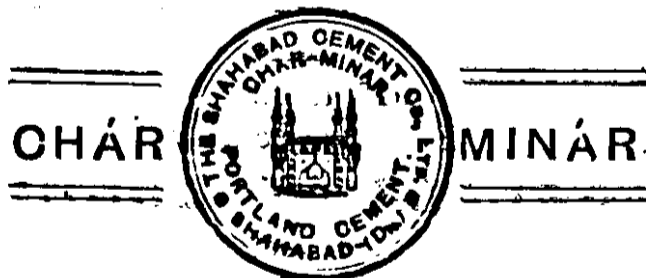
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1930

No. 28

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Antyajas And Temple Entry:—**We are sorry that some remarks in our leading article last week conveyed the impression that the movement for securing admission to the antyajas in Hindu temples, had a political motive behind it. We have had a vivid account of the proceedings in Nasik from a friend who witnessed them, and we are convinced that any such impression will be a great injustice to its promoters. The devotion and earnestness of the women in particular is most touching, as described to us, and even orthodox people, whose minds are not hardened to considerations of humanity, have been moved by it. This movement should be viewed really as an integral part of the great movement which is going on before our eyes and which is transforming Hinduism from a passive system of social regulations into an active influence penetrating every fibre of the national life. Such movements have occurred from time to time in the history of Hinduism, once when the Vedic religion developed into the Vedanta and again when the Vedanta and the other schools were merged in the great synthesis of the *Bhagavad Gita*. When orthodox Hindus come to understand and live up to the central creed of the *Sanatana Dharma*, the very meaning of which they have misunderstood, they will realise that much of what they hug to their bosoms as Hindu religion is totally and completely repugnant to it. Mahatma Gandhi's march of which we write in our leading article, is a visible illustration of the *Sanatana Dharma* in action. Many who hold that Mahatmaji made a serious mistake in rejecting Dominion status and the Round Table Conference nevertheless realise that his action is an expression of a great spiritual crisis in the life of the Indian and most particularly of the Hindu people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. The profound underlying principles of Hinduism are being visibly enacted so that

He may read that binds the sheaf  
Or builds the house or digs the grave  
And those wild eyes which watch the wave  
In roarings round the coral reef.

**The Saptapadi:—**The "Saptapadi" or "seven steps" is the central rite the performance of which is indispensable to a valid Hindu marriage. In the orthodox ceremony, the bridegroom takes the bride seven steps by the sacred fire, touching her feet and planting it at each step. When the seven steps are taken, the marriage is complete and binding for all time. The late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar one of the founders and leaders of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, and a great Sanskrit scholar, revised the orthodox rite leaving out the *hom* or sacred fire and other incidents savouring of idol-worship, but keeping the *Saptapadi*, for use by members of the Samaj. He had the collaboration of eminent Hindu lawyers, and it was thought that the revised rite will be valid in law, and that a marriage celebrated according to it, will be a valid marriage. The Bombay Prarthana Samaj, unlike the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj, was particular about maintaining continuity with the parent faith and Sir Ramakrishna was especially strong on this point. He and other leaders, therefore, had conscientious objections to make the declaration repudiating belief in the older religions, which the Special Marriage Act of 1872, requires of parties to marriages under its provisions and many marriages have been performed according to the Bhandarkar rite, and all marriages in Dr. Bhandarkar's family have been according to it, without registration. We believe that in one case the Bombay High Court held that a marriage under that rite was a valid marriage. The position has since been changed by the passing of Gour's Act which has done away with the repudiation clause in the case of civil marriages among Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, and other Hindu sects including the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. We are, therefore, surprised to see an editorial in the *Subodh Patrika* advocating the omission of *Saptapadi* from the Bhandarkar rite, on the ground, not of its being idolatrous, but of its being derogatory to the latest ideas about the equality of women. To Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and his friends and colleagues, the dignity of womanhood was not a strange idea, and the *Subodh Patrika's* reasoning is a reflection on the pioneers of the Theistic reform movement. The proposal seems to us to be inspired merely by a sense of ennui which, for want of a better object, tries to find satisfaction in moving things about just as an outlet to its pent-up energies.

**Religion And The Community:—**The activities of the priest in modern times have been considerably curtailed. Whilst before he also served as the doctor, the teacher and in several other capacities, now he is solely concerned with the spiritual side of those who frequent his place

of worship. But with the lessening of his work, we are sorry to see that he has not improved. On the contrary the average run of priests in every community has reached so low a level that men of high ideals have not only held aloof from places of worship but have even abstained from joining the profession. This undoubtedly is a serious state of things and Bombay has been hearing much recently of an association for abolishing the priest—or as the organisers of the association call him “the middleman in religion.” We have pointed out again and again that communal squabbles would have the effect of alienating the younger generation from religion. It is to their credit however that the young men are only agitating for the abolition of the priest. In fact the organisers affirm their faith in religion. But it is significant that most of the members of the new organisation and certainly all of its office bearers are persons who most probably have not set foot within a house of worship for the last few years and that the movement should have risen in the city of Bombay. For the city-man has lost his faith in religion of his ancestors. But though he has lost his belief in religion he is still credulous as Lippman has pointed out and his freedom from the priest very often means his surrender to a more modern type of dogmatist—the doctor, the journalist, the politician or the financier. There is only one reason why men who submit cheerfully to the tyranny of the “specialist” in every walk of life should protest so vehemently against the tyranny of the priest who after all is not concerned with any aspect of their lives, and wish to wipe him out from the face of the earth. The fact is that the movement has chosen the line of least resistance. It is far easier even to wipe out priesthood from society than to reform it and it is moreover far more spectacular. But we would suggest to the organisers of the movement who are moved by a real need that a more lasting service could be rendered to the community by a serious attempt to improve the type of priests. After all the priests in an Indian community are not worse than the other members and the fact that the calling has fallen into disrepute ought to attract men of the very best ideals to raise it. Even if it were not very difficult to destroy priesthood it would not be possible to set up so huge an organisation on any other basis than that of religion and when in the villages the temple, mosque or church was and in places still is the centre of social activities and of education, it will be seen that the abolition of organised religion will have much to its discredit. We hope the Anti-Priest association will still change its creed and its name to something less quixotic.

**Bombay University Settlement:**—The University Settlement which has been the temporary home of many college women students who come to Bombay for their studies and professional women is now located in a permanent building of its own in Byculla. The unveiling of a memorial Tablet in the Building was performed by the Governor of Bombay on Wednesday evening. The idea of a Holiday Home and a permanent Settlement House was first conceived ten years ago when an appeal was issued for funds. Thanks to the indefatigable efforts of Miss Gedge the popular Warden of the Settlement and her influential friends the realisation and their object in both respects has been possible. The present accom-

modation in the Settlement is for 40 people and conveyance facilities are also provided for students. Of the total sum raised Rs. 75,000 was contributed in this country and Rs. 6,500 came from England. We heartily join in the expression of appreciation of all that the Settlement has done for the women students in the city.

**The Women's Conference And Medical Women:**—A doctor friend writes from England: “I saw the report of the All-India Women's Conference in the *Reformer*. I think they ought to have a medical sub-committee for, after all medical, educational and social work must go hand-in-hand for a long time in village work. Its main ground for existing would be for relief of the masses but it could also act as a responsible body and protect the interests of the Indian Women Doctors. It would also be a good way of drawing medical women into the Conference who would otherwise have the tendency to keep out of it though most of the Indian women doctors are keenly interested in social matters.” We commend this to the organisers of the Conference. Medical relief among the masses has not received the attention it deserves and we shall be glad to see the Conference take up this work.

**The Back-Ground Of Our Politics:**—The *Guardian*, (Calcutta weekly) comments as follows on our leading article with the above heading:—“There is a tendency in some quarters to think of India as an isolated country and an attempt to lead her into a self-satisfied life. Such an endeavour is bound to result in political and social atrophy and it is this instinctive feeling that prevents many Indian leaders whose patriotism is as selfless and disinterested as that of Mahatma Gandhi from following him in his effort to lead India back to an isolated life. They feel that any weakening of the ties that link India to the West is bound to be disastrous not only to India but to the world itself. It is becoming clearer that the future progress of civilisation depends to a great extent upon the interweaving of East and West and upon the achieving of a true synthesis between the best in Europe and Asia. Each of these ancient civilisations has shown itself to be inadequate to meet the complex needs of modern life because each lacks something that the other can supply. In co-operation alone they will be able to give what is needed to-day and so to save the world and enrich its life.”

**Kindness To Animals:**—India is the land of *Ahimsa* and yet there is evidence around us of much cruelty inflicted on animals by thoughtless people. The Dewan of Mysore in his speech at the annual meeting of the Bangalore Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals stressed the necessity of awakening the compassion of children and securing their sympathy for the dumb creation. “How strong and steady would be the support given you,” observed the Dewan, “could men but realise the deep kinship between all living things and the right of these lower creatures to the fullest happiness that life can give them.” Isolated instances of cruelty to animals are bad enough but how much stronger should be our condemnation of the wholesale slaughter of animals perpetrated in the name of sport? The royal sport of kings is nothing but an orgie of animal slaughter and not a few of our Maharajas are guilty of indulging in this pastime.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 15, 1930.

THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN  
BEGINS.

In his letter to the Viceroy which was published in the last issue of the *Reformer*, Mahatma Gandhi informed his Excellency that if he did not receive a satisfactory reply by the 11th instant, he would proceed with his co-workers to disregard the provisions of the salt law. The Viceroy's reply, conveyed through his Private Secretary, was very brief. It was dated March 7, New Delhi as follows. "His Excellency the Viceroy desires me to acknowledge your letter of March 2. He regrets to learn that you contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace." Next day, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel left Sabarmati to make arrangements for the reception in the villages, on the route to the sea-side place selected for the commencement of operations, of Mahatma Gandhi and his company who were to march on Wednesday morning the 12th instant. At one of these villages, he was served with an order under the Police Act not to make any speech, and on his saying he would not obey it, he was at once arrested, put up before a Magistrate, was sentenced to 3 months simple imprisonment on his pleading guilty to the charge of disobeying the Police order, and taken and confined in the central prison at Sabarmati. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, or as he is popularly known Sardar Vallabhbhai, is the brother of the Hon. Mr. Vithalbai Patel, President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and like him, is a Barister-at-Law. He has been one of the inner circle of Mahatma Gandhi ever since the commencement of non-co-operation ten years ago. He was elected President of the important Municipality of Ahmedabad city five years ago, and showed a zeal, energy and initiative in the administration which was almost unique in non-official municipal executives and which made his regime memorable in the history of that large industrial city. His success as a practical administrator was recognised by the Bombay Government in their review of the work of the municipality. But his great achievement, which established his reputation as a born leader of men, was the organisation of the peasantry of Bardoli, a large village in the Surat district, to resist the increased assessment on their lands which Government had sanctioned.

The story of this movement which Mr. Vallabhbhai brought to a triumphant issue, has found an able and sympathetic chronicler in Mr. Mahadeo Desai who has written a very readable book of 360 pages, published by the Mahatmaj's Navajivan Press,

Ahmedabad. Mr. Vallabhbhai maintained that the rules of Government regarding the revision of land assessment, had not been carried out in this case, and demanded a fresh enquiry. Government were obliged to grant it, and the report made by their own committee of two English officials, fully sustained Mr. Vallabhbhai's contention. Fresh orders were passed in supersession of those sanctioning the increase of assessment. This was an unprecedented event in Indian administration, and Mr. Vallabhbhai's fame as a leader rose high in the country. But he kept his head cool and was not in the least elated by his success. On the contrary, his experience gained during the struggle, turned his thought in the direction of constructive social work as the first necessity for setting the peasants on their feet and make them self-reliant. He began an intensive campaign against the curse of drink and carried it on with such effect that in several villages Government had much difficulty in selling the right of vending liquor to the people. In the midst of this campaign, he was called to preside over the Tamil Nadu political conference at Vedaranyam in the extreme south of the Peninsula. When a resolution of Independence was introduced, he thrust it aside as academic and it was not passed. This incident is of significance in connection with his imprisonment in the course of his activities in connection with the Lahore Congress resolution. Mr. Vallabhbhai was strongly opposed to the Lahore resolution both as regards Independence and civil disobedience along with several other staunch Congress workers. But when at Mahatma Gandhi's instance, it was adopted, he out of loyalty to Mahatmaji in whom he implicitly believes as a "pious saint" threw himself with his accustomed energy into the task set to him. His imprisonment is a serious deprivation to Mahatmaji who said at a mass meeting in Ahmedabad that he had not dreamt that Vallabhbhai would be arrested before him, and that without him he felt as if he had lost his right arm.

But Mahatma Gandhi had made his plans. For a moment, he was impelled to start his own great march a day or two earlier on account of Mr. Vallabhbhai's arrest. But he dismissed this impulse and stuck to his original programme. He went about the daily routine as if nothing unusual was about to happen. At the dawn of Wednesday the 12th instant, he had his usual prayer meeting for the inmates of the Ashram. His congregation on this occasion was enormously increased by hundreds of visitors whom he addressed exhorting them to non-violence and patient perseverance in the course in which he was embarking. Then he visited those who were sick in the Ashram and stepped out

punctually at 6-30, as arranged, at the head of his band of implicit believers in non-violence on his memorable march to the village of Dandi on the Surat coast where the law forbidding the production and removal of salt is to be deliberately and publicly violated. Up to the time of writing (Friday morning) the march is going according to time-table without interruption. The whole country is watching with breathless interest the result of this struggle in which the protagonists are a frail old man clad in a loin cloth and the sturdy Policeman with a stout lathi behind whom is ranged the whole strength of a mighty Empire. Let us not be unfair to that Empire. An autocrat would have solved the problem at least for the time being by hiring a gang of ruffians to deal summarily with the *satyagrahis*. Democracy has many faults but it has a moral conscience which is decisive in the long run. And it is not only the British democracy which is gravely exercised in mind over Mahatma Gandhi's great experiment. All the democracies of the world are watching to see how the British democracy will deal with this essentially moral problem. Let us hope that British statesmanship will prove fully equal to the occasion, and that now as in the long past Britain will maintain her reputation, to use the words of Swami Vivekananda, as the world's great political Guru.

#### MYSORE ADMINISTRATION REPORT.

By reason of its peculiar history, the government of the State of Mysore bears a very close resemblance to that of British India. The high level and efficiency of its administration has earned for the State, not undeservedly, the title of the model State in this country. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore is not only renowned as a good ruler but his deeply religious nature, piety and catholicity has won for him world fame. It will be remembered that His Highness opened the World's Student Christian Federation held in Mysore last year. His Highness' address on that occasion evoked much appreciation and praise. Much of Mysore's progress is due to the singleness of purpose with which His Highness carries on the duties of the State. If more Indian princes take their task of ruling seriously there will be fewer complaints of mal-administration due to absenteeism of the rulers and the squandering of the states' revenue on their own pleasures and vices.

The year 1928-1929 for which the administration report was recently published, has been important for Mysore in that a reduction of 10½ lakhs of rupees in the subsidy payable to the Government of India by the State was given effect to and that hence-forward the amount will be available to the State for its own use. This will greatly improve the finances of the State. Mysore unlike some of the Indian

States in the South, is not able to show huge surpluses in its budgets. This is in line with modern ideas of finance, as a huge surplus implies that the people are unduly taxed. There is evidence in all the nation-building departments of an increase in expenditure. The largest increase in expenditure is noticeable in public works and next comes education.

There was a remarkable increase of roughly three lakhs, in the total expenditure incurred on education over last year's figures. The bulk of the amount was used to speed up primary education in the State. The average cost of education per head of the population was Rs. 1-2-8 showing an increase of 10 pies during the year. So far as we are aware, no extensive scheme of compulsory primary education has been adopted by the Mysore State but the increase of 47 in the number of schools shows that the State is not unmindful of the progress of mass education. However, it is disconcerting to find that the increase in the number of pupils has not kept pace with the increase in the primary institutions. On the contrary, there is a fall of 1,665 pupils over last year's figures. Likewise the number of secondary schools rose by two and a decrease of about 300 pupils has been recorded. Explaining this discrepancy, the report states that it was due to the prevalence of epidemic, necessitating the closing of schools for long periods. It is interesting to note that the percentage of boys and girls at school to the total population of the school-going age was a little over 36 per cent. Though this percentage compares favourably with that of British India, it will be several years before the State can hope to achieve compulsion within its bounds.

Coming to the education of the Mahomedan and Depressed Classes communities, the progress made by the former in the primary stages is remarkable. The percentage of Mahomedan boys and girls to the total Mahomedan population of the school-going age was 89. Facilities for the education of the depressed classes have been given in the shape of scholarships and remission of fees. Ten new schools were started for them last year which brought up the number of special schools to 641 with a total strength of 17,315 depressed classes pupils studying in them.

Women's education in the State has not kept up the progress that was expected of it and the report bears out the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's remark that "Mysore which took the lead in respect of women's education twenty-five years ago has failed to maintain that proud position," made recently. This stagnation in women's education and advance is deplorable in Indian States and it is, indeed, a "puzzle" why it is so.

The State has introduced measures to mitigate the drink and opium evil within its domain, notable among them being the prohibition of the presence of persons under eighteen years in Excise shops, the restriction of the tapping of date trees to once in

three years instead of every alternate year and lastly, the sanction of a special grant-in-aid of Rs. 2000 a year for a period of three years to the Temperance Federation, Bangalore, for the purpose of carrying on temperance propaganda. In spite of the above and a total reduction in the number of liquor, ganja, opium and toddy shops which was 14, the total revenue derived from excise was 74½ lakhs, with an increase of 7½ lakhs including the collections of arrears which amounted to 2½ lakhs last year. "The undertaking of works of magnitude such as Irwin Canal and other tank works" states the report, "which have attracted extensive labour account for the increase in revenue under the head." Underlying this statement is the false assumption that drink is an indispensable feature of labour. While drink is not the exclusive vice of labour, there is this excuse for it that in the absence of attractions to bring its higher elements to the fore, its baser elements necessarily prevail.

#### BOMBAY PROSTITUTION AMENDMENT ACT.

The Editor,  
The *Indian Social Reformer*,

Dear Sir,

The draft Bill No. X of 1930 for the Amendment of the Prevention of Prostitution Act is, we trust, to be introduced into the Legislative Council at an early date. This Bill No. X of 1930 will, we hope, be effective in removing the anomalies in the existing Act and if it passes, the keeping of brothels whether by males or females will be illegal.

The Bill also penalises soliciting and cuts at the root of the whole system of commercialised vice.

It is to be hoped that the passage of this Bill will not be hindered by the opposition of vested interests, for landlords also will be penalised. Any one with an unbiased mind who visits the areas of vice in our city will agree that it is the duty of every right-minded citizen to try and clean up some of the moral filth which mars the fair name of the City of Bombay.

For this reason the Bombay Presidency Women's Council desires to support the Hon'ble Mr. Hotson in his effort to strengthen the laws against commercialised vice. We very strongly urge upon Government the necessity of introducing this Bill in the present Session and call on all members of the Legislative Council to give the Bill their active and full support.

We warmly approve of the action of Government in nominating a woman to the Council as a specialist on this subject.

Yours faithfully,

MEHRI D. TATA,  
(President).

SALIMA FAIZ TYABJI,  
SUDARABAI SIRUR,  
MEHER F. S. TALYARKHAN,  
MIRIAM DEHDASHTI,  
SHIRINSABAI JAMSEDJEE JEEJI-  
BHOY,  
EVELYN O. GEDGE.

} Present and  
past Chairmen  
of the Bombay  
Presidency  
Women's Coun-  
cil.

#### ORTHODOXY IN FRENZY.

The Editor,  
The *Indian Social Reformer*,  
Bombay.

Sir,

It is well-known that the passing of the Sarda Act by the Assembly has naturally thrown the orthodox section of the Hindu population here into a flutter, and since then, it is trying its level best to ride rough-shod over it.

Easier said than done. So it is now at the wit's end and is trying to evade the operations of the Act by bringing about marriages, in these parts, amongst those who have a conscientious objection to it, in frenzied haste. To my knowledge, three such marriages take place, in three adjacent villages alone, in the first week of the Tamil month "Panguni."

What about little girls of five and above and of those that are yet to be born? How is it going to decide their fate? Are they to be married or to swell the ranks of the unmarried? These are the questions that come up generally to one's mind, when one sees the frantic attempts of the orthodox people here to evade the Act, of course, for the time being.

For an answer, one often gets the vague reply that the orthodox people in future will test the legality of the Act in a Court of Law. Why can't they do it now and decide the matter once for all?

This is one more instance of orthodoxy being in a frenzy, at present, and, to all intents and purposes, the Sarda Act is a veritable bogey to the orthodox people in South India.

North Eluppai,  
Natteray P. O. Via Arcot, } Yours, etc.,  
March 4, 1930. } E. GOVINDAN.

#### SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

The common conception of the theory of "Survival of the Fittest" appears to be exactly the opposite of what it really means. That conception is that, by the law of nature, as evinced in the lower animal and vegetable Kingdom, the fittest survive, and it is but fair that similar state should obtain in the human world also. But what really happens in the unchecked nonhuman world is, not that necessarily the fittest survive, but whatever survives is called the fittest.

It is of course possible that only the fittest may be surviving in the unrestrained animal world. But it is not evident, nor proved to be so. What is the test of fitness in the non-human world, from the point of survival? Strength and ferocity. Left to themselves, the stronger or more ferocious an animal or plant, the better it survives the weak, the mild, the graceful, the beautiful, the useful to man or animal.

It is unnecessary to discuss the inapplicability of this test to human beings. Then, what is the true



test? The true test would depend upon the correct answer to the question "What is the purpose of life?" And that purpose, to my mind, appears to be to pass one's life as happily as possible and try to make others happy, if of course the conception of one's own happiness does not involve that of others.

The prime cause of the major portion of misery in the world today is undoubtedly insufficiency of bread. And control would certainly reduce this grievance to a large extent. But control should be popularised so as to make its rational adoption voluntary, though peremptory under particular circumstances. And benevolent public institutions should be adapted to suit the altered conditions and produce the desired effect. Compulsory sterilisation except in absolutely useless and hopeless cases and summary closing of free hospitals and other charitable institutions, in other words, applying the theory deduced from the phenomena of the wilderness to human beings, would be turning humans into wild beasts. The law of sow wheat and grow wheat, sow gram and grow gram, does not apply to the human field, where, wheat sown often grows into gram thistle gives birth to jasmine, pomgranate produces plantain. Were it not so, we would not have had Napoleon, Shakespeare, Lokamanya, Mahatma; or, we would have had a breed of them.

Yours etc.

Bombay,  
11th March 1930. }

V. S. MUDVEDKAR.

#### INDIA'S MARCH FOR LIBERTY.

Mahatma Gandhi's march, states an *Associated Press* message, commenced at 6.30 on Wednesday (12th) morning. As arranged he with 79 volunteers left the Ashram punctually at 6.30, their destination being the village of Dandi on the sea coast near Jalalpur, where Gandhi intends to break the law regarding the manufacture of salt.

True to his declaration punctually at the stroke of half past six, writes a special representative of the *Bombay Chronicle*, just a little while before day break Mahatma Gandhi accompanied by a band of 78 trusted and disciplined soldiers, commenced his historic march on a campaign of Civil Disobedience. The scenes that preceded, accompanied and followed this great national event were so enthusiastic, magnificent and soul-stirring that indeed they beggar description. Never was the wave of patriotism so powerful in the hearts of mankind, as it was on this great occasion which is bound to go down to the chapters of the history of India's national freedom as a great beginning of a Great Movement. The persistent rumours that Gandhiji was likely to be arrested in the night and curiosity and the anxiety they had given rise to had attracted thousands of people in the vicinity of the Satyagraha Ashram as early as midnight.

Streams of men and women, old and young, continuously flowed to the Ashram to have the 'darshan' of Mahatmaji and witness the great national march. At about three in the morning the rush of the people became so great that the gates of the Ashram had to be guarded against the onrush of people inside the Ashram where Mahatma was resting. The main gate remained closed to the outside people till Mahatmaji and his regiment of national soldiers came out. A number of enterprising people forded the river on the other side of the Ashram, and although the outer gate was closed there was a large crowd of people present inside the Ashram premises at four when morning prayers were offered. For those who had gathered outside, the prayer was conducted by Mr. D. B. Kalelkar, Principal of the Vidyapith. At five, a large crowd numbering no less than ten thousand had completely besieged the Ashram.

#### A VAST SEA OF KHADDAR CAPS.

Almost every second the crowd was growing, both in expanse and density. Men and women, old and young, boys and girls, all were vying with one another in enthusiastic demonstrations. It was indeed a vast sea of white Khaddar caps stretched along a considerable distance. The energy and enthusiasm of young blood had gone beyond all bounds. At least a thousand women took part in the procession and blessed the "warriors" in the great task they were embarking upon. It took all the energy and skill of the Ashram volunteers in arranging the huge crowds of people in a methodical fashion. But for the sublime influence of that great man which was pervading every heart, the huge concourse of humanity that had assembled on the banks of the Sabarmati would have certainly gone beyond all control. But on this great occasion the very atmosphere over the hallowed area was impregnated with Gandhi spirit. A word of discipline from an Ashram volunteer was enough to establish order in the midst of the surging crowds. By six the crowd was arranged on both sides of the road that runs through two sections of the Ashram. The Satyagrahi soldiers dressed simply in Khaddar and carrying their kit on their backs proceeded in a body out of the Ashram and arranged themselves in lines of four between the big rows of crowds. How happy these first Soldiers of Independence were at the thought of the great task they were launching upon could be seen from their care-free and smiling faces.

#### MAHATMA COMES OUT OF ASHRAM.

With his usual genial smile flickering on his broad lips betokening his unyielding faith in the justice of the cause he was pursuing and in the success of the great campaign he had embarked upon, Mahatmaji came out of the Ashram just a while after six, and was reverently greeted by the huge crowd with sky-rending cries of "Vande Mataram" and "Gandhi-ki-Jai". In pursuance of the ancient tradition an auspicious vermilion mark was applied to the forehead of Gandhiji by a

young lady. The other "Warriors" of the National Army were also similarly blessed by ladies. Mahatmaji inspected the army which he was to lead on the great march, and after he was satisfied as to the arrangements he took his stand at the head of the march. He was dressed in his usual simple attire, and carried no kit about him. All along he was smiling to the people from whom he was receiving reverential greetings.

Precisely at 6-30 the great march was begun amidst cries of "Vande Mataram". Mr. Manilal Kothari was keeping company with Gandhiji in the vanguard row. Mahatmaji was walking a little too fast for his health and age. He was carrying a long stick in his hand obviously for support. The whole army was marching in a perfectly disciplined manner. The agile general in the front was indeed a source of inspiration to all. The army passed all along the distance of ten miles up to Aslali between the densely packing rows of people who were standing in their places for hours together, eager for the "darshan" of India's great General. Ahmedabad had had on the occasion one of its hugest processions during living memory. With the possible exceptions of children and decrepits every resident of the city must have watched the great procession which was at least two miles in length. Those who could not find a standing place in the streets through which the army marched had made use of housetops and galleries, open walls and trees, and every conceivable place they could get hold of. The whole city seemed to be "enfete" on this historic occasion. The cries of "Gandhi-ki-Jai" were rending the skies all along the march.

#### BUSY TIME FOR CAMERA-MEN AND JOURNALISTS.

One quaint feature of the occasion was that whatever secret arrangements the guardians of law and order might have made not a single uniformed police was to be seen within a radius of three miles up to Ellis Bridge in the heart of the city. Camera-men could be counted in hundreds, while the cinema film cameras were not a few. The whole procession was filmed from the motor tops. The press representatives not only from all over India but also from England and Germany accompanied the procession. In the rearguard of the procession was a bullock cart with Khaddar for sale. A horse also was taken along with the army. The schools and the college in the city and a number of mills remained closed for the day, as a large number of students and workers took part in the procession. The programme, as finally settled, provides that Mr. Abbas Tyabji will lead the band in the event of Gandhiji's arrest. The rest of the officers in charge continue to function as arranged before. Good many volunteers coming from all parts of the country had to be disappointed because they could not be admitted in the first batch.

**Dr. Montessori to Visit India:**—The news has been received that Dr. Montessori, the well-known Italian educationist, is likely to visit India in the coming winter. The Inter-University Board has notified the visit to all Universities in India.

#### PROF. RADHAKRISHNAN'S ADVICE.

The tenth annual meeting of the Indian Students' Union and Hostel on 14th February was marked by a philosophic address from Professor Radhakrishnan.

Professor Radhakrishnan, who lately delivered the Hibbert Lectures and will be returning to Calcutta in the summer from his research work at Manchester College, Oxford, spoke without a single note. In its calmness and persuasive reasonableness his message was well adapted for such a time as this, and though his voice was one of candour he was listened to with close and appreciative attention. He told the young men that their responsibility when they returned to their Motherland would be very great, for after all the intellectuals of a nation were the bearers of the conscience of the community. If a man wished to know the opinions of a country he did not go about questioning the men servants and maid servants but sought out the intelligentsia. They were the leaders of public opinion and it rested with them how the masses would behave. They could develop or could suppress the excitement by which the masses could be stirred. Their power therefore could be exercised for good or for evil. He begged them, at a time bristling with difficulties in India, to cultivate and maintain the outlook of the scholar and not to be the victims of noisy propaganda.

#### INDIA AND ENGLAND.

Another important point was that the much talked of renaissance of India did not mean reversal to the past: it meant that nothing great could be achieved so long as the country was enslaved by tradition, whether religious, social, economic or political. It was in the degree to which tradition lost its hold that we acquired the habit of questioning old theories, and that the greatest achievements for the good of humanity had been reached. He believed that when the dust and din of controversy were over it would be put down to the credit of Great Britain that she administered the affairs of a great and diversified people, had evoked a sense of proud self-respect and had made them conscious of the humiliation of being a subject nation. When the final stock-taking took place it would be recognised that India's greatest gain from her association with England was the love of liberty, not in the political realm alone, which she had instilled into the minds of the people. The development of common interests and closer partnership between two such representative peoples was an idea for which every intelligent Indian and every intelligent Britisher could only have devotion and attachment.

#### EMPTY RESOLUTIONS.

Professor Radhakrishnan added that the searchlight so constantly applied to the mistakes and failings of others should be turned within. India should develop self-confidence but should do so in a discriminating way. Laughter and cheers greeted his remark that it was no good to pass resolutions about

independence and then to go out for a dance. They should consider with much greater care their resolutions and should see that their aspirations were linked with activity. The great weakness of the country was that societies, conferences and congresses were constantly passing resolutions without taking corresponding action. They must combine their idealism with a sense of reality, and with a practical perception of the things which were capable of achievement at the time. He found in various parts of India that, largely owing to this defect, those whom he had known in their youth as great idealists were turned into hardened cynics. He begged his young friends not to join in the race for wealth and place and power, but to put their ideals first and make everything else subordinate thereto. *The Times of India*, Bombay.

#### NATIONALISM AS A WORLD PHENOMENON.

The following, the substance of a lecture delivered by Prof. H. Miller, Professor of Sociology, Ohio University, U. S. A. to the students of Gujarat Vidyapith appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

It was less than a hundred years ago that nationalism in its present sense came into existence. The only apparent exception was Ireland which struggled for over five hundred years, but, even with the Irish consciousness of nationality is recent.

Previously, if a people was conquered it accepted its state as the inevitable way of the world, and in the course of time amalgamation tended to take place. There were many causes for the change which resulted in nationalistic movements becoming the most characteristic phenomenon of the time. It will soon run its course and become as archaic as feudalism, but not until it has achieved its results. The World War was precipitated by a nationalistic Serbian in Austria, and the result of the war, far more important than the victory of the Allies, was the fundamental reorganization of the map of Europe on nationalistic lines. No resistance was sufficient to withstand it. The German, Austrian, and Russian Empires were in part broken up into their constituent national elements, and the strongest use of force by England could not quell the Irish.

The Jews who had resisted absorption in many countries did not adopt a national programme until 1897, but now it spreads through them all.

In Central America, where the United States has cast covetous eyes, the same spirit is arising; and in the Philippines the Independence Movement is the dominant idea of all intellectuals and much of the masses and it cannot be long withheld.

#### JAPANESE IMPERIALISM.

Japan brought off the encroachments of the West by developing to the full a religious enthusiasm for the country. This, however, did not prevent her from adopting western methods in the appropriation

of Korea, a nation whose continuous political integrity is older than that of any country except China. Now nationalistic feeling in Korea is growing by leaps and bounds. Even in 1919 there was a great non-violent demonstration which resulted in the most vicious reprisals by the government, which later made many concessions. It is obvious that there will either be a change of attitude in Japan which is very possible, and even probable or there will be constant revolutionary activity until it succeeds.

#### NATIONALISM IN CHINA.

In China, which thirty five years ago seemed to be the legitimate prey of any powers that could get possession, the national movement has now reached a stage where no foreign power expects much longer to exercise any control. Every institution which formerly had a foreigner at the head must now have a Chinese.

In Indo-China where the French have ruled with an iron hand the force of nationalism is becoming very strong. The Government has prohibited the importation of old bailed newspapers from America which were used for wrapping purposes, because they fear there might be dangerous ideas in them.

The mild Dutch have ruled Java with absolutism, and everyone admits that trouble is looming directly ahead.

Turkey has won her success, and is thereby having a powerful influence on the attitude of Egypt. In Syria, Irak and Palestine the same sort of ideas are agitating both people and Government.

Apparently the development of national feeling is not affected by either repression or freedom of expression. In Korea where repression is as complete as possible, and in the Philippines where there is complete freedom of expression it is impossible to find any difference in attitude.

In every national movement there develops certain psychopathic symptoms that show little variation. There is always an emphasis on both religion and language. The Irish have revived a language that was dead, the Jews have modernized Hebrew. All of the Central European new states have started off in their own little languages. In the Philippines the question of which language they shall adopt instead of English occupies a good deal of attention.

Again in Ireland the people were ardent Roman Catholics because the English were Protestants; in Czechoslovakia, since the government was Catholic, Free thinking became the national symbol. In Korea which had been Buddhist the most ardent nationalists have been Christians, though now that some of the missionaries are sympathetic with the Japanese there is a reaction beginning against Christianity.

#### THE TWO FEATURES.

There are different conditions in each country, but one can always expect something to be occurring everywhere in connection with both language and religion. There is also always an abnormal emphasis on the old cultural values. Some years ago I

named all these tendencies the "oppression psychosis." In China which knows itself to be so old and so large this does not take the form of an inferiority complex as it does in every other country I have studied.

If we look at the whole world we may see a certain specialized cultural genius in three outstanding forms. The West is dominated by what the new psychology calls "drives." It seeks expression both through group aggression and individual initiative of which it has made a religion. In China which has a uniform culture extending over more than one fourth of the human race, there is practically no interest in religion; instead they have developed ethics to the highest point to be found anywhere in the world. Their present problem is merely to bring their ethics into conformity with larger relations. The special genius of India is spiritual with an emphasis on both social and self-control. Before I came to India I felt sorry for her but now I think that quite unnecessary. For many thousands of years it has been the greatest joy of Indians to suffer, so that a little more will not be out of harmony with their tradition.

#### INDIA—THE SOCIAL LABORATORY.

The particular problems of India make her a most important laboratory in the social process. There is the problem of keeping the essence of religion and getting rid of the cumbersome excrescences which to many have become the most important elements. It was inevitable that these should creep in during the long extension of time, in spite of reformers who have worked for purification.

What seems to many one of the great handicaps of the present situation, namely the differences of religion, is from the point of view both of India and the world at large a most fortunate circumstance, because India can work it out better than any one else.

It has prevented India from getting the octopus of a state religion, which was such a curse to Russia that its reaction has been extreme. The various religions must live together in the world and it is no longer possible to think of isolating them. Muslims and Hindus with their various sects have actually lived side by side here for a long time with relative harmony. Much of the present exaggeration on all sides is nothing but the psychopathic development of the present movement and will soon pass.

Supposing India does have a hard time for a few years or a few centuries; it is more capable of enduring it than anyone else because repression and suffering are for them what may be called positive values. It is a world assignment which she has and though she will exaggerate aspects of it as everyone must whose eyes are focussed on one point, world culture in the long run will discover the right proportions,

What exists in the world at present is a cultural division of labor—drive, Ethics, spiritual control. No balanced life of either individuals or nations can, in these days of free intercommunication persist successfully with these three human ways of self-realization unharmonized.

#### A MODERN VIEW OF RELIGION.

The current number of the *Realist* contains interesting articles on various subjects. We give below an article by Prof. J. S. Haldane of Birmingham University on "Religion and Realism."—

None of the scientific interpretations of our experience are anything better than tools for particular and limited uses; but the nearer they take us to a spiritual interpretation of experience the less unsatisfactory do they become. They lead us up towards a final conception of God as the supreme and only reality, and of God present in each of us as Personality and giving to each of us the only reality which we possess. It is the recognition of this in our conscious behaviour which, as it seems to me, constitutes religion. By recognition I mean no mere intellectual belief of any kind, but a practical recognition influencing our behaviour and our other beliefs, including scientific beliefs, at every point. How religious belief influences scientific belief I have already tried to indicate. If we insist on nothing but truth, nothing but realism, we are led to the standpoint of religion.

Religious belief is evidently inconsistent with philosophical materialism, or indeed with any kind of belief which postulates any other sort of ultimate reality than the reality of God. We cannot see in detail how all that appears to us is simply the appearance of God. All that we can see is that this must ultimately be the case. We express this by saying that it is only by faith that we see it. Hence faith comes to play a very large part in religious belief. But it is with absolute fearlessness that true religion faces all the appearances—all the chaos, sin, sorrow and death which seem to encompass us. As they appear to us, they can be nothing more than appearance. Through them there shines the spiritual reality which is supreme. The will of God is being done. This is the faith of what we call a simple Christian. It is a charitable faith, and expresses itself in correspondingly charitable conduct; but it is also a fearless faith, inspiring fearless conduct.

It is also something within us, the direct communion of God with corresponding direct authority. Mere human authority or evidence from asserted miraculous events does not produce the faith of religion. Nor can this faith result from mere scientific evidence of any kind, since science deals only with partial aspects of our experience.

I wish, in conclusion, to say why it is that persons who, like myself, regard religion as the most important thing in life, are yet unable to belong to

existing Churches. The duty of the Church is to keep religion and the omnipotence of God constantly before us, together with the conception of God as the source of all that we call good and true. It might seem, therefore, that we all ought to join some existing Church organisation.

The difficulty is that there is so much of what seems to me sheer materialism present in the existing creeds and forms of worship that I must remain outside. To those who, like myself, are engaged in scientific work this is doubtless a more formidable bar than to others; and everyone must decide a question of this kind for himself. I should like, however, to indicate more definitely what I mean.

In the first place, existing creeds make it appear that religion derives its authority indirectly from a historical revelation. The circumstances connected with the supposed historical revelation are also to a large extent inconsistent with experience, and rest in addition, on quite unsatisfactory evidence. It is one thing to accept the evidence that Christ must have been a man who in his saying, and fearless death displayed extraordinary spiritual insight, but quite another to accept the reported supernatural events that accompanied his life. Investigation, where it has been possible, has always shown supposed supernatural events to be based on illusion of some kind; and even if these events had actually occurred they would simply be very strange events without religious significance.

In the second place, the creeds offer something akin to a future pecuniary reward for religion, and a corresponding penalty for its neglect. This seems to me to degrade religion to a low material level. From its very nature, religion is its own reward.

A further difficulty is the doctrine of individual immortality, which is connected with the idea of future reward and punishment. Not only is there nothing in the rest of our experience to suggest the existence of individual immortality, but the very idea of it seems to me to be inconsistent with religion. In religion we lose our apparent individual selves in the personality of God, and it is only in our union with God that we are immortal or beyond the apparent vicissitudes of time.

It is because of the difficulty in getting rid of the idea of causal determination as part of reality that religious belief has become bound up with what to me are materialistic, and therefore essentially irreligious, beliefs. God, our universe and ourselves cannot be regarded as merely related causally. So long as the professed beliefs of religious organisations are bound up with what seems to me to be materialism I cannot join any of them; but beyond and around them all there is a Church of God, which all may join, and which is associated with no supernatural beliefs.

#### AMERICANS IN CANADA.

A correspondent writes in the *New Republic* :—

My husband and I came to Canada over six years ago. He was sent here by the company for which he worked, to be their Canadian Manager. This

company operates a factory and general office employing Canadians, my husband being the only American in the Canadian branch.

In Montreal the feeling against Americans was not very much in evidence. The French-Canadians and the English are so busy disliking each other they have no time or energy left to dislike a mere American. For five years we felt no ostracism whatever. My husband and I spoke French and we numbered our friends among both nationalities. We liked Canada and said so whenever our vacations took us to our homeland.

About eighteen months ago we were transferred to Toronto and we looked forward to the change with pleasure. Everyone told us what a lovely home town Toronto was, and the English people in Montreal said I would feel more at home there than in any other city in the Dominion.

We moved into a fashionable neighbourhood, an incorporated village on the outskirts of the city. We did not select the house ourselves, as another member of the company, a Canadian, made all the arrangements for us. It was not until we were settled in our home that we realised just how thick the society cream was. By some occult sense, the neighbours knew we were not one of them, and worst of all, we were "some of those awful Americans." When we made our appearance around the house, those living in the near vicinity occupied themselves with tasks that would not necessitate their looking in our direction.

I have always been a social animal, and my social status in life has never been so precarious that I had to have the pedigree of my neighbour before I could bid him the time of day. I did my best to be friendly and neighborly with the people around me, but the absence of any such feeling on their part made me withdraw into my own shell to wait until they came to me. I have lived in the same house with the same neighbors for eighteen months, and with one exception, a Canadian lady married to an American, I have yet to have them bid me "Good day," much less carry on a conversation with me. I doubt if some of them know my name. Among my neighbors I have two retired Episcopalian ministers and two women who are active workers in their respective churches, but their Canadian Christianity does not include the American stranger within their gates.

This state of feeling does not bother me or my husband. We are able to apply our sense of humor to the situation, and have resources within ourselves that make up for the lack of our neighbours' society. But we have a small son who bears the burden of being American. He had never been taught the difference in nationality, and his attempts at play with these children met with little encouragement. When we had been here about two months he came in and asked me what an "American" was. It was a pretty hard thing to explain to a three-and-a-half-year-old boy, particularly when I knew that he had

no doubt been taunted with it. The children of his own age have more or less overlooked the stigma of his nationality, but when any of the mothers invite the children into their homes, he is either left out entirely or sent home. He cannot understand why this should be, for in his desire to have playmates he will do almost anything for them.

This situation is not true of myself alone. Two other American friends who live in other parts of the city have the same thing to contend with. One of them has lived in her neighbourhood for the same length of time I have in mine, and she has yet to be received by any Canadian families. Even in school her children have been made to feel that they are just beyond the pale. I could go on multiplying instances but this will serve to let you know that William York knows what he is talking about.

AN AMERICAN IN EXILE.

Toronto, Canada,

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**All Parties' Conference.**—At the All Parties' Conference which met at Delhi a resolution was passed appointing a Committee of 29 persons to consider and submit a report on the best means of arriving at a settlement between all communities with regard to a Dominion Constitution for India. The following constitute the Committee:—Chairman:—Sir A. P. Patro. Hindus:—Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Jayakar (or Mr. Kelkar), Dr. Gokulchand Narang or Pandit Nanak Chand, Mr. Harbilas Sarada and Mr. G. R. Pradhan. Muslims:—The Maharaja of Mahomedabad, Sir Mahomed Shafi, Nawab Ismail Khan, Moulana Mahomed Ali, Sir Abdul Qayum, Dr. Shafast Ahmed Khan, Mr. Shafi Daudi and Mr. M. A. Jinnah. Liberals:—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Non-Brahmins:—Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty and Mr. Nawle. Depressed Classes:—Mr. T. O. Sakhare. Indian Christians:—The Rev. A. B. Nag. Sikhs:—Sirdar Ujjal Singh and Raja Daljit Singh. Europeans:—Col. Crawford. Anglo-Indians:—Col. Gidney. Parsis:—Sir Cowasji Jehangir Junlor. Zamindars:—The Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri and Mr. D. K. Lahiri Choudhry.

**Women of Asia.**—We understand from a message to the *Associated Press* that the response given by the Press, by Women's Associations and by prominent individuals to the proposal that an All-Asia Women's Conference should be held, has been so satisfactory that the promoters feel quite justified in going forward enthusiastically with the scheme. The leading Women's Associations have signified their willingness to cooperate; such are the All-India Women's Conference, the Delhi Women's League, the Women's Indian Association, the Lady Hardinge Medical College, the All India League for Maternity and Child Welfare, the Vigilance Society. Offers of hospitality for the Conference have been made by the women of Lahore, Delhi and Madras. Provisionally the suitability of Lahore has been accepted in view of the Asiatic Teachers Conference being held in Benares about the same time. The Women's Conference in Bombay appointed Mrs. Faridoonji, Mrs. Nehru, Mrs. Hamid Ali and Mrs. Kamala Devi as their representatives for the Asian

Conference Committee. An informal meeting of a number of women from different parts of India took place at the Taj Mahal Hotel on the 25th January at which the next steps to be taken were discussed. Since then a draft-invitation is being prepared to a number of representative women of India chosen not with regard to Province or Association, but by reason of their prominence in various sections of Indian life. These include Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal, Lady D. Tata, Lady Hydari, Rani Lakshmi Bai Rajwade, Dr. Poonen Lakhose, Srimati Annasuyabai Ben, Srimati Pratima Devi, and Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru. On receiving replies from the women of any of the thirty Asian countries, an All Indian Reception Committee will be formed. The general subjects to be discussed by the delegates will be the qualities and defects of Oriental civilisation with regard to Motherhood, the Child, the Joint Family, Education, Labour conditions, Arts and Crafts, the Spiritual Life. A Muhammadan lady leaving India in April to travel in all the Arabic-speaking countries is keenly interested in the Conference and will speak about it during her journey and persuade delegates to come from Western Asia. Already women in the Far East are planning to make the journey to India. Suggestions of co-operation may be referred to Mrs. Cousins, Pantheon Gardens, Madras, who is acting as organiser of the preliminary stages of the proposal.

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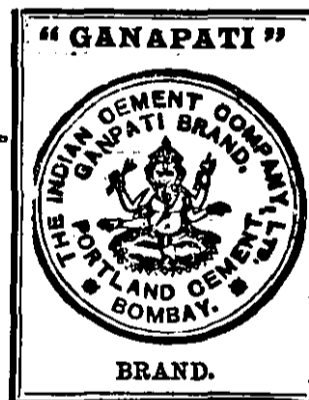
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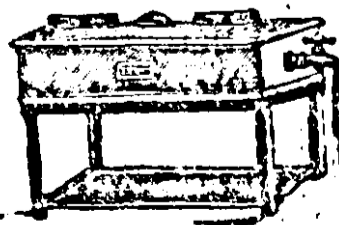
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Pathe Gazette No. 1687/88.

**ALL WET**

2 Reels,  
**SOUR MILK**

1 Reel,  
Weiss Bros. Comedy.

**THE ROYAL OPERA HOUSE**  
**LOVEY MARY**

7 Reels, featuring  
(**BESSIE LOVE & WILLIAM HAINES**)  
Metro Goldwyn Picture.

**MOTOR BOAT DEMON**

2 Reels,  
(**EARLE FOXE**)  
Fox Comedy.

**PALACE OF HOMEY**

1 Reel,

Time:—Saturday 5-30 P.M. Cinema and 9-30 P.M. Sundrabai's Concert.  
Sunday 5-30 P.M. Sundrabai's Concert and 10 P.M. Cinema.  
Monday to Thr. 6-30, 8-15 and 10 P.M. Cinema.  
Friday \* Sanjanno Shurvir \* at 8-30 P.M. and 10 P.M. Cinema.

Morning show at the Empress and Edward Theatres at 10 A.M.

THE

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No. 29

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Medical Education In India:**—As in many modern activities, we owe a great debt of gratitude to British and European medical men for the promotion of medical education in this country. These pioneers have mostly been members of the Indian Medical Service which, until recently, was a close preserve of British medical men, with a sprinkling of Indians who passed the competitive examination in England. During the War, however, a large number of Indian doctors had to be taken into the service which is primarily intended to meet the needs of the Indian Army. The General Medical Council of Great Britain seems to have become alarmed at this influx and within the last few years, it has been seeking to regulate more closely than it has done before the medical education in Indian Universities. It went so far as to insist upon having a representative of its choice to supervise the medical examinations of the Universities and the latter were obliged to submit by the threat of withholding recognition of their degrees in the case of students who go to England to obtain British medical qualifications which, under an antiquated rule, is necessary to gain admission to the Indian Medical Service. The interference of the General Medical Council finally took the shape of requiring the Government of India to appoint a Commissioner of Medical Education, of course approved by the Council, to control it throughout India. This was the last straw. The officer was chosen and was on the point of starting for India when the Legislative Assembly refused to vote his salary and the Governor-General did not see his way to sanction it under his emergency powers. The General Medical Council has now promulgated its decree withdrawing recognition of Indian degrees. The Medical Profession in this country is now strong enough to hold its own without the recognition of the British Council. The Secretary of State, it is hoped, will promptly rescind the ancient rule about candidates for the Indian Medical Service being required to possess a British qualification so that the peevish action of the General Medical Council may not prevent Indians from entering the Indian Medical Service.

**Mr. Vallabhbhai's Arrest:**—In our leading article last week, we did not think it relevant to discuss the legality or otherwise of the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. The Satyagrahis court imprisonment and repression and it is immaterial from their point of view whether these, which are really essential conditions for their success, come legally or illegally. Perhaps, they would say that illegal imprisonment is better from their point of view than legal. The *Leader*, Allahabad, edited by an eminent Indian Liberal leader, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, in two leading articles condemns the action taken against Mr. Vallabhbhai in severe terms. "We are clear and strong", it observes in its first article, "that the action taken against Mr. Vallabhbhai was a gross blunder which suited the campaigners far more than the guardians of law and order." In the second article written with further information, it uses even stronger language and insists that the obligation is greater on publicists, who do not approve of the *Satyagraha* campaign, to insist that the legal guardians of law and order do not themselves perpetrate illegalities, do not act in a discreditable spirit of petty vindictiveness and do their duty in a wise and becoming manner. It is, therefore, surprising to see some Liberal names among those who voted against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's motion in the Legislative Assembly to call attention to the action against Mr. Vallabhbhai. It is clear that unless Indian Liberals have a definite set of principles to which all members of the party are expected to adhere, they cannot claim to be a political party on the strength merely of being opposed to the National Congress. The history and principles of Indian Liberalism, as deducible from the practice of eminent leaders, form the subject of our leading article in this issue.

**The Bombay Seva Sadan:**—The Bombay Seva Sadan, founded by the late Messrs. Malabari and Dayaram Gidumal, has completed its 21st year. Miss B. A. Engineer who was its first Secretary, still holds that position. Of other original members or associates, we recognise only two, Sir Lalubhai Samaldas and Sister Sushilabai Kudamal, who are the Treasurers. The institution has grown with the years and its prominent activities are classified under four heads: Educational, Industrial, Social and Medical. Under the first head, it conducts the only Normal and Home Education classes for women in Bombay city. The Normal classes which have been in existence for 14 years are now developed into a full-time Training College teaching up to the Final Diploma course of the Government Training College for women. These classes are the

principal source of supply of trained teachers to the Bombay Municipal Girls' Schools. On the Industrial side, the Sadan provides teaching in cutting and sewing, hosiery, cookery, laundry, cane work and fancy embroidery. About 200 women attend these classes. In the Training Homes and Home for the Homeless of the Sadan 70 women and children are maintained and educated entirely free. The Report says that it is unable to accommodate more, though the number seeking admission is increasing every year owing to increasing poverty and social evils. With greater co-operation among similar Homes in the city, it may be possible to afford relief to more women and in a more systematised way. The Bombay Sadan unlike the Poona Sadan which, first, begun as a branch has now become a vast institution with several branches throughout the country, has not spread beyond the city to whose needs, however, it has become closely adapted. This shows how specialised and separated Bombay City life has become from the life up-country. The Report says that the Sadan's Normal and Home classes chiefly benefit the poor and middle-classes of all communities Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, Indian Christian and Bene-Israel. "Coming as they do, generally from poor families," it is observed "their mental calibre also is very low." The impact of poverty on city children affects their mental and moral as well as physical growth. In the country, it has rather a contrary effect, as many of our great men come from poor, often very poor, families.

**Mahatma Gandhi On British Rule:**—We refer in a leading article to the comment of a Christian Missionary journal on Mahatma's letter to the Viceroy. The *Guardian*, (Calcutta), from which we quote the following is not a Missionary journal. It may be described as an attempt to apply Christian principles to the study of Indian National problems, and it often attains a striking measure of success. The *Guardian* observes:—"All foreign rule is bad both for the rulers and the ruled, but to say that British rule in India has 'reduced us to serfdom, and by a policy of disarmament has degraded us spiritually' is mere hyperbole and cannot be sustained by the facts of the situation. We should be the last to deny that many of the results of British rule in India have been most injurious to the highest interests of India or that a state of subjection can ever be anything but a deadening influence to a self-respecting people, but that does not justify Mr. Gandhi in the extravagant language he has used in his letter. We are at one with Mr. Gandhi in his insistence upon the necessity of the closing of the period of British rule in this country and in the urgency for the transference of power to the people of India, but we are certain that the method he has chosen for giving effect to this determination is one that cannot possibly serve the high ends that he himself has in view."

**The Colombo Vivekananda Society:**—The *Hindu Organ* of Jaffna reviews in appreciative terms the annual report of the Colombo Vivekananda Society which was established four years ago. The number of members has increased during this period from 660 to 1,200. Receipts from subscriptions amounted to Rs. 35,000, and the total income last year was Rs. 14,000. A building

scheme estimated to cost Rs. 75,000 has been approved. This is intended to accommodate a school and other institutions. Lectures are regularly delivered expounding Swami Vivekananda's teachings, and study classes are a conspicuous feature of the Society's activities. The Hindus of Ceylon are mostly staunch Saivaites, and the Society celebrates every year the anniversaries of the sixty-three Saiva saints. Religious instruction to Hindu prisoners at the Mabara prison and to the Hindu inmates of the Tendala Leper Asylum, is given by teachers provided by the Society. An examination in religion was instituted last year for school children. Twenty-six schools presented over 1,000 candidates for the examination which was held in 21 centres. The Society has organised a Vivekananda Sports Club with the object of promoting physical education among its members.

**Women Of India Survey:**—The women of India were asked to co-operate in the compilation of the Women of India Survey which is undertaken by Miss Rathbone and her friends in England. It subsequently transpired that the editors entrusted with the work were known to hold views unsympathetic to India and its women. Mrs. B. Nehru, Secretary of the social section of the All-India Women's Conference, has written a letter to Miss Rathbone, showing the futility of the proposed survey. We reproduce below Mrs. Nehru's letter which speaks for itself:—"I thank you for your letter of the 26th September 1929 in reply to mine of the 9th September. I regret the delay in replying which is due to the fact that the matter had to be placed before the Standing Committee which met in connection with the All-India Women's Conference in the third week of January at Bombay. While it has noted with satisfaction that it is your intention to make any Survey of Women in India as clear and accurate as possible, the Committee after full discussion of all the points involved voted unanimously against taking any share or responsibility in producing the Survey of India proposed to be issued under the auspices of the National Union of Secretaries for equal Citizenship, and under your Editorship for the following reasons: "That events are moving at such a rapid speed in India that such a Survey would be out of date in a very short time. That it undesirable that such a Survey should be undertaken at all by women of a different nation. That such a Survey cannot adequately and surely be made by women who do not know India by long residence and by sympathetic co-operation in the life of its women. That the placing of statistics of to-day without reference to the inclusion of statistics and conditions of the past when India had not been invaded by foreigners (arts, learning, philosophy, trade, riches, political system, religion, etc.) would give an entirely misleading picture and that if such statistics and statements were included they would be bound to have such political implications, as would not be agreeable to the National Union to publish under their present political restrictions. Without such an investigation into the roots of the present state of affairs, the book would be liable to do more harm than good. All India Women's Conference would much prefer that those who have the interests of this country at heart would come

and work with the people who are changing the present statistics."

**N. M. Wadia Charities**—The N. M. Wadia Charities are unique among Bombay Charities for their magnitude as well as for the broad cosmopolitanism of their objects. The statement of income and expenditure for 1928-29 received this week, shows that the total income of the Fund was Rs. 6,29,325 and the expenditure Rs. 4,15,101 during the year. More than half of the income was from rents of properties, and the rest, except for a small item, from dividends on shares and interest on Government and Municipal bonds. That in a year of depression the Charities got an income from shares, shows how careful the Trustees are in making their investments. On the expenditure side, Relief of Poor and Distressed accounted for Rs. 82,976, Education Rs. 79,063, Ambolee development Rs. 116,303, Hospitals Rs. 47,100 and Natural Calamities Rs. 19,216. Maintenance of Orphans took Rs. 15,000, and about Rs. 11,000 was spent on marriage of poor maids and Navjote of Parsi boys and girls. Miscellaneous and unspecified Charities were disbursed to the amount of Rs. 44,278. The Wadia Charities are a great and beneficent institution serving the interests of the whole country without regard for caste, race or creed. The name of the philanthropic Founder has become a household word through the judicious administration of the Fund by the Trustees.

**"That Men May All Be Brothers"**:—We published last year from the pen of Dr. Clifford Manabardt a series of short articles, fifty-two in number, on different topics, making for the promotion of "brotherhood" among men and women of all races and creeds. These which were really in the nature of short talks were widely appreciated for their freshness of thought and crispness of style. We are glad, as we are sure many of our readers will be, that these have been collected together in a neat little book printed at the Bombay Vaibhav Press. Copies can be had at Re. one each from the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, Byculla, Bombay.

**Health And Wealth**:—Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, in his opening remarks at the Economic Conference held at Bangalore on Monday, struck a note which, we hope, will find response in other parts of the country. We refer to his emphasising the importance of public health as a contributory factor to the economic growth of the people. Wealth in the old textbooks is described as arising from the combination of land, labour and capital, labour being understood in the same impersonal sense as land and capital. The Labour Movement is largely an attempt to assert and vindicate the humanity of workers. In India particularly economic development has long been officially understood to mean the production of so many tons of grain, cotton, oil-seeds, minerals, and of a favourable balance of trade, the human agent in production being almost entirely left out of the picture. Sir Mirza Ismail has taken the question out of this vicious rut and insisted on the essential relation between the health and wealth of the people. "Our irrigational works," he said taking a conspicuous instance, "would avail us nothing if malaria was permitted to stalk unchecked over the tracts commanded by them." The connection

between malaria and the wrong type of irrigation has only recently attracted public attention, and we are glad Sir Mirza has taken note of it. The Hartog Committee raised the cry of "waste" in education because pupils drop off from primary schools at the lower standards. It will be good if every youngster who enters the infant standard emerges with a Doctorate out of the University, but even a little education is better than no education, and the theory of "waste" seems to us to be itself a waste of words.

**"Uncertifying" Certified Films**:—A Press communique issued on Thursday states that by a Gazette Extraordinary the Government of Bombay have "uncertified" three films relating to Mahatma Gandhi's "March" from Ahmedabad, which were approved by the Bombay Board of Film Censors. This is the first time that Government have claimed the power to over-ride the decision of the Board of Censors. The films cannot now be exhibited in any place in the Bombay Presidency. But, we fancy, the Board's certificate is valid all over India, and it remains to be seen if the Government of India and all the other provinces follow suit.

**Lady Member In Bombay Council**:—We extend our congratulation to Miss I. M. Dickinson on being the first lady to be nominated to the Legislative Council of the province. Miss Dickinson's work as secretary of the Vigilance Association will be found very valuable when the Prostitution Act amendment comes up for discussion. The following extract from the VIIIth Annual Report of the Association will be of interest to our readers:—

"Early in January of this year a deputation consisting of the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna, Mr. H. W. Bryant and Mr. Kanji Dwarakadas waited on the Home Member, urging immediate action. The Hon'ble Mr. Hotson informed the Deputation that he approved of the Committee's recommendations and promised to publish the new Bill, which *inter alia* makes brothel-keeping illegal. This Bill was published in the Government Gazette of February 19th. It will not be out of place to record here that the new Bill is based on the recommendations of the Prostitution Committee, appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1921. The main recommendations of the majority of this Committee were that the Bombay Government should follow the example of the Government of Burma and make the following acts illegal:—(1) The keeping of brothels, (2) The procuring of women, (3) Letting of houses for prostitution. We have great pleasure in reporting that the Government of Bombay have nominated Miss Dickinson, our worker, as a co-opted member of the Bombay Legislative Council with a view to get her expert opinion and advice on the new amending Bill when it comes up before that body in the current session. No better choice could have been made for this purpose, and it is worthy of note that Miss Dickinson is the first lady member of the Bombay Legislative Council."

We published in the last issue a manifesto signed by prominent ladies of Bombay urging the Government to put an end to commercialised vice in the City by passing the Bill. We regret however that an Indian lady was not selected for this honour. We should have thought in view of the manifesto that several Indian ladies would have been prepared to serve on the Committee.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, MARCH 22, 1930.

WHAT IS LIBERALISM ?

The liberal desireth liberal things; and by liberal things shall he stand.

Isaiah XXXII, 8.

Liberalism has an ancient and illustrious ancestry. The Hebrew prophet, Isaiah, whose words are placed at the head of this article, may be called the father of Liberalism. Isaiah was a prophet who called upon his people to cast aside the ceremonial religion and to serve God by serving their people. He was thus a statesman in the highest sense of the term. The mere politician is absorbed in politics as a game, but the statesman goes to the root of things, scorns tactics and feels the sins and sufferings of his people a thousand times more intensely than the meanest of them. Isaiah's political philosophy may be gathered from some of his impassioned appeals and denunciations addressed to his people. "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." "Ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces and grind the faces of the poor, saith the Lord." "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well. Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help; and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen because they are very strong: but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord! Now the Egyptians are men and not God; and their horses, flesh and not spirit. When the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is helpen shall fall down, and they shall all fall together." "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers." This ancient Liberal was certainly not mealy-mouthed. Neither was he a moderate but a root-and-branch reformer. His Liberalism was a call to the godly life which meant a life devoted to the service of the poor, the oppressed, the fatherless and the widow in obedience to the moral law which is the law of God.

It may be thought that all this has little to do with Liberalism in modern politics. It has to do a good deal. The British Liberals from whom Indian Liberals took their inspiration were men of just this prophetic spirit. Gladstone and Bright were the models which the fathers of the National Congress set before themselves in thought, ideals and even in their manner of

speech. Gladstone saw the sword of Heaven uplifted to avenge any wrong and John Bright was never tired of insisting that the moral law was meant not only for individuals but also for nations. "To vast numbers of people in the last century" writes J. A. Spender in his autobiography, "the speeches of men like Gladstone and Bright were spiritual meat and drink, which kept the faith alive in a manner far more vital and potent than the programmes and material inducements of later days. Whether his theme was Ireland, or the franchise, or Turkish atrocities, Gladstone talked something that the whole country recognized as Liberalism, something that transfigured the party strife and made an appeal from the worse to the better side of its nature". Mr. Spender, indeed, suggests that the decline of Liberalism in Great Britain may be largely due to the decline of religion. What has this got to do with Indians, it may be asked. We say everything. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's speeches were often embellished by quotations from the Bible, especially Isaiah. He concluded his presidential address to the National Congress with from Cardinal Newman's hymn "Lead kindly light." Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was a careful student of Isaiah, and this writer remembers many occasions on which Sir Narayan spoke of the Hebrew Prophet as the world's first and greatest statesman.

Indian Liberalism was thus in its origin an austere creed in which there was no hard and fast line between private and public life. Moral fervour was the soul of Liberalism and without it Liberalism is as salt which has lost its savour. Nowadays, Liberalism is often mistaken for a gift of clever compromise, and a skill in finding formulas to smooth over differences for the time being without going to the root of them. True Liberalism never slurs over difficulties. Its optimism is the optimism which, to quote the words of penetrating thinker, goes all the way with pessimism and a long way beyond it. Spender, whom we have already quoted, referring to the decline of English Liberalism points out that, the present position of the Liberal is that of *amicus curiæ* between two extremes. "He is neither plaintiff nor defendant in this action. He wants neither the Labour dictatorship which would follow if Capital were defeated, nor the Capitalist ascendancy which would follow if Labour were disarmed. He dislikes equally the revolution which Labour proposes and the reaction from it in the Conservative party, and looks for a return to more sober politics when these two combatants are discredited or exhausted. Liberalism is not a cold calculating narrow creed of compromise but a warm and eager pursuit of the highest ideals of freedom in all things, religious, social, political.

## THE I. D. M. EPISODE.

My retirement from the editorship of the *Indian Daily Mail* has been the subject of public comment. It is, therefore, desirable to state the facts briefly. When I stepped at the request of Mr. J. B. Petit in the gap left by the rather abrupt departure of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, most of my friends were sceptical as to how long I would continue. I myself considered the arrangement as a stop-gap and, besides a sort of understanding, there was no agreement as to the duration or other conditions of my tenure. I had known Jehangir Petit for several years, had worked with him in the Indian movement to support Mahatma Gandhi's campaign in South Africa, and had enjoyed the gracious hospitality of Mount Petit in those happy, far-off days. My impression of Petit formed in those years was that he was rather an impetuous politician, with nothing of the sneak or snob in him. If anything, I would, I felt, have to be a restraining influence and I did not expect any difficulty in the matter of policy. So it actually happened. It is due to him to acknowledge that he never interfered with the policy of the paper during my period, even though on some occasions it was not on all fours with his own utterances in public. During the first few months, on the other hand, he now and then hinted that I might put a little more "ginger" into my articles. But, I think, he came subsequently to appreciate my view that it is more respectful to the reader and better from the point of view of the paper, to state my arguments in a spirit of fairness and without bias, and not to attempt to coerce the readers' judgment by massing adjectives. Moreover, I am very little interested in personalities which constitute much of the "ginger" of journalism. Most of us are puppets of circumstance and it is only one in a million who moulds circumstance to his iron will. The latter are the only ones whose personality is of significance. The appreciations from opposite quarters since my retirement, show that the *Indian Daily Mail* has not been a sufferer from the lack of "ginger" in my composition. And I wanted really to help Jehangir Petit. I found very soon after my joining the paper that its position was not as easy as I had been led to believe, and that as a friend I should do nothing to embarrass him, if I could do but little to assist him in regard to the financial side of the concern. I part with the paper in a spirit of entire goodwill, and I hope that under the new arrangements he will be able to secure the rest and recuperation which he so badly needs.

## WHY I RESIGNED.

Coming to the question of my retirement, the facts are simple. About the middle of February—on the 13th to be precise—I wrote to Petit requesting him to relieve me of the charge of the paper as soon as he could make arrangements to carry on my work. This was in connection with a resolution of the Managing Committee of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of which he and I have been Honorary Secretaries and Trustees

of its Fund ever since the commencement. I reproduce my letter :

13th February 1930.

My dear Petit,

I wish to be relieved of the editorship of the *Indian Daily Mail* as soon as you could make arrangements to carry on my work. My immediate reason is that I strongly disapprove of the subvention from the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association funds and the procedure by which it has been obtained. It is my duty as a member of the Council and as a Trustee to raise the question as early as possible and you will agree with me that it will be extremely awkward for me to do so while holding my present position in the *Indian Daily Mail*.

The view which I take of the matter may be wrong but I have thought much over it and I have not been able to change it. Therefore I have regretfully come to the conclusion that I have no option in the matter.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) K. NATARAJAN.

The subvention referred to was a sum of Rs. 25,000 which was voted at an adjourned meeting of the Managing Committee, which I could not attend but which I learnt was attended by three members, besides Petit and the Secretary, Mr. Waiz, the two not voting.

Petit who was leaving for Delhi replied regretting my attitude, stating that he could not agree with me, that he would discuss the matter with me when he came back and asking me to do nothing in the matter till his return. After Petit's return I handed him a typed paper enumerating my objections and it was agreed that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the present Chairman of the Managing Committee of the Association and also of the Board of Directors of the Indian Daily Mail Company, would be asked specially to attend the next meeting of the Council at which the minutes would come up for confirmation, to give his opinion on the points raised and the question generally. I must mention here that the Managing Committee had in the past made a grant of Rs. 1000 for an Overseas Supplement which was issued with the *Indian Social Reformer*. This was made twice or thrice, the last time being in 1927. Some days after my conversation with Petit, I heard that Mr. F. W. Wilson who was lately Editor of the *Pioneer* had been through the office making enquiries, and I asked Petit on the telephone what it meant. He said that the Liberals were thinking of helping the paper and Mr. Wilson had been sent by them to look round and advise them. I called on Petit the next day and told him that in any case I did not want to be on the paper after July next when I would have been five years editor, but if it was to pass under Liberal control, I should like to be relieved at once. On Saturday the 15th, Mr. Petit wrote to me, privately and officially, as Managing Director that Mr. Wilson will take over charge on Monday. There was a somewhat ludicrous incident about this "taking over charge" but it is hardly worth more than mentioning here.



## WHY I AM NOT A LIBERAL.

Why did I decline to edit a Liberal organ? I belonged to the Liberal Party till 1921 when I left it because I felt that Mahatma Gandhi's arrest after the Bardoli withdrawal was a wanton exercise of authority. I was one of the joint Secretaries with Messrs. Jayakar and Jinnah of what was known as the Malaviya Conference which sought ineffectually, as it unfortunately turned out, to bring about an agreement between Lord Reading and Mahatma Gandhi. We had requested Mahatmaji to postpone his ultimatum until we had a reply from the Viceroy, but he sent it all the same and that broke up the negotiations. We did not give up hope, however, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jayakar and myself followed Mahatmaji to Bardoli on the off-chance of being able to effect an eleventh-hour suspension. And providentially it turned out as we wished. We were present when Mahatmaji announced the suspension of the contemplated Satyagraha in a short speech full of feeling, and then kindly invited each one of the three of us to say a few words at the gathering. That withdrawal at the last moment in pursuance of the principle of strict non-violence, was one of the greatest acts of political and spiritual courage of which I have heard or read in my life. Mahatmaji was never a greater man in my eyes than at that supreme moment. Instead of appreciating the splendour and nobility of his act, which caused great disappointment and dissatisfaction among Congressmen and, in fact, weakened Mahatmaji's influence, the Bombay Government had him arrested and put on trial for sedition. His trial and conviction, however, was another opportunity for the exhibition of his moral grandeur. Of the Government, which took this step, the Liberals were Members and Ministers. They were consenting parties, even though, as was subsequently stated, they were not actually consulted about it. Not one of them made a sign at the time that he disapproved of the act. I felt that I had no place thereafter in a Party which was incapable of rising above petty political motives. At that time, the Liberals had the whole game in their hands, Congressmen having held aloof from the Councils. If the Liberals had used their unique opportunity in a spirit of patriotic statesmanship, I truly believe that the situation to-day would not be what it is. But they did not do that. They became subservient to an imperious Governor. The Development and Back Bay Schemes which have involved this Presidency in a financial crisis for which there is no parallel, were adopted and pushed through when Liberals were all powerful in the Government, as Members and Ministers. The Liberals in Bombay were then tried and found wanting. They are not equal to keeping up the political pressure without which not only can there be no constitutional advance, but the gains already achieved, may be lost to the country.

K. NATARAJAN.

## IS IT TRUE ?

A friend calls our attention to the following which was published in the *Pioneer* of the 16th instant, in connection with Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's election to the Legislative Assembly:—

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar signed and delivered a pledge before a representative conference of electors at Kumbakonam upon which Rajah Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar, who stood on the issue of opposition to the Child Marriage Restraint Act, was persuaded to withdraw from the contest in favour of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

The pledge runs: "Feeling as I do that social reform is essentially a growth from within, and not of compulsion from without, I am against penal legislation in social matters, and if and as soon as opportunity arises, I shall make and co-operate in attempts to exempt from the provisions of such legislation as the Sarda Act, those communities and individuals who feel as a matter of conviction that the provisions run counter to their religious faith and duties. I also hold that in matters affecting particularly the organised and established social life, or the personal law, of any distinctive community, legislation by composite legislatures is wrong, and I shall not countenance or support such legislation. I shall endeavour to my utmost to persuade those in authority to arrange for representation at the Round Table Conference of persons holding the Orthodox or the Sanatanist Hindu views, and on all occasions shall press, and fully co-operate in any efforts made, for securing religious neutrality and non-interference by the Legislature or the Executive in matters concerning the religious rites and usages of any community."

We could scarcely believe our eyes when we read this, and we still think that there must be some mistake. If, however, it is correct—and there has been no contradiction, so far—the Liberal party must have become very accommodating, indeed.

## WHAT IS CHRISTIAN IN IT ?

A Christian Missionary journal may have two functions. One is to proclaim the excellence of the Christian religion with all the skill, learning and art at its command. The other, and by far more important, is to comment on current events from the Christian point of view. What we understand by the Christian point of view is the angle from which Jesus Christ, if he were in the flesh, would approach them. It may not be given even to the most inspired Christian Missionary in the twentieth century to hit precisely this particular angle. But he may and should strive his utmost to approach it; or at least, he should be on his guard against straying far apart from it. We remember conveying this sentiment rather sharply to a veteran missionary friend now no more in the early years of the Great War. There were many complaints from some districts of people being compelled to subscribe to War-loans by means of summonses illegally issued by the local Magistracy. We had actually seen some of these summonses ourselves. The matter did not in any way concern Christian Missions, but for some reason, or other, our friend sent a letter to the

Press denying the truth of the complaints. It happened that he came to pay us his usual friendly visit whenever he came to Bombay, on the very day that his letter was published. We were, it must be admitted, a bit excited and as soon as he stepped in, we put him the question why he wrote such a letter to the Press. He replied that no cases of compulsion had come to his notice. We replied that they had come to our notice, and how could he feel justified owing to their not having come to his notice, in saying that the complaints were false. "Would Jesus Christ have done it?" Our friend was a very devout and sincere man, and we could see him now his face glowing red, when that question was put. He said nothing, but we knew that he felt no resentment, as he not only made no change in his relations with us but we felt that he was at pains to show that he felt actually even more cordial than before since then.

The incident came to our mind on reading the following comment in the *Indian Witness*, the well-known Missionary weekly Review published in Lucknow, on Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy under the caption, "Abraham and Gandhi."—

Of Abraham it was said that he went out not knowing whither he went. For this act of faith he has been called the father of the faithful. He left an old, narrow existence and went forth following the leading of a promise that told of enlarged possibilities.

Of Mr. Gandhi it can also be said that he goes out not knowing whither he goes. But the same exercise of faith is not evident in his going. Rather he seems to be tempting fate. His letter to the Viceroy does not ring true. He appears to be trying to make an issue of what does not carry conviction even with himself. He talks about being arrested as though he considered this somewhat of an achievement. He talks about women and children being killed in some struggle that is to come. And yet he speaks of being ready to talk matters over with the Viceroy.

In this latest move Mr. Gandhi has not carried his crowd with him. If he really wishes to serve the cause of India's freedom his present method does not inspire confidence. It looks as though he feels that the movement towards a settled working out of the reforms is gathering such strength that his *khaddar* movement will go into the discard. This of course, he could not allow and so he purposes to take matters into his own hands and become once more the arbiter of India's destiny. It begins to look as though Mr. Gandhi is not a good hand at co-operation though he protests that his heart aches to co-operate. Is he afraid he would not hold his own at the Round Table? Is he afraid to risk his ideas and suggestions in an open forum?

We are reminded of Mr. Wilson's mistake when he insisted on personally being present at the Peace Conference. He was afraid there was no one else who could adequately represent his ideas. But all reformers need to learn that the world is not ready for their reforms until there are many who are able to think them out by themselves. Mr. Gandhi has not learned this if we are to judge by his latest move. It is to be hoped that India's mind is well enough made up so that it will not

be greatly hindered by this counsel of confusion which Mr. Gandhi has offered.

There is much in this criticism which is not different from what we have ourselves said of the letter, except the suspicion of a sneer of which, we hope, we are incapable in dealing with any product of Mahatmaji's brain, holding as we do his life and personality to be the most precious possession of India, however much we may differ from his political opinions. But when we read it, we cannot help asking ourselves, what is there Christian about this? We could imagine a Hebrew journalist of the first century A. D. writing just such a paragraph headed "Abraham and Christ." He might have written.—

Of Abraham it was said that he went out not knowing whither he went. Of Jesus Christ it can also be said that he goes not knowing whither he goes. Rather he seems to be tempting fate. He seems to be afraid there is no one else who could adequately represent his idea. But all reformers need to learn that the world is not ready for their reforms until there are many who are able to think them through and carry them out by themselves.

We write in reverence and apologise to our Christian readers for introducing the name of Jesus in this connection. We should not have done so were it not necessary to emphasise our idea of the Christian point of view. The comment of the *Witness* may be good horse-sense or even excellent administrator craft but, we repeat, what is there in it that it should find place in a professedly Christian journal? James Martineau in one of his lectures in his "Endeavour after the Christian life" observes that the majority of men cannot recognise a saint if he happens to live next door to them, and can only do so if he lived some hundreds of years before them and in a far distant land. Probably because they instinctively feel that their own proximity is not favourable to the cultivation of the saintly life! We do not know what the world will think of Mahatma Gandhi, a thousand years hence, but to ridicule his method seems perilously like ridiculing Christ's method which he is, consciously or unconsciously, trying to follow as far as conditions permit in India at the present time. As for waiting till a large number of persons are ready for a new idea, we commend the following lines from Lowell's "To W. L. Garrison" to the *Witness* :

Men of a thousand shifts and wiles look here  
See one straightforward conscience put in pawn  
To win a world; see the obedient sphere  
By bravery's simple gravitation drawn!

#### GOVERNMENT SERVANTS AND INDEPENDENCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*

Sir,

There was until recently a practice of taking formal declaration of loyalty from candidates on admission to government service. That practice has now ceased to exist—abolished or fallen into disuse.

I don't know which. But there is still a clause in the "Government Servants' Conduct Rules" which forbids government servants from taking part in political matters.

But now that self-determination is held to be applicable to India, Dominion Status is declared—unequivocally and authoritatively—to be the goal of Government of leading India to, and there is nothing illegal or improper even in the aspiration for Independence and securing it by constitutional means, the rule aforesaid, differentiating servants of Government from other citizens of the land, for purposes political, loses its entire force and sense, its palpable partiality and open unfairness apart.

Are government servants the private property of Government? If they are, let it be made clear, in the name of common justice and common sense, that they are. If not, as I hope they are not, where is the propriety or necessity for the restriction of the kind referred to? By taking service of Government should people be gainers in some respects, or lose the right of ordinary citizens? Is service of Government—under Dominion Status in action—a crime, to be expiated by the giving up of private rights?

Secondly, the effect of the rule in question, like the effect of all unjust and inefficient orders, is to give undue advantage to one and inflict undue hardship on others. It provides loop-holes of escape to cunning people, and acts as a dead weight, if not like a hanging sword, on honest, straight, unwary, God-fearing, government-fearing, members, who are generally the bulk in every line of life.

Will Government be pleased, under the circumstances, gracefully to annul—and early—the iniquitous and injurious order, along with the other sons of the soil, openly to participate in all legitimate movements? Will some Honourable Members be pleased to raise the question in the Assembly, as also in all the Provincial Councils?

BOMBAY,  
18th March 1930. }

Yours etc.  
MAN.

#### MARRIAGE LAWS.

Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar writes in the *Indian Review*:—How far the Legislature of a country could interfere in matters social is a question that cannot be decided as an abstract proposition of law or polity. The normal course will, no doubt, be to allow the societies comprised within a political unit to develop their social institutions in a manner that will secure to them progress without violently snapping their traditional moorings.

But it has to be conceded that on occasions the legislature will have to interfere in order to correct abuses which are likely to undermine the principles of morality and the safety of the members.

Modern society has no counterpart to the ancient law gives actually functioning on the lines adopted by them. Without any other authority than the

reverence due to them the ancient sages were able to have their conclusions accepted and acted upon by those in whose hands the actual administration was vested. On account of the diversity of religious beliefs, conflict of class and caste interests prevailing in modern India, even if such sages were to function now there is no guarantee that what they promulgated will be accepted and acted upon.

The contact with England with its gradually evolved parliamentary institutions, legislature and judicial precedents has effected a revolution in the mental attitude of the people of this country. India has actually become a democratic country though it has not yet fully divested itself of the aristocratic tendencies of the past. Hence the promulgation of laws of any kind by a body of experts and their acceptance as a matter of course cannot come within the ambit of practical policy in Modern India.

In cases of social legislation, the test to be applied is not the competency of the legislature to pass a social law but whether the legislation violates the pledge given by the sovereign authority. In applying this test, one must necessarily bear in mind the differences between the interference with the fundamental principles of a religion and the interference with institutions to which a religious significance is attached in order to impart to them a sanctity which will stand in the way of their being acted upon or being brushed aside in accordance with the whims and fancies of the moment. The best example is the marriage institution, and the Sarda Act is being loudly assailed by a section of the Brahmins who claim to be the sole custodians of Brahmmin authority. That marriage is not merely a civil contract but is also a sacrament, is a doctrine not peculiar to Hindu India. Legislation regulating the age at which marriages may be made could not be considered objectionable in India except by a small section—whose custom for a considerable time has been to marry girls before they attain puberty. The real question is whether the custom is one inseparably connected with the Hindu religion. Hinduism is not the peculiar religion of these small groups alone, but is the religion also of the vast majority who perform post-puberty marriage. Nor can pre-puberty marriage be considered inseparably connected with what may be called the Brahmminical Hindu religion. It cannot be gainsaid that among some sections of the Brahmins post-puberty marriage takes place and such Brahmins have not lost their status as Brahmins by such a custom. There are not separate religions for different sections of the Brahmmin community. Whatever may be the origin of the custom of pre-puberty marriage and whatever may be its period of existence, there remains the fact that its supporters have to resort to the Smrithies which apply to all Dwijas alike. Such Smrithies are capable of such interpretations as will suit respectively the supporters of the pre-puberty or post-puberty marriage. When it is considered that our present day Brahmins are spending their lives in occupation which can be

resorted to by any person whatsoever, it cannot be complained, such Brahmins' religion is interfered with if they are asked to conform to marriage laws which have been found to be necessary by scientific research for the preservation of the nation in a strong and healthy state instead of filling it with weak bodied members who will be a burden to themselves as well as also to their fellow-men. The prevalence of undue infant mortality has been scientifically traced to girls below sixteen giving birth to children. The average longevity of the products of very early maternity is considerably less than what prevails in communities where such a thing does not prevail. Arguments founded on early deaths in some places on account of poverty, intemperance and crowded habitations cannot serve as answers to the above circumstance. The legitimate course will be to see that efforts are made to counteract the evils.

The institution of marriage has now virtually become subject to bargains about dowries and presents which are carried on with a zest that will outbeat that which is being displayed in commercial transactions. Avarice is the ruling passion in the bridegroom market and the custom of marrying girls before puberty has placed the bridegroom's party on a considerably advantageous position over the party belonging to the bride. It is a matter of common knowledge that many Brahmin families have been financially ruined on account of the heavy expenses involved in the marriage of girls. Some Non-Brahmins have recently caught the vice of *vara sulham* and unless they take care they will also involve themselves in financial ruin. Side by side with the ever expanding bridegroom price, the scales of other presents are rising in a proportionate manner. Monies and presents got without effort naturally lead to extravagance with the result that while the bride's family is ruined, there is no adequate corresponding gain to the bridegroom's family. The position of affairs has reached a crisis and it will not be incorrect to say that in families of moderate means, the brothers would prefer to give an equal share to the girls also in order to secure their shares at least from being encroached upon by the marriage and other expenses of their sisters. The commercial spirit so inseparably connected with the marriage negotiation has degraded the institution of marriage and it would not be incorrect to say that virtually marriage has lost its character as a sacrament. The moral poison introduced into the body of the society is making such a rapid head that in course of time there will be not only financial bankruptcy but also moral bankruptcy. No doubt the Sarda Act is not going to have the magical effect of putting a stop to the present evils all at once. But it will cut the advantageous ground under the feet of the bridegroom's party and pave the way of girls remaining unmarried until they attain sufficient discretion to choose a partner in life with less misery to their parents and to themselves. A mere permissive legislation will not have

this effect for the reason that the parents will not be able to resist the tyranny of the so-called orthodox section and will continue in their present ruinous course. When such evils have crept into the society, it is the legitimate function of the legislature to step in.

As democratic ideas develop themselves in the mind of the nation distinctions in privileges between castes and sexes founded on rules laid down at an age when such distinctions were considered desirable or necessary must disappear and it will be the duty of the legislature to step in to effect such a purpose. It will be unreasonable to perpetuate different treatment of communities and sexes for all time to come.

#### MODERATES IN REQUISITION.

The *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta, the organ of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, writes in its issue of the 16th instant:—

We are neither Extremists nor Moderates; we are nationalists. We have freely criticised either in our columns, when necessary. Neither of these party names and creeds have any fascination for us. We have honor for Mahatma Gandhi, but that has not prevented us from giving expression to our differences with the Mahatma, where we have not seen eye to eye with him in matters affecting the country's welfare. We have never appreciated his non-co-operation and boycott of education. Nor do we think that his civil disobedience will work. But his present move has created a stir in certain quarters. The English Press in India often reflects the thoughts that are passing in the official minds. Knowing full well that ill-organised Moderates count for little in the political struggle going on in the country, the British bureaucracy in India has scant regard for the Moderates. For the purpose of the Government they are not sufficiently Moderate nor are they powerful enough to render material help. Yet for whatever they are worth they are in requisition, when an ugly situation is created in the country. Our readers will gather from the extract we make from the *Statesman* that there is a growing demand for Moderates in high quarters.

Our contemporary criticises, instructs and encourages the Moderates and holds up a better future before them that they may yet be useful tools in the hand of the third party. This, we think, is hoping against hope. For they are nationalists too.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Ramakrishna Anniversary:—**The Ninety-fifth Birthday Anniversary of Bhagawan Shri Ramakrishna Deva will be celebrated at the Ramakrishna Ashram, Khar on Sunday, the 30th March 1930. The programme for the day is as follows:—1. Concert by Bengal Club. 2. Bhajan. (a) South Indian. (b) Hindustani. (c) Bengali. 3. Recitations. 4. Pravachan. 5. Distributions of Prasad. 6. Feeding of the Poor Narayanas. A public meeting in this connection will be held at the Peoples' Jinnah Hall on Thursday, the 27th at 6-30 p. m.

**More Temples Opened to Untouchables:**—Scenes of great enthusiasm were witnessed on the morning of 3rd February 1930 at Lendhra near Dhanoli (Nagpur) when Sjt. Ram Swami a prominent gentleman of the village threw open his temple of Hanuman to untouchables. The opening ceremony was held with becoming solemnity and grandeur in the presence of a number of guests who were invited from Nagpur to grace the occasion. Students and professors of "Tilak Vidyalaya" Nagpur, Sjts. Tikekar, Bivalkar, and others were present. Dr. Khare, president, Nagpur Congress Committee, Nagpur presided. An untouchable student of the Vidyalaya bismecred the image of the deity (Hanuman) with vermilion and oil at the commencement. The elaborate rites of worship followed. Bhajan was also held and Sjt. Dharmadhikari addressed the assembly. He congratulated Sjt. Ram Swami for setting a worthy example to other Hindus by throwing the house of God open to those who are meek and crushed with the weight of sorrow and who therefore need to be admitted into the presence of God more than any one else. He declared that the real purpose of the temple was fulfilled only now. A gentleman from among the untouchables also spoke feelingly. After the president's concluding remark "Prasad" was distributed and the students hawked khadi house to house to the extent of Rs. 95.

**The Srinivasa Mandiram Ladies' Section:**—Under the auspices of the above association a meeting was held in the Mandiram premises on Saturday the 8th March 1930. Many noble and distinguished ladies were present on the occasion. The meeting began with invocation by the grand daughter of Mr. M. Ohengiah Chetty, Retired Deputy Commissioner, Bangalore. Then Srimathi Yogini Ammal of Andhra Desa delivered an interesting lecture on "The Parartha Sadhana" wherein she dealt with human services to the great Teacher and in pursuit of truth. Mr. Ramohandra Rao Sindhia and others expressed their appreciation about Yogini Ammal and her teachings. A friend from Madras who attended the function recited three poems composed in praise of her. The meeting came to a close with Mangalam to Lord Srinivasa and distribution of flowers, etc.

**Mr. Harin Chattopadhyaya in America:**—Harin Chattopadhyaya, who is now in New York, has been engaged, I understand from my friend over there, writes the London correspondent of the *Tanganyika Herald*, by Messrs. Feaking, Lecture Managers, to fulfil a contract of four months of recitals of his poems. Harin, it is understood, will give recitals and readings from his own poems and plays and lecture on Art and Music. He will travel through the States, visiting all the important towns and cities in America. The contract is expected to last till early May. Prior to his departure for New York early last month, Harin had a long interview with Madame Pavlova at her cottage in Hampstead when he had a very interesting discussion on Indian arts and Indian dances, with the famous Russian Dancer. It is likely that the Indian Poet will visit the American Cinema Industry at Hollywood and also see Edison.

**Bihar and Orissa States:**—The Bihar and Orissa States comprise an area of over 28,500 square miles and have a population of over 8,700,000. They are at the present time under the political supervision of the Government of Bihar and Orissa. In the family of Indian States they stand in a peculiar position and the treatment, so far meted out to them has been, to say the

least, stop-motherly. The Bihar and Orissa States were tributaries of the Bhoonsla Ruler of Nagpur. By the treaty of Dargaoon in 1803 the Raja of Nagpur ratified the agreements which the Company had made with his feudatories in Orissa. At that time therefore there was no doubt that these chiefs were feudatories and not subjects of the Nagpur Raja for in the latter case the cession of the Province of Cuttack in absolute sovereignty would have transferred the authority of Nagpur to the Company. The agreements so ratified did not include the State of Mayurbhanj with whose Raja the British Government had entered into early relationship of friendliness and cordiality.

**Messages from Muslims in America:**—The following cablegram has been received by the President of the National Congress from the Young Muslim Nationalist Party of India, Detroit, Michigan (U.S.A.)—  
"We, Indian Muslims in America, wholeheartedly support the coming civil disobedience. We sincerely hope that every single Muslim, Hindu and Sikh will work in union towards this noble cause and forget their continual tension, and wish the campaign complete success."

**Patiala Sikhs' Grievances:**—A Jatha of hundred Sikhs from the Patiala State were, on arrival at the Delhi railway station by the Bhatina passenger, says the *Hindustan Times*, served with a police notice to the effect that they were prohibited from taking out any procession without license. The Jatha proceeded to the Gurdwara at Chandni Chowk for, as they said, their intention was to ventilate grievances against the Patiala Government and not to defy British law. Their leaders Sardars Rithe Singh and Wazir Singh accompanied by Mr. B. B. Tawley Advocate, saw Mr. J. N. G. Johnson, Deputy Commissioner who was apprised of their mission to the Imperial capital. The Deputy Commissioner advised them to place their case before Sir O. Watson, Political Secretary, Government of India. Accordingly the leaders of the Jatha saw Sir O. Watson and got a patient hearing. Sir O. Watson suggested that the Sikhs should hold no demonstrations but place before him a complete list of their definite grievances. He promised to make early enquiries and assured them of full justice in the matter. It is understood Sir O. Watson was requested to arrange the Sikh leaders' interview with His Excellency the Viceroy, but he explained that the Viceroy was too busy and that the matter will be thoroughly enquired into by him.

**Indian Medical Degrees:**—The British Medical Journal announces that the Executive Committee of the General Medical Council has decided to refuse to recognise for the time being the medical degrees of Indian Universities. It is pointed out that recognition for some years has been conditional. It now lapses entirely. It is added that the roots of the controversy extend far beyond the immediate point at issue. The factors to be considered, they say, include the proud and sensitive Indian nationalism instinctively suspicious of British ideals of education and character and also certain Indian customs which limit opportunities of obstetric instruction and difficulties connected with language and differing standards of civilization in India.—Reuter.

**Discovery of a new Planet:**—Professor Harlow Shapley, the Director of the Harvard University Observatory, has announced that the Lowell Observatory at Flagstaff, Arizona, has discovered a new planet

situated beyond Neptune, larger than the earth, but smaller than Uranus.

**Leprosy in Orissa:**—In order to launch a well-organized campaign against leprosy a propaganda and survey party, consisting of a head officer and four survey officers of the Sub-Assistant Surgeon class, has been constituted for a period of six years. Its work is under the supervision of Dr. U. P. Gupta, Government's Leprosy Expert, and under the general direction of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals. It is now working in Puri District. The survey party will ordinarily spend not less than four months in every district and will carry on propaganda and survey in as many of the leprous areas as possible. In badly affected districts the survey party may have to spend perhaps up to a year in making survey and starting work. Propaganda and survey in the remaining areas, not touched by the survey party, will have to be carried on by district boards after the departure of the party.

**Too Poor to Buy:**—Fifteen villagers of Bhangora and Matla (24 Parganas) were fined eight annas each on Thursday last by Mr. A. Dutt, Sub-Divisional Magistrate at Alipore, for illicit manufacture of salt. It was stated that while the men were preparing salt on March 11, last in the villages, they were arrested by some excise officers of Alipore. All the accused pleaded guilty to the charge, and, throwing themselves on the mercy of the Court, submitted that they were too poor to buy salt and that they were manufacturing it for their own consumption.

**Bihar Music Conference and Competition:**—It has now been definitely decided to hold the Provincial Music Conference and Competition on the 29th and 30th of March, 1930 in the Senate Hall at Patna. There will be three sittings viz. 6.30—8.30 p. m. on Saturday, 7.30 to 9.30 a. m. on Sunday and the third on the same day from 6.30 to 8.30 p. m. The first will be devoted to the Conference and the second and third to Competition. His Highness the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga has kindly consented to preside and Maharaja Bahadur of Gidhour, Raja Raghu Nandan Prasad Singh, Raja Deoki Nandan Prasad Singh, Raja Radhika Raman Pd. Singh of Surajaura, Maharajkumar of Darbhanga, Kumar Sahib of Manjha, Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanjdeo of Ranika will attend. The Hon'ble Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh and Sir Syed Ali Imam have also kindly promised to attend and take an active part in the function.

**Hindi in South India:**—The Budget of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha makes absorbing reading, says the *Jasrabhumi* of Masulipatan. Regarding Prachar section, in the statement of general income and expenditure, they have been able to get an amount of Rs. 4,500 by way of tuition fees, which is an excess of nearly 1,000 rupees over the sum we got for the same period during 1928. The membership fees also have increased. As regards the Press, one should be glad to know that they could get Rs. 6,016-2-4 as excess of income over expenditure in which Rs. 3,568-14-3 has been written as depreciation and the rest has been declared as net profits. As against this, the figures for the last year had shown a net loss of Rs. 187-0-6. The Books Department has also proved to be a good source of income during these months which you will find in the statement as having given Rs. 3,818-4-1 as net profit whereas the profits declared during the previous period were only Rs. 320-2-10. The figures on the expenditure

side also have, as is quite natural, correspondingly increased.

**Polite Salute:**—Commenting on the Viceroy's reply to Mahatma Gandhi's letter, Mrs. Besant writes in *New India*:—I am not sure whether the Indian public, unaccustomed to watch a duel with parliamentary rapiers, will appreciate the skill with which the assailant has been foiled, and the responsibility for the next step has been thrown back on him. Indians are fighting to obtain the elementary, the basic Right of all rights—Swaraj, Self-Government. In the supreme Right to Self-Rule; to be masters within their own territory; to manage their own affairs; to break a foreign yoke, which was first fashioned by the subtle efforts of merchants to transform themselves from courteously received guests into Dominant Power over the whole country, all else is naturally forgotten. Indians are fighting for their very lives—for the life of their Motherland. The issue of their fight is whether the ancient Motherland shall live or die. They have no time, no care, for the courtesies of sham fights, or play duels. On the issue of the present struggle depends the very Life of the Motherland. India must be Free: without Freedom She dies. And She shall not, She cannot die.

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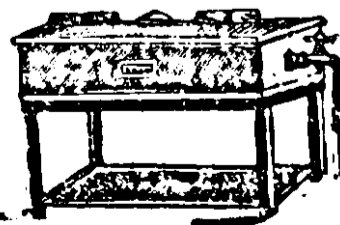
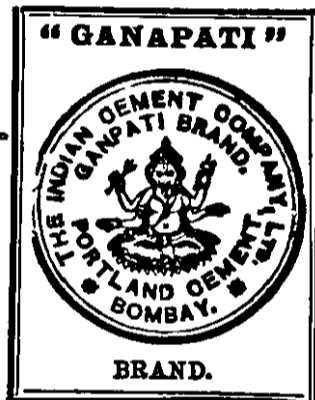
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1930

No. 30

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Child Marriage Restraint Act:**—The Child Marriage Restraint Act which is better known as the Sarda Act will come into force on the first April. Meanwhile the Government of Bombay have hit upon the excellent idea of issuing a number of leaflets both in English and the vernaculars for free distribution among the general public in the presidency. The value of these leaflets written in simple language, acquainting the public with provisions and penalties, in case of violation of the Act cannot be over-estimated. The full text of the Act as printed in the leaflet is reproduced elsewhere in this issue. Those who delude themselves into the belief that amendments reducing the marriageable age in the Act or exempting communities from its operation will be accepted by Government, will be sadly disappointed. While on this subject we are still awaiting a contradiction of the statement which we reprinted from the *Pioneer* last week that the Madras Liberal leader, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, signed and delivered, prior to his election to the Legislative Assembly, to his constituency in Kumbakonam an undertaking to advocate changes in the Sarda Act amounting virtually to its total repeal.

**Sir Akbar Hydari:**—Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung in the Hyderabad peerage, has just been able to effect what may be considered when all the circumstances are taken into account, a remarkable *stroke* of great present and greater future advantage to His Exalted Highness' Government. This is the purchase four years before the due date of the Nizam's State Railways from the British Company which owns it and takes the larger part of the profits earned every year. Sir Akbar found that as the Company is incorporated in London, income-tax on its profits, including the share of the Nizam's Government, were levied by the British Treasury. This gave him an opening for negotiations which have resulted in the Company agreeing to part with their proprietary rights at a price which will give an additional net railway revenue to the State of nearly a crore of rupees for the expenditure of an

amount which will be totally extinguished in ten or eleven years. The Nizam's Government have been able to issue debentures at 5½ per cent, whereas the Government of India had recently to offer 7 per cent. for a loan in London—this is a point which goes to confirm those who criticised the latter as needlessly extravagant. It is an irony of fate that Sir Akbar instead of being thanked for his splendid service—the latest in a long career of devoted service to the State—has been exposed to some ill-informed criticism in the local press. His Exalted Highness' Government have issued a resolution placing on record their high appreciation of the signal service rendered to the State by Sir Akbar "by the statesmanship he has shown in putting through a financial deal of this magnitude which in the Council's opinion will not only enhance the financial credit of the Government but will also add materially to the prestige of the State." The only point which is not quite satisfactory is that in the arrangement for the administration of the Railway under the Government, the Indian element, except for the Finance Member himself who is *ex-officio* chairman of the Board, is conspicuous by its absence. It should be possible to find room for at least one Indian subject of His Exalted Highness of capacity and experience on the Board. This is a matter which we trust will engage the attention of Sir Akbar. In British India we have been able only just now after a hard struggle to get an Indian admitted to the Railway Board, but in an Indian State there should be no need for any effort to have an Indian allotted a prominent place in all departments of the administration.

**India And The League Of Nations:**—We thoroughly believe in the idea of the League of Nations. The League, notwithstanding enormous difficulties due to scepticism, indifference and sheer prejudice, has succeeded marvellously in creating a world conscience which is making itself felt in the conduct of affairs even in distant and only very partially self-governing countries, like India. For the first time since it was started, an Indian, Sir Mahomed Habibullah, led the Indian deputation to the League Assembly last year; and his report bears testimony to the significance of this desirable innovation. The first recommendation of the delegation is that means should be found for increasing the interest of the Indian Legislature in the work of the League and for associating it with the work of representatives of India. The establishment of an Advisory Committee of the Legislature to keep in touch with the proceedings of the League, and to advise

Government as to the recommended instructions to be given to the Indian delegations to the League is also recommended. The report comments on the continual changes in the personnel of the Indian delegation which, naturally militates against Indian influence acquiring effective form and force in the councils of the League. As a practical measure, it is recommended that no delegate should in future be appointed unless he is prepared if called upon to serve on at least two or three consecutive occasions. Other suggestions are that there should be more Indians among the higher officials of the League as it is only by the presence of Indian nationals in the permanent staff that a continuity of interest can be ensured in this country. As things are at present, there is a general feeling that while India is called upon to pay a large sum as compared with several European countries, the proportion of Indians in the higher ranks of the League administration, is by no means commensurate with her contribution to the League's finances.

**The "Subodh Patrika" and Saptapadi:—**The *Subodh Patrika* seems to think that opinions are a matter of years and that men at particular ages are bound to hold particular views. On such a theory, there is no room for argument. It may be mentioned in passing that the theory is liable to break down when, as has happened, the criticism of the *Patrika* is directed to something written by one more youthful than the editor of the English columns of our contemporary. Facts, however, do not vary according to age. It may, therefore, be pointed out that the *Patrika* is not rightly informed in holding that the *hom* and not "the seven steps," is the binding ceremony in Hindu marriage. Gour in his 'Hindu Code' observes: "The nuptial fire favoured of the Smritis is never lighted nor the Homa sacrifice invariably performed. Of all the ceremonies the one which is most insisted on and which has outlived the rest is *Saptapadi*, or advancing seven steps." The *Subodh Patrika* points out that several members of the late Dr. Bhandarkar's family have registered their marriages. We had in mind only such of their marriages as were contracted in Sir Ramakrishna's life-time and with his approval.

**Mahatma Gandhi and Labour:—**The Bombay Government recently issued a White Paper reviewing the Labour situation in Bombay, which is textually reprinted in the February number of the *Labour Gazette*. There is one paragraph in it which is of great current interest as showing the many and varied directions in which Mahatma Gandhi's beneficent influence has been making itself felt. Referring to the organization of Labour, Government observes: "That it is possible to organise Indian Labour on sound trade union lines is shown by what has happened at Ahmedabad. In that centre there is a strong trade union run by disinterested officials uninfluenced in their dealings on behalf of Labour by the politics which it is known they strongly possess. With the assistance of this trade union it has been possible to attain a considerable measure of success in conciliation method culminating in a tribunal of two arbitrators, Mr. Gandhi and Seth Mangaldas, the leading mill-owner of Ahmedabad; and to its existence, amongst other factors, may be attributed the comparative stability and freedom from

strikes of the Ahmedabad textile industry. It is true that these harmonious relations may be largely attributed to the personal influence of Mr. Gandhi with the employers as well as the employees and it is also true that the Ahmedabad Trade Union boycotted the Whitley Commission in pursuance of Mr. Gandhi's policy of non-cooperation with Government. But making every allowance for these factors, it can be said that Ahmedabad offers an interesting and encouraging example of what can be done in the way of organising Labour. In Bombay there is no equivalent to Mr. Gandhi, nor is there the same close personal touch between the workers and the employees one finds in Ahmedabad, where the average mill-owner spends the greater part of his time in his mill."

**Sastri College, Durban:—**An interesting function was held at the Bombay Home of the Servants of India Society on Tuesday when the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was 'At Home' to six teachers selected by the Government of India for the Sastri College at Durban. The idea of this institution, it may be recalled, was started by Mr. Sastri when he was Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa. The Indian community subscribed the necessary funds and the Government of Natal undertook to maintain the institution. Mr. Sastri in a felicitous speech bidding farewell to the outgoing teachers, gave a short history of the institution, briefly narrated the difficulties he had to overcome in persuading the Natal Government to agree to the arrangement, and gave some frank and friendly advice to the teachers as to how they should comport themselves in their new sphere. Several objections were raised by the Natal authorities to selecting teachers from India, the most prominent of them being that the Indian teachers will import their political and communal ideas into Natal. To meet this objection, Mr. Sastri agreed to leave the selection of teachers to the Government of India from among members already in the Provincial Educational Services. These gentlemen go out for three years to begin with, with a lien on their posts in India, which is a guarantee against their indulging in political propaganda in Natal. Mr. Sastri exhorted the guests of the evening to remember during their sojourn in Natal that they were Indians first and last. He was followed by Sir Chunilal Mehta in a bright little speech commending the Scouts movement as a solvent of caste and communal differences, and Mr. Natarajan spoke a few words to the effect that on the higher intellectual and spiritual levels these differences ceased to exist, and to try to live habitually at those levels was the readiest means of rising above them. One of the teachers made a graceful reply expressing the resolution of himself and his colleagues to do their best to build up a high tradition for the Sastri College during their term of office.

**Mahatma Gandhi and Christian Missionaries:—**It was reported that two or three days after he started his march to the sea from Sabarmati, some Christian Missionaries from the neighbouring districts visited Mahatma Gandhi *en route* and prayed that the Kingdom of God may be established on the earth in righteousness. Very different is the tone of comment of some missionary journals which, as we showed by

reference to a paragraph in the *Indian Witness* last week, adopt a blatantly secular attitude in discussing Mahatma Gandhi's present attempt. The *Catholic Leader's* comment, which we quote is even more perplexing by its mixture of appreciation and incredulity. It writes:—

The dramatic march of Mr. Gandhi with his followers still continues with unabated vigour. Till Tuesday he had tramped 46 miles through rural Gujerat. Nothing sensational is likely to happen till he actually reaches his destination and endeavours the manufacture of salt. The resignation of many village officials in Gujerat is evidently the direct result of his campaign. Mr. Gandhi's sincerity and unselfishness, his splendid idealism, deep religious-mindedness and readiness to undergo any sacrifices for the popular cause, have won him the admiration and affection of the masses. His methods are quaint and his principles archaic but he follows his policy with grim determination. It is his unswerving adherence to ideals, however strange and impracticable they may be, that has captivated the mind and imagination of the rank and file. What the ultimate issue of the movement will be no one can definitely forecast with certainty; but violence and bloodshed are bound to follow sooner or later as the inevitable consequences of his dangerous and fantastic campaign against the Government.

"Quaint and archaic" are hardly terms which a professing Christian might be expected to apply to Mahatma's march. Then, again, instead of joining their prayers to his that violence and bloodshed may not follow his non-violent propaganda, this Christian and Catholic journal almost seems to wish and, in any case, is positive that they would follow it. "O Ye of little faith!"

**The British Medical Council and Indian Degrees:—**Dr. Jivaraj Mehta, Dean of the Gordhandas Sunderdas Medical College, has sent a vigorous statement to the Press on the recent decision of the British Medical Council to withhold the recognition so long granted to Indian Medical degrees. He regards it as a blessing not in disguise but without any disguise. Referring to the efforts made in some quarters to frighten the public as to the consequences on the 450 Indian medical students in England, Dr. Mehta observes: "Though the rupture between the Medical Council of that country and the Indian Universities has now occurred, no apprehension need however be felt so far as the interests of these students are concerned. On a careful study of the reports of the Education Department of the High Commissioner for India for the years 1927-28 and 1928-29, it would be found that nearly four-fifths of the Indian Medical students at present in that country, have had their medical qualifications in India, and that they are already on the British Register. Their future prospects, so far as the continuance of their studies in the United Kingdom is concerned, need therefore cause no anxiety to their parents and friends. As regards the forty or at the most fifty under-graduates who are studying at the British Medical Schools now, and who would be in difficulties when British degrees are not recognised in India for reasons stated below, a special provision could be made in the Indian Medical Act when passed and as discussed hereunder, to the effect that such Indian Nationals may be taken on the Indian Medical Register without any examination before a certain date, say 1935. The interests of no

Indian now abroad, and not qualified in India, would thus suffer." He further points out that even without recognition Indian medical graduates can have no difficulty in pursuing post-graduate studies in Great Britain, if they are prepared to pay the prescribed fees. Then there is now provision for excellent post-graduate instruction through the medium of the English language at Vienna which has the largest Hospital and the best post-graduate Medical School in the world. Indian students will be also welcomed in Germany, France and Italy. Canada, Australia and New Zealand grant no special privileges to holders of British degrees and New Zealand and several provinces of Canada have ceased reciprocity with the General Medical Council of Great Britain.

**Indian Students' Hostel, London:—**The tenth annual meeting of the Indian Students' Union and Hostel, Gower Street, London, was held in February, when Professor S. Radhakrishnan, lately Hibbert Lecturer, spoke on the defects of Indian public life and how they could best be overcome from within. In presenting his annual report, the Warden, Mr. J. S. Aiman, said that the chief aim of the Institution, which was maintained by the Indian National Council of Y. M. C. A.s, was to supply the everyday needs of students, and to help them to meet fully the responsibilities which will come to them in later life. During 1929 the Union had 548 members, including 151 medical, 75 law, and 69 engineering students; and the total number of residents at the hostel was 203. Sunday afternoon lectures which were well attended, and the formation of the Westminster Group Conference which meets periodically for discussion of subjects connected with religion were special features of the Hostel, planned on the lines of intellectual co-operation. A similar work is being done in Scotland by the International Club, in University Gardens, Glasgow. At the 'national nights' held at the Club, the Scottish and Indian nights were very popular. The Indian students presented about a dozen scenes of Indian village life, giving a glimpse into conditions which are poor and simple, but dignified and colourful. Much is being done through the Club to promote the study of Indian Problems, as well as those of other countries, in an atmosphere of good-will.

**Indians' First Flight:—**Messrs. R. N. Chawla and Engineer have made a name for themselves by their successful flight from India to England in a moth plane in about eighteen days. They are the first Indian Pilots to achieve the distinction, the two previous attempts by other Indians having proved failures. They launched on their flight in strict secrecy. It redounds to their credit that their flight was accomplished in a light plane which would hardly have been expected to stand the strain of such a long flight. They have shown by their daring feat that the spirit of adventure is latent in Indians and with sufficient opportunities can achieve much. Stimulated by their example, we hope, many young Indians will enter the field of aviation where there is plenty of scope for them. Messrs. Chawla and Engineer have been the recipients of many congratulations and the Government of India have, in recognition of their service to Indian aviation, announced a grant of Rs. 7,500 to them.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 29, 1930.

## HOW INDIA CAN BE A DOMINION.

On the 15th February we had a leading article headed "the Background of our Politics". In it, we suggested that the greatest problem of the day, the one which covered and comprehended all others, is the bringing about of a harmonious coordination of the culture and civilization of Europe and Asia. This has to be done in every sphere of life, in politics, social life, industry, and religion and within the individual first, then in society and the nation. We may quote a few sentences from that article. "Social reform has to find within its own sphere the means of co-ordinating the experience of East and West. Indeed, each one of us has to do this within his or her own self. In other words, the interaction of Europe and Asia on each other is the great motive power of history." In the specific case of India, this is immediately the interaction of Britain and India on each other. "Holding as we do", we concluded, "that the purpose of Indo-European contact is the evolution of a civilization more universal in its outlook than any which has preceded it, we must do what we can to keep up that contact in all circumstances and not to break it. This is why we dissent from the Independence goal and approve of working out our destiny within the Commonwealth of British nations in which we find ourselves placed". In the *Reformer* of the 1st March in the leading article headed "Why Dominion Status?" we took occasion to reply to a thoughtful letter from a correspondent, Mr. G. V. R. Acharya, who had argued that the harmonious evolution of Asia and Europe, which, he agreed, is the best hope of the world's future, might be better advanced by the Independence than by the Dominion status motive. "India is in the Commonwealth", we observed, "and can do most for it not by breaking away from it but by exerting her influence in it to bring East and West nearer to each other." The working out of our destiny within the British commonwealth, we added, meant helping Great Britain and her group of daughter nations to become the great laboratory in which the problem of harmonising East and West would be solved for the benefit of humanity.

That there are difficulties and almost insuperable difficulties in the way of India working out her destiny within the British Commonwealth, cannot be gainsaid. First, there is the difficulty of getting Great Britain to concede Dominion status. It was Mr. Lloyd George, we think, who raised the point that this could not be done without the consent of the Dominions. Whether it

be so or not, Dominion status in relation to Great Britain only, will be a limited and partial Dominion status. In the present temper of the self-governing Dominions, they are not prepared to admit Indian nationals to the rights and opportunities which they freely extend to each other and to foreign European countries and to America. We can, indeed, on the principle of reciprocity prevent their nationals from having rights in India which they deny to Indians, but it will mean little to them. There is no escape, we think, from the condition that, to begin with at any rate, India will stand out distinct from other Dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations. That being so, it would, in order to bring the designation in conformity with fact, be necessary to change the style of the Commonwealth into the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations. This, we think, should go a long way towards meeting the scruples of those among us who apprehend that the distinctive identity of India, racial and cultural, will be lost if she were merged in a sea of White nations. Then, there is another point no less important than this about the name of the Commonwealth. The head of the Commonwealth is His Majesty the King. If, as the Indian States claim, they should come to be regarded as separate and distinct from British India when the latter gets responsible Government, the Imperial title will apply only to the Sovereign in relation to the States. The King will be King of the Dominion of India as he is King of the Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa and the Irish Free State. All the other Dominions profess the Christian religion in some form or other. In deference to the susceptibilities of his Irish subjects the offensive anti-Catholic declarations in the Coronation oath were deleted a few years ago. The conception of Sovereignty in a monarchy is not a wholly secular one, and there must be something in the conditions attaching to it to indicate a spiritual contact between the Sovereign and the subject. It is against the immemorial tradition of India to impose a disability on any religion. We cannot ask that the King of the Indian Dominion should not profess the Christian faith. But we think India may and should ask that the Coronation oath should contain a solemn undertaking on the part of the Sovereign to be the Protector of the ancient religious faiths of this country. The present principle of religious neutrality must be replaced by a principle of active and appreciative protection. The most important consequence of the change will be that organized religious proselytism, having for its purpose the seduction of His Majesty's subjects from their ancestral faiths, will be barred, as the King being the Protector of all religions, cannot let one of them wage war against another.

## THE I. D. M. EPISODE.\*

While I felt it a duty which I owed to the readers of this paper to state the circumstances of the I. D. M. episode in my career, I did not wish to give the affair undue importance. Much to my regret the statement has created a public controversy. I do not wish to take part in the controversy but I cannot leave unnoticed some remarks which were published in the *Indian Daily Mail* of Monday purporting to have been made by Mr. J. B. Petit to Mr. F. W. Wilson, the Editor, who has adopted the pen-name of "Scrutator" for his writings on one particular page of his paper. "Scrutator" wrote: "I asked Mr. J. B. Petit what he thought of Mr. Natarajan's unnecessary apologia. Mr. Petit's reply was illuminating. "Mr. Natarajan," he said, "has been in the habit of resigning with almost boring regularity, for some time past. Mr. Natarajan is an ardent Social Reformer, but his conception of the word 'Social' did not include a newspaper. And if Mr. Natarajan wants to have the full reasons why the Board of the "Indian Daily Mail" changed the Editor of the paper he can have the reasons in full as soon as he likes. I have no desire to enter into any quarrel with Mr. Natarajan, but he must not start an unnecessary dispute."

I have to offer a few observations on this extraordinary statement. I pass by the lofty remark about "the boring regularity" of my habit of resigning, merely observing that the writer has probably picked up the phrase recently and has seized the first opportunity of using it. Obviously, "the Board of the Indian Daily Mail" did not see their way to accept any of these resignations and be done with the "boring" editor. Whenever there was a resignation, let me say, it was tendered for very good reasons and it was waived only on the urgent and pressing request of Mr. Petit himself.

Then as regards the allusion to my being a social reformer, I am by no means ashamed of it. It has saved me from many a pitfall and it will do the same to others if they make up their mind to be social reformers. The writer seems to suggest that I have not been a reformer of the *Indian Daily Mail*. All that I can say is that I did my best. But with wages and salaries two or three months in arrears, with the best men on the staff constantly leaving for situations sometimes on lower salaries elsewhere, with an altogether utter lack of security of tenure for those who were obliged to remain on, it was as much as I could do to keep the paper going. I actually began to feel guilty of cheating these poor people by drawing my salary every month, while they had to wait sometimes for more than two months. I take this opportunity of conveying my heartfelt gratitude to the members of my staff for their cordial and loyal co-operation often under very depressing circumstances, which I shall ever cherish

\*The first article was published in the last issue, i. e. the *Reformer* of the 22nd March.

as the happiest feature of my connection with the *Indian Daily Mail*.

I now come to the extraordinary statement that the "the reasons of the Board of the *Indian Daily Mail*" changing the Editor, will be disclosed to me if I applied to Mr. Petit for them. The writer, I am afraid, had not the advantage of seeing Mr. Petit's letters to me on the subject before indulging in this bit of insolence. They are two in number, one official and one personal. Here is the official one:

K. NATARAJAN, Esq.,  
Editor,  
The Indian Daily Mail,  
Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I communicated to the Board the other day, your message to them with regard to your desire to sever your connection with the *Indian Daily Mail* definitely from July next, particularly, for personal reasons and on grounds of health; and immediately, if any arrangement was arranged with our Liberal friends, as you could not see your way to continue to edit the paper under such altered circumstances.

They have accordingly authorised me to tell you that they are prepared to relieve you immediately and will be glad if you will hand over charge of your office on Monday next to Mr. F. W. Wilson, who will call at your office for the purpose at any time you may name.

Before concluding this letter, I cannot help putting on record the Board's and my own appreciation of your valuable services to the *Indian Daily Mail*, and the assistance and co-operation both they and I always received at your hands in the discharge of our respective duties during your period of office extending over very nearly 5 years.

Yours faithfully,  
for The Indian Daily Mail, LTD.,  
(Signed) J. B. Petit,  
Managing Director.

The official letter was accompanied by a longer personal letter from Mr. J. B. Petit in which "the full reasons" might have been disclosed, if any delicacy was felt about stating them in the official communication. I do not reproduce the whole letter because it is long and marked "Private and Confidential" though there is nothing private or confidential about its contents. Not only is there no "full" or additional reason given in this personal letter, but the concluding paragraph, which in the circumstances Mr. Petit will not mind my quoting, makes the insinuation ridiculous. Here it is:—

"Before concluding, I cannot help saying that during the period of your connection with the *Indian Daily Mail* extending nearly over five years, I have received from you consistent support and co-operation in my difficult task of managing the concern, often in the midst of circumstances which were not very encouraging; and I have no hesitation in saying that if we part to-day, we do as friends and with the best of feeling. I thank you sincerely for



your services to the *Indian Daily Mail* in the past and for your feelings of friendship and regard towards me. I trust you will still have a kindly feeling for the *Indian Daily Mail*, which you have served so long and well, and that whenever necessary and whenever you can see your way to do so, you will not fail to do anything in your power to advance its cause."

It is for Mr. Petit to find a way of reconciling his letters to me with the statement which Mr. Wilson has attributed to him. Luckily, I do not happen to stand in need of a testimonial from either but I fear to think what would have been the case with a younger man who had yet the greater part of his career before him.

On Wednesday when I went to office there was among my letters a thin, inconspicuous envelope. I opened it mechanically after dealing with the others, but my heart leapt when my incredulous eyes slowly recognised the fine, firm hand of—Mahatma Gandhi. The letter is dated 25th without locality. Amidst his strenuous preoccupations at the present moment, Mahatmaji had found a few minutes to write to me. "I followed, with considerable pain," he said "the curious happenings in connection with the I. D. M. I congratulate you on the courage of your conviction. Nothing less was expected of you."

K. NATARAJAN.

**The "Poona Daftar":**—The Government of Bombay have issued an interesting Press Note reviewing the attempts made in the past to explore the contents of the Poona Daftar or records of the Peshwa's administration. These have been classified before from the administrative point of view, but not from the historical point of view. The late Rao Bahadur Parasnis did some research work among these records but it merely touched the fringe of the subject. The records consist of about 27,000 *rumals* or bundles of Marathi records containing about half a crore of documents. "Unlike old English papers, which invariably contain the date of their origin, thus facilitating chronological classification," says the Press Note, "these vernacular papers very often bear no date and do not even bear the name of the writer or the addressee. These have to be determined by circumstantial evidence both internal and external." The work of a systematic classification of the Daftar has been entrusted to Mr. G. S. Sardesai who is familiar with the whole range of Maratha history and has an intimate acquaintance with the old modi-script besides a thorough and detailed knowledge of the period so as to be able to identify the different persons mentioned and to ascertain the dates of the several documents. He began operations from June last. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, for some time Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and a well-known historian, recently inspected the work done so far by Mr. Sardesai and was satisfied with the method and the progress made. He also made some useful suggestions. Government expect to be able to publish the first volume of selections shortly. It is hoped, if carried on continuously on the present lines, it will be found possible to complete it in three or four years.

## HOW TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF HINDU WOMEN.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

We often hear of cases where the deserted Hindu wife has been working and living apart and parted from her callous-hearted husband for periods of over ten years, receiving no support or help whatever from him. Still, when a bit of property through some relative's generosity comes to her, the husband can come on any fine day and forcibly take possession of the property from her. There is no law at present in Hinduism whereby a woman's property (personal or acquired) can remain safe in her name, so that the husband can not take it without her consent. Legislation must be passed vesting specified property absolutely on women.

Trustees if ever appointed for sonless mothers or for unmarried minor girls among Hindus have seldom been found trustworthy. So it would be a great mercy for all those Hindus who wish to leave in trust some property merely out of pity for the help of some poor afflicted female relatives of theirs, if some Department under the Government would accept such funds on deposit in trust for the benefit of the woman designated. At present there seems to be no way for a sonless Hindu to deposit money in trust so satisfactorily for the benefit of his or her female relatives—especially minor daughters. As things are at present, the property left to a female orphan could be seized immediately after the death of the trustor, (or the grantor), by the remotest male reversioner—who may probably never have shown the least sympathy or regard for the grantor or the grantee.

Even in cases where a sonless Hindu father bequeathed his self-acquired property for his only daughter, the legatee was seldom saved from the litigation the testator had very cautiously sought to avoid. Soon after the death of the testator, it is painful very often to see that some reversioners are attempting to break the will on this or that excuse. The crux of the matter is that the Hindu law does not recognize even in such emergencies a woman's full interest in any property no matter whether self-acquired or received as a gift. Aside from this, the fact remains that the Hindu law is singularly unjust to women and partial to men.

This situation would be greatly eased, if out of paternal love and solicitude the Government Post Office Savings Bank make some special provision to accept "Joint Accounts" for the benefit of near female relatives—such as, father and daughter, brother and sister, son and mother, husband and wife.

Now it remains for our noble-minded Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs to open this way of relief for our poor Indian sisters to escape from these afflictions.

Ferozepore Cantonment, }  
22nd March 1930.

Yours, etc.,  
BRAGAT RAM.

## CHILD MARRIAGE ACT.

The Director of Information sends us the following:—

A Bill, generally known as the Sarda Bill, has been passed into law and received the assent of the Governor-General on the 1st October. It will come into force as a law of British India from the 1st April 1930 under its proper title, the Child Marriage Restraint Act (1928).

The Bill was originally designed to apply only to Hindus and kindred communities, but as a result of the Select Committee's recommendations and discussions in the Legislative Assembly its scope was extended to all classes. Under the ordinary law it is a crime for a husband to *consummate* a marriage where the wife is below the age of 13. Under the new Act it does not matter whether the marriage is *consummated* or not. An offence is committed by certain persons (not only the husband) who take part in the marriage *ceremony*. The Act does not, however, in any way declare a properly solemnised child marriage as invalid. It is, therefore, necessary to understand what a child marriage is; what persons are punishable for contracting or participating in a child marriage; and what the nature of the punishment is.

## WHAT IS A "CHILD" ?

The Act defines a "child" to mean a person who, if a male, is under eighteen years of age, and if a female, is under 14 years of age. Therefore, a child marriage means a marriage (a) *both* husband and wife are under the ages of 18 and 14 years, respectively, or (b) where *wife* is under the age of 14 and the *husband* over 18, or (c) where the wife is over 14 and the husband under 18.

## PUNISHMENT FOR PARTICIPANTS.

The persons who are punishable may be classified under three heads:—

- (I) Male adults who marry child girls;
- (II) Persons who actually perform, conduct or direct a child marriage;
- (III) Parents and guardians who promote or permit a child marriage, or negligently fail to prevent it from being solemnised.

(I) Under the first head, the punishment provided for male adults who married child girls is divided into two parts:—

- (a) If a male adult between the ages of 18 and 21 years contracts a child marriage, that is, marries a girl under the age of 14 years, he is liable to be punished with a fine *only* extending to Rs. 1,000. Under no circumstances, shall he be sent to prison. That is to say, if he refuses to pay the fine imposed on him for contracting a child marriage he shall not be sent to prison, but the fine only will be recovered from him.
- (b) If a male adult *above* the age of 21 years marries a child girl, he is liable to be punished with simple imprisonment extending to one month *or* with a fine extending to Rs. 1,000 *or both*.

No punishment is provided for a female adult who contracts a child marriage. That is to say, if a female who is of the age of 18 years, she is not punished.

(II) Under the second head, the punishment provided for priests or other person or persons who actually perform the ceremony at a child marriage is simple imprisonment extending to one month or a fine extending to Rs. 1,000 *or both*.

(III) Under the third head, punishment is provided for parents and guardians who promote the marriage or permit it to be solemnised or do not prevent it. The punishment is simple imprisonment extending to one month *or* a fine extending to Rs. 1,000 *or both*. The Act has, however, declared that female parents and guardians shall not be punished with imprisonment but *only* with a fine.

From the above facts *note* the following points regarding punishment:—

- (1) No imprisonment for male adults between the ages of 18 and 21 years, but a fine up to Rs. 1,000 for marrying child girls, that is, girls under 14.
- (2) Simple imprisonment extending to one month or a fine extending to Rs. 1,000 or both provided in the cases of (a) male adults above the ages of 21 years marrying child girls; (b) priests or other persons actually performing the ceremony of a child marriage; (c) male parents or guardians permitting or promoting a child marriage.
- (3) No imprisonment for female parent and guardians, but only a fine extending to Rs. 1,000 for permitting or promoting child marriages.
- (4) No punishment for female adults for marrying child boys, that is, boys under 18 years of age.

## SPECIAL PROCEDURE.

(1) Offences against a child marriage shall be cognisable only by the Courts of Presidency Magistrates or District Magistrate.

(2) Cognisance of such offences shall be taken only if a complaint is made within one year of the solemnisation of the child marriage. If a complaint is made against a child marriage after one year of the solemnisation, the Court shall dismiss it.

(3) The Court, before which the complaint against a child marriage is made, shall, unless it dismisses the complaint, make a preliminary inquiry in every case either itself or direct a Magistrate of the first class subordinate to it to make such inquiry. If on such preliminary inquiry the complaint is found to be true, then only the Court shall deal with it, otherwise the Court shall dismiss it.]

(4) The Presidency or District Magistrate has power, whenever such complaint is made, to ask for a sum not exceeding Rs. 100. This is to prevent frivolous complaints.

### WORLD CONFERENCE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE THROUGH RELIGION.

The Executive Committee of this organization met in Frankfort, Germany, August 10—23, with sixty-one members present.

The Chairman of the meeting was Dr. Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Department of Religion, University of Chicago.

There were present outstanding men and women from among the Roman Catholics, Protestants, Eastern Orthodox Churches, the Jews, Confucians, Moslems, Hindus, Buddhists, Bahais, and Shintos. Dr. Tomomatsu was present as the representative of the Japanese Committee, which embraces all the religions of Japan, with Dr. Joshi as the representative of the All-India Committee in which every religion and cult in India has a place.

The Conference in Frankfort clarified the purpose and completed the organization begun at Geneva last year.

The most important decision taken was the establishment of four International Commissions as follows:—

*Commission No. 1.*—What are the influences in the world that make for war?

*Commission No. 2.*—The spiritual resources of mankind with which these influences can be met.

*Commission No. 3.*—Survey of efforts made by adherents of the different religions to further inter-racial and international understanding and peace.

*Commission No. 4.*—To suggest methods by which these resources may be set in motion, co-ordinated and directed to bear upon the cause of war.

The members of these Commissions were selected very carefully and their acceptance for service is now being sought. There were elected six presidents and eleven Vice-Presidents.

It was agreed that the Conference should be held in 1931, and that the place, together with the exact date, should be left to the business committee which was elected at this Conference and to which was committed the responsibility of carrying out the details in preparation for the Conference. The Conference will probably be held somewhere in the East or the Near East. Announcement of the exact place and date will be made in the near future.

All of those present agreed that this Conference marked a definite advance and indicated not only the fact that there is a real need for such a Conference, but that it can be held, and that by basing its discussion upon careful scientific and world-wide studies it can be made to contribute very much to a better understanding among the nations.

The change in the name from Universal Religious Peace Conference to the title at the head of this report was unanimously agreed upon. It is earnestly believed that with this new name the aims and the ideals of the Conference will be cleared of all confusion and easily understood.

### THE VICEROY ON READING.

Lord Irwin as Chancellor of Delhi University delivered an eloquent and thoughtful address at the eighth annual Convocation held on the 21st instant. He chose for his subject the habit of reading. We reproduce a few passages from this admirable address: 'Let us begin by the elementary enquiry of why we desire to read and ask what are the advantages that we derive from reading. I do not here speak of the more laborious kind of reading which we all know too well and which in the case of the young I suppose at times involves reading rather uninspiring text books and in my own consists in reading through even less inspiring official files. It may be that for us both, the principal value of such study is that of a moral discipline, of training our mind to work with resolution and perseverance upon subjects that make no powerful appeal to our feelings at the particular moment when our task has to be performed. And it is perhaps the more necessary for those who are constrained to devote a good deal of their time to this kind of reading to seek refreshment when they may by recourse to reading of a more general character.'

#### UPON THE MAGIC CARPET.

'Such wider reading is the means by which we may at once increase our knowledge and, even more important, supply an often much needed stimulus to a sordid imagination. We are able at any moment to take our place upon the magic carpet and fly where fancy wills acquiring new experience, hearing and seeing new things, so that as our reading leads us through fields hitherto unexplored we find that our vision widens and all the things of life assume for us new meaning and significance. It is through books and through reading them that we are able to give satisfaction to one of the most instinctive impulses of human nature.'

#### CHARM OF ALL WRITING.

'For many people this presentment in the form of their own inarticulate emotions is the great charm of all writing, whether poetry or prose. How often are we not brought up sharply as we read by a passage or a line. 'a jewel five words long,' in which we are almost startled to see crystallised in language some dumb sensation of her own which we had never succeeded in bringing to such precise definition. In sheer joy how we read and re-read until we know by heart the lines that so wonderfully as it seems reflect or bring to light something of our very selves of which we had scarcely been aware. For those to whom music speaks clearly the sensation obtained through hearing must be analogous to that which I have described. And even if we are not musical there is much for us all to gain and enjoy from observance of language and style. We had not perhaps been accustomed to pay much heed to this sort of thing until one day as we read our ear was caught by the rhythm and sound of words. We suddenly detected a design for which we were not prepared and once we had the clue we saw how the author chose language, now majestic,

deliberate, restrained and calm, now rapid, impetuous, rushing like a mountain stream in space according to his subject and the effect he was seeking to create.

#### THE INTELLECTUALLY CONSERVATIVE.

'As the years pass, much of the pleasure of our reading will lie in association. We meet our old friends repeatedly and though we like to make new ones, most people are intellectually conservative enough to keep a specially warm corner for those which were our first comrades and helped us to grow up. And one of the precious qualities of this pursuit of reading which I commend to you today is that it offers us so infinite a choice from which we can select as the spirit moves us.

'May I digress for a moment on this matter of artistry as I have such a good text at hand? The passages I have quoted from Shakespeare and Stevenson are good examples of the power of simplicity in writing. The economy of words both in number and in length for the monosyllable is the mightiest of all, is one of the secrets of style and how much should we not all gain could we but take this lesson to heart in our own writing and speech. Official letters would lose some of their terror, and oratory would gain in force by being direct, but this is a dangerous topic and I shall be well advised to say no more lest out of my own mouth you should convict me.

'And of course within the severe limits of a brief address, one cannot hope to do more than to touch the fringe of those things which one has learnt to love and it is not indeed my purpose today to do more than arouse in some here, if I can, the desire to forage for themselves among the treasures with which the ground is strewn. Moreover, everyone will have his own favourites, both of subject and treatment, so that each must decide for himself what books he is going to make his companions. We must each make our own anthology and learn by heart the passages of our own choice. But there can be no doubt that by so doing we build for ourselves a store-house from which mind and soul can freely draw.

'May I conclude by two sentences of practical counsel? Train yourself to read in odd moments of leisure and as you read endeavour constantly to appraise the value according to your own standards of what you are reading. A good book, it has been said, should be more often on the knee than in the hand, for as we read we shall frequently pause to consider, digest and criticise. Nor let us be obsessed by the fetish of small minds that there is something unworthy in leaving a book that does not interest us unfinished. Far better to recognise that all books are not for all tempers or for all times and turn to something which we can genuinely enjoy. The great thing is to aim at being catholic in taste, to read widely, to think about what we read, and so extend our range of thought and knowledge. We shall assuredly gain greatly by the back-ground that we shall gradually form for ourselves and we shall find, if I mistake not, that there are few sides of our common life that do not gain in colour and interest from the attempt.'

#### LABOUR COMMISSION ENTERTAINED.

The Sholapur Seva Sadan (Branch of the Poona Seva Sadan Society) arranged a very beautiful and pleasant function and entertainment in honour of the Members of the Royal Commission on Labour in India in the evening on Friday, the 21st March 1930. Miss Power accompanied by Miss Harrison her Secretary, Mr. Asavale, M.L.C. and Dr. (Miss) Cama, coopted Members, visited the Institution during its working hours in the morning of the 21st instant. Sir Alexander Murray, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Miss Joshi, B.A., Mr. Olow, Miss Power, her Secretary Miss Harrison, Mr. Cliff, Col. Russell, Mr. Knight, the Collector, Major Plumtree, the Civil Surgeon and Mrs. Plumtree, Dr. (Miss) Cama, Miss Hoxby, Dr. and Mrs. Mahajan, Mr. Waterfield, Mr. Grier, Mr. Darliple, Miss Fowler, other ladies of the local missions, Mrs. Bhade, Mrs. Ahyapak, Mr. Cookson, several local officials, Rao Bahadur N. C. Limaye, Mr. Shidore, the District Judge, Rao Bahadur Dr. Mulay, President of the Municipality, several other local doctors, officials, ladies and gentlemen, social workers and women teachers, and some of Hospital Nurses were among those present.

#### MR. DEVADHAR'S WELCOME SPEECH.

Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M.A., C.I.E., Honorary Organizer and General Secretary of the Poona Seva Sadan Society who came down specially for this function from Bombay and was joined by Mrs. Yamunabai Bhat, the Local Secretary and Hon. Treasurer, from Poona, welcomed the distinguished guests on behalf of the Poona Seva Sadan Society as well as the Servants of India Society mentioning how both these pioneering and indigenous bodies in the field of Social Service which aimed at the elevation of the masses and various sections of the community irrespective of caste and creed felt an attachment for the Commission and drawn towards it on account of the presence of his colleagues on the Commission, and how the Commissioners were exploring all avenues of securing a prosperous condition to India by means of contented labour and thriving capital. He explained the plan of the work of the Poona Seva Sadan Society which aimed at securing higher efficiency on the part of women in all undertakings and at training them for Social Service for which there was need in the country in various directions. He wished the Commission God-speed and expressed a hope that on their return to India in October next they would pay a visit to the Headquarters of the Poona Seva Sadan Society and the Servants of India Society. The guests were then garlanded profusely.

#### SIR ALEXANDER MURRAY'S APPRECIATION.

Sir Alexander Murry while speaking on behalf of the Members of the Commission thanked Mr. Devadhar and his co-workers and expressed his great appreciation of the work that was being conducted by the Poona Seva Sadan Society and the Servants of India Society. When they first

got the invitation they were inclined to give the customary excuse of being very busy but when they were told that the invitation was from the Poona Seva Sadan Society, a body for which they had great regard, they could not refuse it. He highly appreciated the endeavours at the uplift of women and general raising of standard of their efficiency and spoke of the co-operation they received from one lady who was a Member of the Commission. He hoped that in the near future the co-operation of women whom the Poona Seva Sadan Society was training would be most valuable in the direction of national advancement. He expressed an earnest wish that the progress of the Society would be unabated. He spoke of his connection with Mr. Joshi since the last twelve years and said that he knew of these activities and laudable objects that guided the work of both these bodies. He was glad to see that some of the Millowners and Industrialists in this place were utilizing the agency of the Poona Seva Sadan Society for doing welfare work. Whether welfare work was completely appreciated or not it was recognized that there was far greater need for that kind of work being undertaken either by labour or philanthropic bodies and by employers themselves.

#### VOTE OF THANKS.

Rao Bahadur Dr. Mulay, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Local Advisory Body thanked the distinguished guests of the Royal Commission on Labour in India as also the several other guests—both ladies and gentlemen—that graced the occasion by their presence.

#### GROUP PHOTO AND ENTERTAINMENT.

Then a group-photo was taken of the distinguished guests and the visitors and after the partaking of light refreshments provided for them, this enjoyable function terminated.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Mr. Acharya on child Marriage:**—In a statement to the press, Mr. M. K. Acharya denies the accuracy of the reports appearing in the "Hindu" the "Bengalee" and other papers that any member of the Government or the Government as a whole has agreed to support his Bill to amend the Sarada Act or to exempt therefrom the marriage sacraments of girls not under 12 years of age. All that Mr. Acharya can say is that the Government are aware of the strong resentment among the orthodox people all over the country against the Act but can say nothing more as to what will be done or will not be done. Mr. Acharya, however, wishes strongly to protest against the very hasty marriages that people are celebrating of very little children before April, such marriages being not at all justifiable whether on religious or on any other grounds.

**Sir P. C. Roy Condemns Caste:**—Addressing a large gathering under the auspices of the Young men's Brotherhood Sir P. C. Roy stressed the need for the immediate abolition of the caste system, which was responsible for all the ills of Hindu India. The modern

Hindu was not practising the original Hinduism, which never contemplated a Hindu religiously cloistering himself in an airtight, compartmental, separatist existence, making it easy for every adventurer to establish his authority. British rule should not surprise anybody who knew that even before the Britishers came here, India was being led by the nose by all sorts of adventurers. If history taught them anything the modern Hindu should know how the principles of the Brahma Samaj must express themselves in every walk of life before India could attain full nationhood.

**Mr. Sen Gupta Sentenced:**—Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta who was charged with sedition for the speeches delivered in Burma last February was arrested and taken to Rangoon for trial. Mr. Sen Gupta when asked by the court replied that he still held to his view of not participating in the proceedings or even answering questions. Thereafter the District Magistrate framed a charge for sedition for two of his speeches, convicted and sentenced him to ten day's simple imprisonment on each charge the sentences to run concurrently.

**Bombay Medical Union:**—The Bombay Medical Union held a meeting to consider the situation created by the decision of the G. M. C. withdrawing recognition from Indian medical degrees. A resolution was passed condemning the decision, urging the provincial legislatures immediately to introduce amending Bills to delete the sections conferring special privileges on persons holding qualifications registrable under the British Medical Act and demanding that the existing rule made by the Secretary of State making it obligatory for candidates seeking admission into the L. M. S. to hold medical qualifications registrable under the British Medical Act be rescinded and henceforward all candidates for admission to L. M. S. shall be Indian nationals holding Indian medical qualifications registrable in India.

**Rich Widow Adopts Gandhi Cult:**—The 'Pioneer' publishes the following cablegram dated March 20 from its London correspondent:—A Budapest message says that among Mr. Gandhi's most ardent followers is a former Hungarian noblewoman, Frau Aladar von Vertessy, who, until a few months ago, was one of the most beautiful and one of the richest widows of Loretta, in Transylvania. Frau Vertessy went to India three years ago and became such an enthusiastic believer in Mr. Gandhi's principles that she returned home and sold all her property and jewels and returned to India and gave the proceeds to the Gandhi Ashram, which she entered as an ordinary nun.

**Indian Forest Service:**—A competitive examination for admission to the Indian Forest Service will be held at Delhi beginning on Monday, 14th July 1930, under the rules framed by the Secretary of State for India in Council. Candidates are required to submit their applications through the Collector or the Political Officer concerned not later than the 15th April 1930. Copies of the rules with forms of application can be obtained from the Secretary to Government, Secretariat, Bombay. Candidates who have appeared at a degree examination of the University but have not been informed of the result may apply for admission to Indian Forest Service Examination. Their application will be accepted provisionally and they will be required to furnish before

the middle of June to the Public Services Commission proof of their having passed the examination.

**The Englishman:**—After 109 years' continuous publication the "Englishman" ceases to be a daily from the end of the month but will come out thereafter on Mondays. The policy will remain unaltered.

**Training Classes For Swaraj:**—It has been decided to open training class for women volunteers in Gandhiji's Ashram at Sabarmati. The women of the Ashram and Khurshedbai, grand daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji, will conduct the class, which will begin as soon as at least 10 applications are received. Women between the age of 18 and 45 will be admitted in the class. They will have to obtain permission from their father, husband, or guardian. Those women that have the responsibility of looking after the children are asked not to apply. They may, however, apply after arranging for their children being properly looked after by some body. The applicants should be quite healthy, and free from hysteria. The course of training is similar to that in the training class for men opened by the Gujarat Vidyapith.—A. P. I.

**All-Asian Conference of Women:**—In the course of a letter to the organisers of the proposed All-Asian conference of women, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who is entirely in sympathy with the movement, says that the consolidation of the cultural consciousness of the Orient is the preliminary step for the enrichment of the world culture and as women are the fundamental custodians of cultural life, it would be most valuable for them to meet and strengthen their understanding of the gifts that Asia has to offer to the world.

**The Zeiss-Scholarship:**—The world-famous Reiss optical factory of Jena has offered a scholarship of Re. 200 (two hundred Marks) per month, tenable for one year, to a deserving Indian student of physics. The donors were kind enough to put the money at the disposal of the Deutsche Akademie and also to entrust it with the task of selecting the proper candidate. Among the numerous applicants for the stipends of the Deutsche Akademie, the choice has fallen on Mr. Rameshendra Majumdar, the student of Professor Saha of Allahabad. 'Hindustan Times.'

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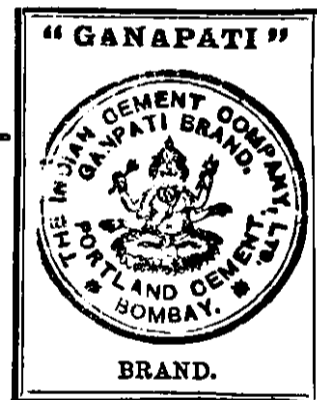
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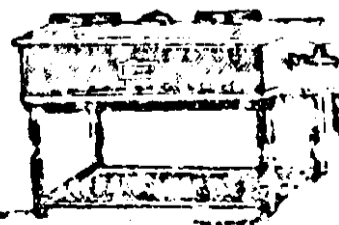
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1930

No. 31

" I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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<p>The Testing Time. A Farcial Policy. The Patiala Report. Women In Bengal. Sir Mahomed Habibullah. Editor and Owner. A Spirited Protest. An One-sided Convention.</p>	<p>A Visit To Mahatma Gandhi. Obedience And Disobedience. Spirit Of Service Among Women. Pandit Motilal's Gift To Nation. All-Asia Conference Of Women. The Sarda Act. " Jesus Or Christianity." News of the Week.</p>
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### NOTES.

**The Testing Time:—**We have more than once recently criticised the attitude of some Christian Missionary Journals which seemed to be lacking in appreciation of the essentially spiritual character of Mahatma Gandhi's movement. We are, therefore, glad to receive a copy of a short address recently delivered by Mr. Walter Brooks Foley of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Calcutta to a group of Christians which shows a revealing insight not possessed by many. Mr. Foley said: "India faces a crisis. Whatever the forces may be which have occasioned it the fact remains. He who tries to work in India, and overlooks the fact, might better be sent to a distant planet, for his efforts will be wasted. Unless a realization of this is present in every conscious move there can be no constructive progress effected. The crisis is not a sudden happening. It has been gradually and normally arriving for years. The chances are it will stay with us for some time to come. Rome was not built in a day, nor will India come into her own tomorrow. So we must accustom ourselves to the atmosphere. India, perhaps least of all the nations, knows what the outcome will be. But she is moving in the throes of a sound awakening. The march of the "Saint of Sabarmati" is having its reverberations in the far-distant corners of the nation—not especially because of the novelty, but because of the preparation which has preceded it. What India does to-day is of interest to the West tomorrow. For the West is looking Eastward. The impact of the West has had its effect. A new idealism that is a compound of East and West does find its place high in the councils of intelligent India. Men deal ever-increasingly with the vital questions of the hour. The times are creating crises and shocking men into new leadership. A thousand places of leadership still remain unfilled while India clamors for volunteers. The world of social disorder needs adjustment by those who will give themselves in sacrificial service. Without a consuming devotion for the well-being of neighbours who live in poverty and illiteracy

in village and city India will lose her race for a greater position of leadership. The leaders needed are not so much those who fill the headlines, though they are not to be discounted. Those who will build the nation, family by family, village by village, are the workmen required—artisans to handle the common materials, architects of everyday living. Out of ordinary human nature India will be re-made. You and I and our neighbors are the servants of the more glorious India that is to be. The Golden Age is to come when men and women will work under the dynamic inspiration of a constructive enterprise building the greater India. It can be done in no other way than by turning the light of understanding on our difficulties. We need both the blinding flood of inspiration and the steady glow of knowledge. The nation to be truly great must render intelligent service, within and without her boundaries. This requires knowledge plus work—the raising of intelligence standards and the carrying of information into action."

**A Farcial Policy:—**The Government of Madras have set apart five lakhs of rupees for propaganda in favour of prohibition. On the other hand, their officials are doing their best or worst to thwart the propaganda. Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, Honorary Secretary of the Prohibition League of India, writes in the *Hindu*:—"Government's new trick of isolating the village and revenue officials from its own temperance propaganda is beautifully sterilising its five lakhs propaganda. Tahsildars all over the presidency have issued strict notifications to all village officials. What is the propriety in taking a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs from public revenues and spending it on an elaborate scheme of salaries and allowances if at the same time Government should publish by beat of drum in all villages an absolute denial of responsibility or connection and name all the people it appointed for this work as outsiders and interlopers? The constitutional position is obvious enough. But is this common honesty? No self-respecting District Committee or Central Board can allow this state of things. They must protest in an effective manner and get the policy immediately revised or refuse to function and bring the matter to a head. At a temperance meeting last night in a village near by, a few yards from the police station, the toddy shop renter came and effectively disturbed our proceedings. If we had given the order the man could have been suppressed or bodily removed, but we desisted in view of our own inviolate policy of peace and did our work as best as we could under the circumstances. I have no doubt

the renter would not have had the courage he exhibited but for the Government beat of drum."

**The Patiala Report :—**The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of Women in India, at its meeting held on the 2nd instant, under the Chairmanship of Lady Tata, passed the following resolutions on the Report of the Patiala Committee of the States' People's Conference :

"(1) The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of Women in India have learnt with horror of the nature of charges made against H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala by the Committee appointed by the Indian States' People's Conference in their Report; and particularly of those accusations concerning outrages on the honour of women of every class in the State, even resulting in their death in some cases and in the imprisonment, torture and death of some of their menfolk.

"(2) The Central Committee of the National Council of Women in India draws the attention of H. E. the Viceroy to the various charges made in the Report and requests His Excellency, in recognition of the primary rights of womanhood, to order an immediate enquiry into these charges and to mete out due punishment to every person irrespective of his rank proved guilty of the outrages mentioned therein.

"(3) The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of Women in India authorises the Honorary Secretary to forward the above resolution to H. E. the Viceroy and copies of the same to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, to the Members of the Standing Committee of the Princes' Chamber and to the Press."

**Women in Bengal :—**Bengal was the pioneer of religious and social reform in India. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidya-sagar are names which will ever occupy the first places among makers of modern India. Bengalee women have been likewise prominent in reform movements. And yet Bengal is to-day the one province in the country where women because of their sex are disqualified from sitting in the Legislative Council. The first woman member of the Senate of the Calcutta University was appointed only recently. Mrs. P. K. Ray who attended a meeting of the Senate for the first time on the 26th March, is a veteran social worker, and is the founder of the Gokhale Memorial High School for Girls in Calcutta to which Lady Dorab Tata made an appreciative reference in her address to the last All-India Women's Conference.

**Sir Mahomed Habibullah :—**Appreciative references were made in the Council of State at its sitting on March 27, to the services of Sir Mahomed Habibullah, Education Member of the Government of India and Leader of the House, who is due to retire on the 1st April. Sir Mahomed in acknowledging the tributes paid, said that "he knew one truth—that the success of a leader depended upon the kind of team he had—and it was very fortunate that the speaker had always had devoted friends and loyal colleagues. His ideal had been the service of the motherland through the edifice of goodwill of the fellow-men, and during his 40 years' public life he had found nothing but

goodness from all sections of people, irrespective of caste, colour or creed, and it was that goodness which had carried him through his life successfully and brought him to where he was to-day. He said he would carry with him the cherished treasure of the goodwill of all. 'And if at any future time my knowledge and experience are needed by the motherland, she would not find me shrinking from my duty.' In conclusion, Sir Mahomed Habibullah urged his countrymen to take full advantage of the offer of a Round Table Conference."

**Editor And Owners :—**The recent resignation of the Editor of the *Saturday Review*, the famous English weekly, and his staff of contributors, has evoked strong comments in the British Press against the action of the Proprietor in announcing a sudden change of policy of the *Review* without even consulting the Editor, Mr. Gerald Barry. The *Manchester Guardian's* typical remarks is the attitude of the principal papers. "The owner" says the *Guardian* "has a perfect right to commit his paper to any policy he chooses and to change his mind every weekend, if he so thinks fit. But that he should expect his editor to remain an uninformed and passive instrument of these changes is intolerable and the refusal of the editor and staff of the "Saturday Review" to work under such conditions is the natural course for men who still believe that journalism is not a branch of pure material merchandise but a profession for people of intelligence and self-respect.

**A Spirited Protest :—**Mahatma Gandhi, we are sure, will feel happy at the following spirited and moving protest which the *Siri Dharma*, the official organ of the Women's Indian Association, makes against his original intention not to admit women in his present *satyagraha*. He has since modified this decision. *Siri Dharma* writes :— "Notwithstanding that Mr. Gandhi has refused to allow women to participate in his historic March in the Independence campaign, because he explains, they "would complicate" things, women in different parts of India are not satisfied with this explanation and have protested against their arbitrary exclusion when they are, many of them, just as full of health, and patriotic self-sacrifice as their marching brothers. Gandhiji has left the care of his Ashrama entirely to women. This division of sexes in a non-violent campaign seems to us unnatural, and against all the awakened consciousness of modern womanhood. In these stirring, critical days for India's destiny there should be no watertight compartments of service. Women ask that no conferences, congresses or commissions dealing with the welfare of India should be held without the presence on them of women. Similarly women must ask that no Marches, no imprisonments no demonstrations organised for the welfare of India should prohibit women from a share in them. Rabindranath Tagore truly voices woman's place in his "Chitra," who exclaims :— I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self."

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 5, 1930.

## AN ONE-SIDED CONVENTION.

The session of the Indian Legislative Assembly which ended this week was signalised by a heated controversy on a constitutional issue of the first importance. Since the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and, as a part of it, a convention was adopted by which whenever the Government of India and the Indian Legislature were agreed on any fiscal question, the Secretary of State for India and the British Cabinet of which he is a member, would not interpose their power of veto. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the present Secretary of State, had particularly laid stress on this convention, in the course of a recent debate in the House of Commons, as a proof that India was virtually enjoying the same fiscal autonomy as the self-governing Dominions. The question was put to the test on the proposals of the Government of India to raise the import duty on cotton goods in order to raise additional revenue to cover the budget deficit and also to give protection to the Indian mill industry, particularly in Bombay, against outside competition in its present state of deep depression. The Government proposals were, first, that the general tariff on imported cotton goods should be raised from 11 to 15 per cent. as a revenue measure and that a further 5 per cent. should be levied on other than British imports as a measure of protection to the Bombay mills. As Japan is the largest importer of cotton piece-goods other than Great Britain, the extra duty will fall on Japanese imports.

From the Indian point of view, strong exception was taken to these proposals on the ground that they introduced by the back-door the principle of Imperial Preference which the Assembly had rejected more than once previously. It was suggested that the 20 per cent. duty should apply to all imports, British as well as Japanese, or in the alternative that the extra 5 per cent. on non-British goods should be omitted. No non-official member can move to increase taxation, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Leader of the Opposition was, therefore, obliged to move the omission of the 5 per cent. extra duty. In the course of the discussion, it came out that this proposal emanated, not from the Secretary of State or the British Government which is opposed to Imperial Preference, but from the Government of India and that, if the Legislature accepted it, the convention referred to above would operate and the British Government will acquiesce in it in accordance with it. What would happen if the Assembly rejected the extra duty, it was asked.

The Government spokesman replied that the Tariff Bill, including the increase of the general duty to which there was no opposition, will be dropped. The President, Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, here intervened and pointed out that this was not leaving freedom of action to the Legislature, and the Opposition members resented the dilemma in which they would have either to refuse protection to the Indian mill industry or accept the proposed Preference to which they were opposed. Under these conditions, the convention became a farce, as the Assembly was practically coerced to carry out the will of the irremovable Executive Government.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya declared he would rather that the Bombay mill industry suffered than that the principle of Preference should be endorsed, and pressed his proposal to cut out the 5 per cent. extra duty. He was defeated by a majority composed chiefly of officials and nominated members, the majority of elected members voting with the Pandit. Technically, of course, a vote is a vote and the convention about the Secretary of State not interfering when there is agreement between the Government of India and the Assembly, may be held to apply. But it has been made quite plain by the Opposition members as well as by the President that the decision does not represent the free will of the Assembly, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah and others who voted for the Government proposal have publicly stated that they voted for it because they did not want to risk the proffered protection to the Indian mill industry.

The Indian opposition to Imperial Preference is not a sentimental one, as the speeches of some of the members who opposed it, may seem to imply. The objections to Preference were stated by Lord Curzon in a despatch to the British Government when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain first brought it up at the beginning of this century. They arise out of the hard fact that while India is Great Britain's largest customer, that is, purchaser, India's large customers are not Britain and the Dominions but countries outside the British Empire. Giving preference to Britain, therefore, brings no corresponding economic advantage to India, and might involve economic reprisals. The basic argument for Preference, that it is of mutual advantage, does not, therefore, apply to the case of India. The Government of India's position on this question, has shown that the convention of which so much has been sought to be made, is effective only when some advantage to Great Britain is likely to eventuate out of the matter upon which there is agreement between the Government of India and the Indian Legislature. A rather one-sided convention, this.

### A VISIT TO MAHATMA GANDHI.

For some time past I have felt an increasing desire to meet Mahatma Gandhi. His views on religion and social reform, have always had a strong appeal for me, and I greatly appreciate the way in which he has made politics their handmaid. Non-co-operation and disobedience, to my mind, express only the lower and negative phase of the true mode of progressive human evolution of which co-operation and the higher obedience are the real factors. In Mahatmaji's own case the distinction is immaterial as the higher ideal is always before his eyes, but in lesser men disobedience is apt to become an end in itself. I wished to place this view before Mahatma Gandhi. I was also perplexed about his position regarding the Round Table Conference. Swami Anand, who has been working hard as Secretary of the Congress Committee to remove untouchability of which Seth Jamnalal Bajaj is Chairman, casually suggested to me last week that I should try and meet Mahatmaji. I jumped at the idea. On Friday night my daughter and I took train for Surat and from there, under the capable guidance of Shantikumar, son of my late friend, Narottam Morarji, we made for the village of Chhaprabhatha where Mahatmaji was to halt on Saturday morning. We took a bus to the foot of the Tapti Bridge, walked the mile or so of ricketty wooden foot path alongside of it, and then tramped through over three miles and a half of deep soft mud, between cotton and tur fields, deeply grooved by the passing of wheels of country carts for perhaps hundreds of years. Huge neem trees in full flower filled the air all the way with their delightful bitter-sweet perfume. At the end of our journey we walked into a village, clean swept and simply decorated with festoons of neem leaves which were profusely scattered all about the place, and made it pleasantly cool. We were taken at once to the room in which Mahatmaji, just arrived from the last stage of his march, was resting.

He was looking quite fresh and vigorous. He said that the route which he had selected enabled him to realise more than ever the utter neglect of the village population under the present system. "Nothing has been done for them" he said sadly "all these years." I suggested that we, the educated men, were also to blame since by gravitating to towns we left the villages very much to themselves. He agreed and added that his visits to these villages purified both him and them. He mentioned incidentally that a party of women consisting of Dadabhai Naoroji's granddaughter, Khorshedbai, Miss Mridhula behu Ambalal Sarabhai and others finding themselves in a village called for brooms and swept the place clean by the time they left that place. He asked my daughter if she had met them, and on her

saying she wished very much to do so, sent a volunteer to take her to them downstairs.

We spoke of the affairs of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association in which he evinced a keen interest. The fund which the Association administers is the unspent balance which Mahatma Gandhi brought from South Africa, of the large sum which Gokhale had collected for his campaign in that country.

I then mentioned my perplexities about his attitude to the Round Table Conference. He remarked that it was not he, but those who had signed with him the Delhi statement who had something to explain. The two important things in that statement were that the Indian deputation would go to the Round Table Conference not to discuss whether and how far Dominion status was possible at the moment, but to frame a scheme to introduce it with the least delay; and that the Congress as the largest political party in the country should have predominant representation at the Conference. It was really a surprise to me how Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others subscribed to these conditions at the time. But they did sign the statement. Mahatmaji was reluctant to pursue the matter, as the Viceroy had asked that the proceedings at the Conference with him should be treated as confidential. "Lord Irwin" he said "has the notes with him, and if he publishes them, I certainly have no objection."

Mahatma Gandhi, I gathered, (I write subject to correction), was not immediately concerned so much about the result of the Round Table Conference. What he wished was that Lord Irwin should follow the precedent of Lord Hardinge's Madras speech on the Indian question in South Africa, and publicly identify himself with the aspiration of the Indian people to full Dominion status. The Viceroy's "the journey and goal" speech was evidently intended to convey to the public that he was not prepared to become himself the champion of the Indian claim and that his statement of December was not intended to bear that interpretation.

As regards Dominion status itself, Mahatma Gandhi, I gathered, could now, only view it in terms of Independence. That is to say, how much of the substance of Independence, it implied. He reminded me that he had once stated that Dominion Status was superior to Independence.

I mentioned to him that I thought a Commonwealth of which India can be a member must be an Indo-British and not merely British Commonwealth, as Indians are neither British nor even Whites; and also that the Sovereign should by means of suitable modifications of the Coronation oath and otherwise establish some points of other than a merely political contact.

with the people of India who did not profess the Christian faith. "You are going farther than I do" was Mahatma Gandhi's brief comment on my idea.

These are some of the things said in our conversation which stand prominently in my mind. With scores of people anxious to see Mahatmaji, I dare not request a private interview. With even a small gathering looking on, one unconsciously lapses into the manner of addressing a public meeting and it was therefore, impossible for us to go below the surface of any question.

The general impression we brought away with us is more important perhaps than a detailed account of our experience. The satyagraha against the salt laws is the last thing which the people at Chhaprabatha were thinking of when he was among them. They hailed his presence as that of an auspicious guest and during his stay with them they were absorbed in the pride of having him in their midst. He diffuses sweetness and light wherever he goes, and if I were Viceroy I would give him a commission to visit as many villages as possible every year. The *Satyagraha* was so clean out of our minds, even Mahatmaji's, for the time being, that when my daughter took leave of him, he affectionately said: "Do come to the Ashram." Then correcting himself: "'Go' I should have said, as I will not be there. No, I shall not go back."

K. NATARAJAN.

#### OBEDIENCE AND DISOBEDIENCE \*

At the present time, Indians and especially the Hindus are faced by problems which have been growing up through centuries; and they are called upon at their peril to solve them. Now or Never. The antyajias are resolved to force open the doors of Hindu temples now closed to them; the non-Brahmins resent Brahmanical pretensions even more than British pretensions of supremacy; our women demand that they should be freed from every vestige of inferiority by the abolition of old customs and laws which in any way restrict their opportunities and freedom of growth; our Mussulman countrymen ask not only for guarantees that their religious and cultural integrity will be safe in self-governing India but, if I understand one or two recent speeches of their leaders aright, that all barriers to inter-marriage should be thrown down as the surest guarantee of equal treatment of communities. One method of achieving these ends which seems to be growing in favour, is what has come to be known as *satyagraha* with which is associated 'civil disobedience'. I wish to offer a few observations on this method.

\*An amplified summary of Mr. Natarajan's sermon at the Prarthana Samaj on Sunday the 30th March.

In my study of history, I find that Obedience and not Disobedience has been the inspiring motive of the greatest achievements, which it records. Take Buddhism or Christianity. Neither Buddha nor Jesus Christ was a breaker of the customs or laws which prevailed in their time. When he felt overpowered by the sense of his mission to preach deliverance, Buddha took the Sanyasin's road which Hinduism in all ages has provided for those who feel its religious social system irksome. Jesus when he cured a man of blindness, ordered him to go and offer the prescribed sacrifices in the Temple. Luther broke with Rome because a higher law had taken hold of his soul and claimed his obedience so imperatively that he had to obey or be damned in his own estimation. This principle of Obedience as the law of life has been no where more forcibly illustrated than in India. Many of the habits and customs of the Vedic fore-fathers have become extinct and even reprehensible long before our time. At no stage in the long evolution of their religion and society, have the Hindus denounced the Vedas as out of date or vile. To this day, they hold the Vedas as revealed and infallible, though much of their contents have ceased to be followed and some, such as eating beef, and drinking liquor, have come actually to be reprobated as heinous sins. The Hindu doctrine of dharma, changing in accordance with the varying times, has enabled the community to adapt itself to the changing environment without violent revolution.

Nowhere is the danger of disobeying an existing order until an individual has got firm grip of a higher law, so variously and impressively insisted upon as in the Bhagavad Gita. I may say in fact that this is one of the crucial points of difference between Indian traditional methods and those of what for want of a better term I must call modern democracy. But even in the West there are rising up thinkers who question the efficacy of this method. A penetrating writer, Walter Lippman, in his book entitled "A Preface to Morals" says that in the United States they have secured all kinds of freedom, political, social and economic, but the trouble is that they do not know what to do with this freedom now that they have got it. A perplexity of this kind cannot arise when freedom comes as a growth, as the result of the human spirit outgrowing an old order, in obedience to the profound sentence of George Eliot: "We needs must love the highest when we see it." When such a vision comes to the individual, he is bound to follow it wherever it leads, and he is not obliged to give any reason or reasons to society or the State. Such visions can come also to groups, and to nations and even to a nation so large and composite as our own. When they come, we need not pause to judge whether an existing order is good or bad, it simply drops off like ripe fruit at the least shaking. The American Poet, Lowell, is eminently the Poet of Freedom and he has marked and described



the signs of such crises in human history. I quote the first two stanzas :

When a deed is done for freedom,  
through the broad earth's aching breast,  
Rans a thrill of Joy prophetic,  
trembling on from East to West,  
And the slave, wher'ever he comes,  
feels the soul within him climb,  
To the awful verge of manhood,  
as the energy sublime,  
Of a century bursts full blossomed  
on the thorny stem of time.  
Through the walls of hut and palace shoots,  
the instantaneous throes,  
When the travail of the Ages wrings earth's  
systems to and fro ;  
At the birth of each new Era,  
with a recognising start,  
Nation wildy looks at nation,  
standing with mute lips apart,  
And glad Truth's yet mightier  
man-child leaps beneath the Future's heart.

The aim of religious movement and Teacher is to set before the people the vision of a higher obedience and not of mere disobedience to a lower rule. The habit of disobedience is not one favourable to the moral or even material growth of nations or individuals. The Prarthana Samaj holds up before the people the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Every man or woman to whom this great idea appears, cannot naturally tolerate customs which contradict it. It is not so much that a convinced Samajist gives up caste as that caste ceases to have any meaning and therefore any hold upon him. The Samaj had from the first freely admitted Antyaja's to its services and I have seen the few of them who attended services, sitting on the front benches in the Samaj. The freedom so freely given, however, has not created enthusiasm among them, as the idea of forcing entry into orthodox Hindu temples seems to do. The pujaris in these temples are as a rule men of very little spirituality, as shown by the fact that in Southern India the Gurukkal Brahmins are regarded as inferior Brahmins with whom other Brahmins will not associate as social equals. The ministers in the Samaj, on the other hand, are men of the highest character and respectability, and the truths which they preach are the pure Hinduism of the Gita and the Upanishads. The Brahmo Samaj movement can do a great deal to uplift our Antyaja brethren, if they were not obsessed by the idea of forcing an entry into Hindu temples where they are not wanted and attend in large numbers the Samaj where they are most welcome. In the women's movement likewise the Samaj is more likely to be disposed to favour the levelling up men's standards to those expected of women rather than fling down the latter to the dimensions of the former. In regard to Hindu-Muslim differences, the Samaj holds up an ideal in which these differences have no place and it is, therefore, the best and most permanent solvent of them. Our times surely need that the message of the Samaj, which offers the most satisfying solution of all our problems, should be patiently and vigorously proclaimed to the people.

## SPIRIT OF SERVICE AMONG WOMEN.\*

(BY LADY DORAB TATA.)

I.

As you will see from the printed notice of this Conference the subject I am about to speak on is Social Service, as it applies to India. I am not competent to speak on it in connection with any other country or "elsewhere" and even with regard to India I want to say that I can only speak of the work done in Bombay about which I know something but not about similar work in other parts of that vast Continent, India, about whose work I know very little or nothing.

### SOCIAL WORK IN INDIA.

I am glad to be able to say that our Indian women, particularly the Hindu women in Bombay City and the Bombay Presidency are awakening very rapidly to the necessity for Social Service work and many societies are already in existence created and run entirely by Indian women for the amelioration of their more unfortunate sisters. I have no doubt that in Madras and in Calcutta too they are doing excellent work in this direction. The splendid work of the Saroj Nalini Dutt village Institutes in Bengal and the work of Mr. and Mrs. Brayne at Gurgaon are very prominent instances. But after all they are a handful. What I should like to see in Bombay is that everybody—men and women, boys and girls in all walks of life and especially amongst the leisured classes, the well-to-do classes, who may well be described in many instances as "The Idle Rich"—should be imbued with this idea of Social Service, this spirit of serving and of giving to others the best that is in them. At present there is a great lack of this spirit amongst us, generally, merely through want of proper training from childhood in the right direction. I find that the present generation and consequently the younger generation and the children of today are in many cases brought up in a spirit of utter selfishness and with no idea of consideration or thought or feeling for others but for their own interests and their own pleasures and comfort. Such a life can never really be a happy one. It is in the Service for others that one gets the greatest happiness, the greatest satisfaction, as you must all have realised when you have done a kind action or some good work to help someone in one way or another. If you have not, then it is only when you have tried it that you will realise the truth of what I say.

### AN INSTANCE OF GOOD TRAINING.

Service for others widens one's outlook on life, enlarges one's sympathies, brings out all that is human and good in one's self and causes greater satisfaction and happiness than anything else I know of. It not only helps those for whom it is given but it elevates those who give it. To forget yourself and think of others, to learn to sacrifice a little personal comfort or enjoyment when necessary, to put yourself out a bit in order to help someone,

\* Paper read at the Indo-British Social Welfare League in London in June 1929 and again at the B. P. W. C. At Home in Bombay on 17th March 1930.

to give generously and freely but wisely—all these rare qualities which must be inculcated into our children from early childhood. Then only shall we have men and women who will be ready to devote their lives, or some part of their lives to Social Service. It is this early training in this direction in their homes to the children of today that is the crying need. Our mothers and fathers need to be trained to this idea first so that they may imbue their children with the same spirit. I will give you instances from my own personal experience of a wise mother and an unwise stupid and ignorant mother to illustrate this point. When I was a child I lived in the State of Mysore in Southern India. We had as our neighbours an English family—the father was a professor—and he and his wife and two children—a girl of about 8 and a boy of 6—lived in a modest way in a small bungalow with a garden. One day when I went to play with them at their house a little incident happened which has lived with me and influenced me all my life. The mother and the two children and myself were all in the garden and the little boy, Tommy, had a toy in his hands—one of those gaily dressed clowns on a stick which turns a somersault every time you pull a string—and after a while he dropped it on the ground and started playing with something else. Presently the son of the gardener, a sturdy little fellow of the same age who had been watching us from a distance came slowly near us and was so fascinated by the toy, the like of which he had never seen in his life, that he could not resist taking it up in his hands to make the clown perform his somersaults. In those days the gardeners—the malis—got an average salary of about Rs. 12 or 15 a month on which they had to feed and clothe the whole family. They were usually given a room to live in in the servants' quarters. Well, when the little English boy saw the other one taking up his toy he rushed up to him, snatched it away from him, screamed and shouted at him and told him to go away. The mother saw at once that this was a wrong spirit for her child to develop, so she took him in her arms and spoke kindly but firmly to him, she reasoned with him, she appealed to his good feelings, his generosity, his sympathy and with so much success that after half an hour to my astonishment he called out to little Moonaswamy to come to him, shook hands with him and very solemnly gave him the toy for himself. You can imagine the joy of that little Indian boy. This was a lesson to the little English boy which he never forgot. It was also a lesson to me and to his little sister which I at any rate have never forgotten. A few days later when I was having tea with these same children a dish of Coconut Toffee was passed round. The little boy asked his mother if he might take two pieces. "Why" said the mother. "I want one for Moonaswamy" said little Tommy and as soon as tea was over he rushed out and gave it to his little friend in the nicest, sweetest possible way. And so the mother's kind help and advice and guidance had borne fruit. I am sure that the boy and girl are

now, owing to that good mother's wise guidance, leading lives of the greatest usefulness and help to those around them and wherever they may be I am sure they are loved and honoured and respected by all around them.

#### UNWISE MOTHER.

And now I'll tell you about the unwise mother. She happened to be a Parsi lady of my acquaintance I am sorry to say. One day when I was calling on her she called her little boy into the room and with great pride wanted to show me how clever he was. After a while she asked him to bring in some toy she had brought him a few days ago to show me. The boy did not move. "What is the matter, go and get it" said she. "I haven't got it any more" said the boy. "Why, what has happened to it?" "I gave it away to my friend, Rustum, yesterday." He was evidently a large hearted, generous child, which is so rare in a boy of that age, and instead of encouraging him and praising him for it she scolded him violently and actually punished him by not buying him another toy the next time one was due to him. She turned to me and said "I paid three rupees for that toy." Poor woman, she little realised that she was destroying something in that child worth millions. If that foolish mother has had the influence on that child which she, in her ignorance, exercised, that boy will surely grow up to be a selfish, self-centred miserly sort of man whom nobody could love or honour or respect. One other instance. The other day I was having tea in a restaurant in London. Near to us were seated an old lady of very large proportions of about the age of 70 and apparently, her grandson, a boy about 10, who looked rather weakly and wore glasses. It was beautiful to me to see how that little boy looked after the old lady. When they had finished he went round and helped her to put on her coat, handed her stick, carried her handbag for her and paid her every attention as if he were a man of 25. When going out there were two steps to climb and he promptly offered his shoulder to the old lady. She realised that she required someone bigger and stronger to help her up those steps, so he went and called one of the waitresses to come and help. I realised that that boy's mother was a wise woman who had taught him to think for others at this early age. Therefore I say that the mothers and fathers of the present generation in India need to be trained to the realisation of this spirit of service and of giving for others and then we may hope that the rising generation will gradually be imbued with that same spirit.

#### EARLY TRAINING NEEDED.

The splendid example that one sees and hears of in the West and sometimes, but rarely, in India also are the examples we should all follow. It is not an easy matter—this service for others—it requires courage, patience, perseverance, human understanding, sympathy, tolerance, tact, the ever constant desire to serve and to help others, the setting aside of one's self in the performance of

this labour of love. When one has attained all those qualities then only can one succeed in giving real and lasting service.

The other day Prof. Karve in his talk to us said that in India we lack the training for organisation and system in any work we undertake. I quite agree with him. But in my opinion the greatest thing we lack is discipline. Without discipline no group or body of men or women can carry out anything successfully. Discipline leads to team-work and without either discipline or team-work nothing can be achieved. For this reason I welcome the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in India. There is a vast field for doing good in this direction and what a wonderful opening it is for our boys and girls of well-to-do leisured classes to train themselves as Guiders and Scoutmasters and devote a few hours a week to this work. They could very well do it and not only help the cause but help themselves. But I regret to say that not one of them will give up their indolent frivolous lives and take the trouble to train themselves. And why? Because their parents have never taught them to think of doing anything for anybody else except themselves.

#### PANDIT MOTILAL'S GIFT TO NATION.

Pandit Motilal Nehru has addressed a letter to the President of the Congress, offering his old house "Anand Bhavan" to the nation. The following is the text of his letter:—

Dear Mr. President,—I am placing before you formally my proposal to present the old "Anand Bhavan" to the nation which you and I discussed with Gandhiji at his camp at Jambusar on the 22nd instant. We agreed there that, having regard to the past history of the house and the stage we have now reached in the national struggle for freedom, the appropriate use to which it can be put is to make it the permanent headquarters of the Indian National Congress. This means that the office of the All-India Congress Committee will be permanently located in the house and parts of it not occupied by these offices will be utilised for other national purposes, to be determined later in consultation with the members of the Working Committee. Meanwhile, I desire to know if the Working Committee approves and accepts the main idea.

I append two short notes, one giving a brief history of the house and of the site, and the other a specification of the property I propose to dedicate to the nation. I desire to carry out the proposal on the 6th of April next, which is the first day of the National Week and the day fixed by Gandhiji for the first act of concerted civil disobedience in the campaign of Independence. In the event of my offer being accepted, I should like the house to be renamed "Swarajya Bhavan" (Independence Hall).

Yours Sincerely,

(Sd.) MOTILAL NEHRU.

To the above letter is attached a note in which, it is stated, that the house stands on a site next to the

Ashram of Bharadwaj where, in the times of Ramchandra, there is reputed to have been a great University. It is also pointed out that the house is intimately connected with the development of the national movement. Many important meetings of the All-India Congress Committee have taken place there. The Congress League scheme of Reforms, which was placed before Mr. Montagu, was framed there. The house is also intimately connected with the Non-Co-operation Movement, the Civil Disobedience Committee, the Swaraj Party and the All-Parties' Committee.

In the second note is given a specification of the property. This comprises the entire block of the main buildings. The new house recently built and the old cottages are excluded.

#### ALL-ASIA CONFERENCE OF WOMEN.

##### INVITATION TO WOMEN OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

The following invitation has been issued to representative women of various countries in Asia in connection with the proposed All Asian Conference of Women:—

We, the undersigned representatives of the women of India, having experienced the value of meeting in conference from all parts of India, believe that the time has come when women representatives of the various countries of our common continent, Asia, can similarly derive and confer much benefit from meeting together in an All-Asian Conference of Women.

Each continent has its own distinctive characteristics, which should be fostered for the enrichment of human unity. Behind the vast and varying divergences of life in Asia there is a fundamental cultural unity. In the extremes of honour and of serfdom accorded to its womanhood, Asia is one. In its worship of the family; in the hopes of the here and the hereafter that it places in the child; its marriage codes; in its illiteracy; in its present renaissance, Asia is one. The oriental civilisation has ideals concerning the sanctity of life; the vocation of woman as race-nourisher; conceptions of art, philosophy and spirituality, all of a complementary nature to those held on these subjects by other continents.

Yet unfortunately the circumstances of our political groupings make the women of Asia, who are the fundamental custodians of this oriental culture, practically unknown to one another. Thus, a Hindu woman knows nothing of the Chinese woman; the Burmese woman is ignorant of the conditions in which her sisters live. Secluded within the geographical limits of our particular country, we only know of those who come to us. The Chinese woman knows more about Americans, the Japanese about the Dutch, and the Indians about the English, than we know of one another.

The tides of western influence are pouring in on us on all sides in increasing volume. In our opinion it is fully time that we oriental women should make

a determined effort to understand one another, and to develop among ourselves a spirit of Asian sisterhood, with the object of preserving all that is valuable in our age-long national and social cultures, and of discriminating what is best for us to assimilate from outside Asia. This can best be done by our uniting and meeting to review our common heritage and destiny.

With this object in view, we Indian women take the initiative in placing before our sisters in Asia a proposal that an All-Asian Women's Conference should be held in 1931.

Further, having at our immediate disposal the facilities and experience necessary for organising such a gathering, we propose that the Conference should be held in India.

If you are in favour of this project, we shall esteem it a high privilege if a delegation up to the number of ten women from your country will accept the invitation to attend such a conference which we hereby extend through you. The same number of delegates is being invited from each of the thirty countries of Asia. We shall also be very happy if you will at the same time accept our offer of hospitality for such delegates during their stay in India.

We further propose that the conference be held in the month of January. This time seems specially suitable, as the International Association of Teachers will hold an Asiatic Teachers' Conference in Benares, India, from December 25 to 31, 1930, and it may help some of the delegates to the Women's Conference if they are able to travel with delegates to the Teachers' Conference with whom they are acquainted. We also propose 1931 because the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference which women from the Far Eastern countries attend, will meet in Honolulu in August, 1930, and in China, in 1932.

The women of Lahore, Punjab, have offered to make all arrangements for the proposed Women's Conference during the week of January, 1931, either preceding or following the All-India Women's Conference, which will be held in the same city.

Sisters in Asia: We hope that a warm response of welcome will rise in your hearts to this call to bring together our scattered communities and our oriental cultures for the service of Asia and the world.

We request your co-operation in making this call for an All-Asian Women's Conference a success by giving it all possible publicity and support through your national newspapers and magazines, through women's associations and individual women likely to interest themselves in this movement.

We ask you to help it also by collecting materials as regards the cultural date of your country, and by being prepared to put the same before the conference. We shall also welcome all suggestion regarding methods by which the conference can consolidate the common ideals and aspirations of oriental womanhood as an essential factor in the growth of

international understanding, world peace, and the regeneration of humanity.

As there is little time to spare, we request you to communicate your reply as soon as possible to Rani Lakshmbai G. Rajwade, care of Mrs. M. E. Cousins, Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, Madras, India.

SRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU.

DR. MUTHULAKSHMI AMMAL, M.L.C.

DR. POONEN LUKHOSH, Ex. M.L.C.

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#### THE SARDA ACT.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer,*

Bombay.

Sir,

No doubt the Government have hit upon the excellent idea, as you say, in the "Reformer's" latest issue, of issuing a number of leaflets in different languages for the information of the public.

The references therein to ages of the child-boy or child-girl e. g. under 14 years and 18 years etc. are somewhat confusing to the ordinary persons. It should have been clearly defined. Does the law expect that the bride and the bridegroom should pass completely their 14th year and 18th year respectively or is it sufficient if they are in their 14th and 18th year respectively?

The Government would do well to remove the anomaly.

31, Tulshi Building,  
Khetwadi, Girgaum,  
Bombay, 31st March 1930.

Yours truly,  
M. V. PIRKE.

[ It is quite clear from the Act that the ages mentioned therein should be understood to mean fully, completed years. Ed. I. S. B. ]

Sources of Ramayana:—Raghavadas Hanuman Prasad Poddar, 'Kalyan' Office, Gorakhpur writes: We shall be very grateful if gentlemen interested in the Ramayana will kindly intimate to us the sources from which we can get useful information for and original and exhaustive literary work on the Ramayana we intend to soon bring out. Communications regarding original manuscripts, photos, pictures, paintings or any other rare material calculated to be useful will be thankfully received and acknowledged. Charges for any material, if required, shall also be paid which must be settled beforehand through correspondence.

## "JESUS OR CHRISTIANITY."

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,—I am a regular reader of your admirable weekly, and find it valuable in keeping one in touch with affairs in India, especially in the progress of reform, and in the introduction of measures for the welfare of the peoples of your vast country. I note also from time to time words of commendation for the Christian faith and for Jesus Christ. Those of us who are interested in Christian Missions to Asia and Africa are naturally glad to see any word of praise for our faith in Him Whom we regard as the Light of the world and the Saviour of men on the part of one who like yourself does not claim adherence to the Christian religion.

In the "Reformer" of January 18th, there was an interesting editorial on "Jesus or Christianity", Mr. Kirby Page's recent volume. I am writing this letter to call special attention to what I am sure was an unintentional erroneous statement concerning the estimate of people who are non-Christians by those promoting Christian missions in non-Christian lands. The following is the sentence to which I refer:

"This tendency of foreign domination is assisted in the modern world by Christian missions who rely for making converts on persuading the people among whom they work that they are the greatest sinners in the world, and that they (the missionaries) have come from a sinless land to save them from the perdition to which they are otherwise doomed."

One wonders how you could possibly, with what is obviously your intelligence concerning so-called Christian lands ("so-called" because there is no really Christian land in all the world yet), say that missionaries, and presumably churches which send and support missionaries, consider missionary work is carried on among non-Christian people because we consider that they are "the greatest sinners in the world"; and further, that missionaries and therefore the churches which send and support them belong to "a sinless land".

I do not think you have ever read any statement from any one or heard any one say that England or the United States or Canada, for example, are "sinless lands". On the other hand if you read any religious journals of churches of so-called Christian countries, you would hardly find an issue that does not comment upon the sins of the people, and deplorable conditions that exist in spite of Christianity.

Nor do I think I am wrong in saying that you have never read anything that would indicate that missionaries or those who send and support them regard Hindus, for example, as "the greatest sinners in the world". Much could be written to show that we, Westerners, have great respect for many fine points to be found in non-Christian religions, and also admiration for the people of Eastern lands.

The main testimony I wish to quote is from the "Statement Adopted by the International Missionary Council" held at Jerusalem, March 24th to

April 8th, 1928, on "Christian Message". It is as follows:

"We believe in a Christlike world. We know nothing better; we can be content with nothing less. We do not go to the nations called Non-Christian because they are the worst of the world and they alone are in need—we go because they are a part of the world and share with us in the same need—the need of redemption from ourselves and from sin, the need to have life complete and abundant and to be remade after this pattern of Christlikeness. We desire a world in which Christ will not be crucified but where His Spirit shall reign."

"We believe that men are made for Christ and cannot really live apart from Him. Our fathers were impressed with the horror that men should die without Christ—we share that horror; we are impressed also with the horror that men should live without Christ."

The International Missionary Council, as you probably know, is "the Supreme Court", as it were of Protestant Missionary Boards and Societies throughout the world. There are twenty-eight regional Councils in its members, one of which is the National Christian Council of India. To it we look to give expression to our missionary aspirations and to interpret to the world our aims and principles. Therefore you may regard its statement as representing the mind of practically the entire body of Protestant Christians throughout the world so far as their attitude to people of other faiths is concerned, and with reference to their motives in sharing Christ with peoples of other beliefs.

With best wishes, for your excellent paper,  
24th February 1930. } Yours etc.  
A. E. ARMSTRONG,

## NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Special Women Police** :—Of special interest was the motion, of which notice had been given in the Madras Council by Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, to discuss the need of special women staff in the police and to ask why no steps had been taken to train women for the special police as recommended by the Indian delegation of the British Social Hygiene Council. Trained women on the police staff would be useful, especially now that the question of the suppression of immoral traffic was engaging public attention. There were women offenders and criminals and the time had come for Government to seek the co-operation of women in the prevention of crime. The Home Member in his reply said that with regard to women police this question had been already investigated. In the opinion of the Inspector-General of Police it was too premature to consider it. It was neither necessary nor possible to employ the women police at present.

**Cochin Grant To Hindu University** :—The *Cochin Government Gazette* of the 29th March, announces that the Cochin Government has sanctioned a donation of one lakh of rupees and an annual grant of Rs. 6,000 to the Benares Hindu University, the latter in consideration of making room for Cochin students to the University institutions.

**Dr. K. M. Pardhy:**—Dr. K. M. Pardhy, the well-known Indian surgeon, was recently summoned to attend a wealthy English woman patient in Germany, in consultation with two very prominent German Professors. Dr. Pardhy is the President of the Indian Social Club, and takes an active part in London Social activities in London. This circle sees in the preference accorded to Dr. Pardhy a signal honour to the Indian medical profession.—*Pioneer*.

**Indian Delegation to League:**—The Government of India, it is understood, propose to depute this year also an Indian as leader of the Indian delegation to Geneva. The choice, it is expected, will fall upon the member of the delegation drawn from the princes. In all probability the Maharja of Bikaner, it is said, would be chosen to represent the princes and also to lead the Indian delegation.

**Professor Karve in Malaya:**—One of the distinguished sons of India is in our midst to-day, writes the *Indian Pioneer*, Kuala Lumpur Malaya. Prof. D. K. Karve, founder and principal of Srimathi Nathibai Damodher Thackersy Indian Women's University at Poona who is about 72 years of age is touring round the world with his son and is on his way back to India. The learned professor who has devoted nearly half-a-century to the women's cause has conceived this unique idea of creating a university for women some fourteen years ago on reading the report of the working of the women's university in Japan. The professor is in Kuala Lumpur now and is expected to stay for a few days more when, we understand, several interesting lectures will be delivered in the various institutions and public places of Kuala Lumpur. People will be glad to hear the life experiences of an Indian Pioneer with a novel idea and a septagenarian world-tourist who has visited several countries in the Continent and America and in the Far East and who has addressed at various places private and public audiences on the subject of women's education. The public will do well to watch the daily papers and hand-bill announcements.

**The Late Mr. J. Langford James:**—Mr. J. Langford James, senior prosecution counsel in the Meerut conspiracy case, collapsed and died suddenly at Dehra Dun on the 28th instant.

**Seventh Barrows Lecturer:**—The University of Chicago have appointed Bishop Francis J. McConnell to deliver the seventh course of lectures in India during

the winter of 1930-31, under the Barrows Lectureship Foundation. Bishop McConnell is the Resident Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the New York Area, and is also the President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He is an outstanding figure of international Christianity.

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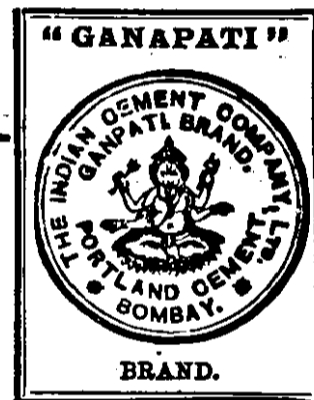
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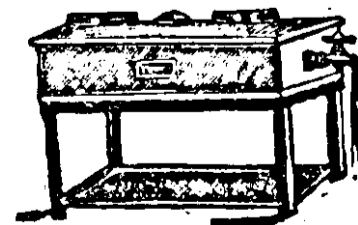
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1930

No. 32

*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Vice-Chancellor Of Bombay University:**—It has taken nearly two months for the Government of Bombay to find a successor to the late Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan for the Vice-Chancellorship of Bombay University. This long interregnum when nearly everything connected with the University is in the melting-pot, has been very unfortunate. The new Vice-Chancellor is the brother of the late Vice-Chancellor. Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan is well-known for his broad views and cultivated outlook. But he has not taken a fraction of the interest which his late brother took in University affairs. He has seldom taken part in the discussions in the Senate. He was elected to the Syndicate for the first time a few months ago. His selection to the chief executive office of the University over the heads of members of longer standing and a greater record of work, is inexplicable except on the assumption that a Mahomedan Minister of Education felt bound to appoint none but a co-religionist to the post. Professor Fardunji M. Dastur, an eminent educationist with an intimate knowledge of University affairs gained as Registrar for nearly thirty years, is just the man for the place. We have heard it said that he was too old. Vice-Chancellors are not chosen for their youth and that more than one previous incumbent was not much younger than Professor Dastur, who of course, does not practice the arts which hide advancing years. He was retired by the Syndicate three months ago on the ground of age, but that authority had to call him back to act for his successor who fell ill and had to go on leave. Surely, a man who is able to carry on the duties of Registrar, can easily carry on the duties of Vice-Chancellor. If Professor Dastur was not available, there is Professor Pestonji Ardeshir Wadia, who has been closely associated with all departments of the University for many years. We are bound to say that in making the present appointment the Bombay Government has subordinated the interests of the University to a narrow communal consideration. Such an appointment is unfair not only to the University but also to the new Vice-Chancellor.

**Birth-Control Methods:**—Of all the Indian Provincial Legislative Councils, the Madras

Council has been most active in its interest in social subjects. The other day Mr. A. B. Shetti raised the question of the establishment of birth-control clinics in the Presidency. He said knowledge of birth-control methods was spreading amongst the educated classes, but it cannot spread to the masses without organised propaganda by means of clinics. The Maharaja of Pithupuram supported Mr. Shetti. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi thought that what they wanted in India was propaganda against child-marriage and that birth-control propaganda was a little too premature. It may be argued that a knowledge of birth-control technique is especially needed in order to protect child-wives from premature and too frequent maternity. In fact, that is one principal reason which has weighed with us greatly in considering the desirability of popularising birth-control. But on another ground we are inclined to agree with Dr. Reddi that it is premature to introduce propaganda in this direction at present. Messrs. George Allen & Unwin have published a book (price 5 shillings) entitled "Birth-Control on Trial" by Mrs. Lella Secor Florence containing the result of her investigation into birth-control methods undertaken under the auspices of the Cambridge Welfare Women's Association. The first three hundred cases which came before the Cambridge Clinic were analysed and examined, and the conclusion of Mrs. Florence is that Dr. Marie Stopes' optimism about the success of birth-control methods is far from justified. "Our whole plea is," says Mrs. Florence, "that though existing methods are without doubt being used successfully by large numbers of men and women, they are at best awkward and clumsy and uncertain and in many cases impracticable and useless." There has been no effective contribution to the technique of contraception in the past fifty years. "It seems more than likely that the poor will still be with us until we have found much more effective contraceptives than are known at present." Mrs. Florence gives ample proof for her scepticism in regard to the efficacy of the methods at present advocated.

**A Curious Mistake:**—In Mr. Natarajan's article in the last issue on "A Visit to Mahatma Gandhi", a curious error crept in evading several pairs of eyes which read it over before publication. The day of his taking train for Surat was given as Friday and that of meeting Mahatmaji as Saturday. The correct dates are Monday, the 31st March and Tuesday, the 1st April. The only explanation which can be thought of for this trick of memory, is that we had intended to start on Friday, but could do so only on Monday.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, APRIL 12, 1930.

BREAKING THE SALT LAW.

On Saturday last Mahatma Gandhi reached Dandi, the sea-side village in Surat District selected for the inauguration of his campaign against the Salt Act. Punctually at the appointed hour on Sunday morning, after the usual prayers, he and his picked band of volunteers from the Sabarmati Ashram, made their way to the salt marsh bordering on the sea, and began operations. Salt earth and water were fetched and by the application of heat the salt was separated and distributed to the villagers. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who was present hailed Mahatmajī, as salt law breaker. Police and Salt officials were present but they did not interfere with Mahatma Gandhi's manufacture of illicit salt. On the same day and since, some others who carried out the identical programme in some other villages were arrested, the salt confiscated, and these have been prosecuted and sentenced in various ways. Some have been prosecuted for breaking the Salt Act, the maximum punishment for which is three months' imprisonment with or without a fine or a fine only. In the case of some others the identical conduct has been treated as a double offence, first, under the Salt Act and then under a section of the Penal Code relating to offences by more than ten persons, the maximum punishment for the latter being three years' imprisonment with or without fine. As a consequence of this diversified procedure, one breaker of the law has been sentenced to pay only a fine of Rs. fifty, some others have received sentences of imprisonment without hard labour for a period of one month, yet others have been condemned to hard labour for six months, and some have been sentenced to hard labour for two years with a fine. In all cases, the satyagrahis have refused to pay fines and have to undergo additional terms of imprisonment for the default.

Mahatma Gandhi and his friends have deliberately broken the law and asked for the punishment prescribed by the law for their conduct. They do not make a grievance of their arrest and imprisonment. But the general public have also an interest in the matter. What differentiates a reign of law from arbitrary exercise of power is that the former is uniform in its incidence and certain in its application, while the latter is fitful and erratic like the ways of Setebos as they struck Caliban :

- ' Am strong myself compared to yonder crabs  
That march now from the mountain to the sea ;
- ' Let twenty pass, and stone the twenty-first,  
Loving not, hating not, just choosing so.
- ' Say, the first straggler that boasts purple spots  
Shall join the file, one pincer twisted off ;
- ' Say, this bruised fellow receive a worm,  
And two worms he whose nippers end in red ;  
As it likes me each time, I do.

Mere breaking of the law does not bring law into contempt. There are hundreds of murders and thefts committed in a year but nobody thinks the less of the law for that, as every one knows that every murder and theft, if found out, will meet with its appropriate punishment. If, however, owing to any cause the State finds it necessary or desirable to shut its eyes to some murders and thefts, while punishing others with widely varying measures of severity, it is a confession that the State has ceased to function as a rule of law and has to be satisfied with a casual and sporadic exercise of its authority. When such a thing happens it behoves statesmen to ask themselves what is wrong with the State. Murder and theft strike at the root of society and a State which is unable to protect life and property has practically ceased to exist as a State. But in the case of fiscal offences, like offences against the Salt Act, committed, moreover, under the strict rule of non-violence, the clear inference to be drawn in such a case is that the law is felt as an intolerable hardship by many classes of people. The plain truth is that the salt duty violates every canon of taxation and has been again and again condemned by English and Indian economists and statesmen. It is a tax on a necessity of life, it is a tax on production, and its present rate is some 1,000 per cent of the cost of production. A maund of salt which can be made for 2 annas is required to pay 20 annas as duty. The Bombay Government *Gazette* publishes every month a table of retail prices of the articles in common use of the clerical class in receipt of not more than Rs. 50 per mensem. We find from the January list that salt which was sold at Dharwar in the Karnatak at Rs. 3-14-3 per maund was sold at Rajkot, a Kathiawar State, at 10 annas 8 pies per maund. Making every allowance for the qualities of the salt sold in the two places, the disparity—500 per cent—between the retail prices in British India and in an Indian State which levies no duty on salt, is very striking. The only justification for the duty—if that is a justification—in British India is that the administration is so top-heavy—particularly owing to the Army and "Home" charges—and the standard of life of the masses so miserably low that except salt there is no article of general consumption of which a tax can be levied.

There is a great deal of misconception about what Mahatma Gandhi wants Government to do. When his article appeared in *Young India* stating eleven points, action in regard to which would satisfy him that there is a real change of heart on the part of the Government, we observed (Feb. 1) : "Mahatmajī knows that the Viceroy cannot effect all these reforms by a stroke of his pen, and he only asks that his Excellency should "initiate" these reforms, that is to say, take steps to have them pro-

perly formulated and introduced in the appropriate ways for progressive consideration." During this writer's recent visit to Mahatmaji, he recalled this sentence in the *Reformer* and said that it expressed his meaning correctly. In one of his speeches last week he is reported to have intimated that if the Viceroy takes action regarding the abrogation of the Salt Act even now it, would command prompt and grateful recognition from him. When the eleven points were announced, we expressed our earnest hope that Government will see their way to make them the starting-point of further conference. Perhaps, the fact that they were embodied in an article in *Young India* and were not submitted in the form of a communication to the Viceroy, came in the way of their doing so. On occasions like the present, such punctilios may well be disregarded by both sides. However that may be, Mahatma Gandhi's recent speech, to which we have referred, shows that so far as he is concerned, he will welcome a favourable gesture in regard to the salt duty as a sign of goodwill. We are sorry to see that since that speech was made, there has been quite a number of arrests and prosecutions. It is not yet too late, however. Government may have a giant's strength, but they will find that it is not well to use it like a giant.

#### TRIAL OF SHET JAMNALAL BAJAJ.

Shet Jamnalal Bajaj is one of the most remarkable Indians of our time. Scion of a wealthy Marwari family of Wardha in the Central Provinces, he came in touch with Mahatma Gandhi in the early days of the non-co-operation movement. Shet Jamnalal did not take a prominent part on the political side of non-co-operation. The promotion of the Khadi industry, the spread of Hindi language and latterly the removal of untouchability, all parts of the constructive programme of the National Congress, have engaged most of his interest and energy. It is his work in the last-named sphere that, to my mind, stamps him as one of the great national figures of our time. The remarriage of widows and removal of untouchability are the two questions of social reform to which orthodox Hindus generally, and the Vaisya castes in particular, are bitterly opposed. In the Hindu social system, it is pre-eminently the duty of the Vaisyas to provide for the maintenance of its religious and charitable institutions, and this duty they have always magnificently fulfilled. They are therefore in a way custodians of Hindu orthodoxy in a more real sense than even the Brahmans. A few years ago when the Sri Venkateshwar temple at Girgaum was consecrated, the Swamiji himself, I had reason to believe, was favourably inclined to make provision for the admission of untouchables, but the wealthy Marwari merchants who had largely contributed to the funds would not hear of it. Shet Jamnalal belongs to one of the leading families of this caste. It is, therefore, all the more to his credit that, when convinced of the cruelty of the custom, he

threw open his own family shrine to Antyajas and, not content with that, undertook a campaign to persuade others to do the same. In this he has succeeded beyond expectation. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that the National Congress when it resolved to open a special department for the removal of untouchability, should have chosen Shet Jamnalal Bajaj as the chairman; and he threw himself into this difficult task with an energy and enthusiasm which has won the admiration of all who have followed the movement. It is no secret that Shet Jamnalal has lent his moral and material support to the Satyagraha movement for temple entry at Nasik. It must have been a wrench for him at the call of Mahatma Gandhi temporarily to give up his work for the removal of untouchability to take part in the Satyagraha against the salt duty. But he obeyed the call and was selected to lead the movement in the Congress Province of Maharashtra which includes the Bombay Suburban District. A regular camp was established at Vile Parle, some fifteen miles from Bombay, and Shet Jamnalal took up his residence there with his volunteers two days before the date fixed for the opening of the campaign at Dandi by Mahatma Gandhi.

When I read in the morning papers on Tuesday that Shet Jamnalal with Messrs. Mashruwala and Bhatt, his colleagues, had been arrested the previous evening at Vile Parle and lodged in the Bandra lock-up, I, as a resident of Bandra, wished to meet him, and see if I could be of any little service. I called at the lock-up but the Policeman could not admit visitors without the permission of the Magistrate. When I went to the Court in the next building, the Magistrate, I was told, had taken his seat but had retired just then as the Government Prosecutor was not ready and that the case would be taken up as soon as this functionary appeared. After nearly half an hour of waiting, the Magistrate stepped on to the platform from his room just behind. A few minutes later Mr. Bajaj and the two other gentlemen were ushered in and took their stand at the other end of the small Court room facing the Magistrate. A member of the Bandra bar, Mr. Vandrekhar, rose and suggested to the Magistrate, Mr. Fernandez, that the accused might be given chairs. I expected that the Magistrate would himself request the gentlemen to be seated without any prompting. They were men of education and status in life not inferior to that of the Magistrate and were before him charged with no crime committed in their own selfish interests. The offence of which they were accused was prompted by their public spirit and passion to serve the poor. The matter, however, did not strike Mr. Fernandez in that light, and even when it was put to him, he seemed to feel that it would be going out of his way to ask these men to be seated. He told Mr. Vandrekhar that they might have the concession if they asked for it, but Mr. Bajaj declined to ask for a personal favour, and he and his friends kept standing during the trial lasting four tedious hours. The Government Pleader

himself felt that this was not necessary, and later in the course of the trial, again suggested to the Magistrate that the gentlemen might be given chairs. Mr. Fernandez agreed but only as a concession to the request of the Bar, and ordered chairs for the accused. But Mr. Bajaj would not have them that way. At the end of his statement in Marathi, he referred to this matter, and said that elsewhere in similar circumstances European Magistrates had invited him to be seated without his asking. At which Mr. Fernandez laughed, somewhat uneasily, I thought. The law must be enforced, but it can be enforced all the better if it were not associated with needless harshness. At about the same hour on the other side of the Bandra creek, a Presidency Magistrate asked Mr. K. F. Nariman, charged with the same offence, to take a chair without any prompting or request. I shall have something to say about this marked contrast between the two cases.

The proceedings in the Bandra Court was a tedious affair. The Government Pleader was the principal actor. He helped his witnesses out of their difficulties in respect of clear and consistent statement of facts. The first witness, a Salt Sub-Inspector, named Entee, deposed that he was ordered by his superior to "advise" the Police when an offence was committed against the Salt Act. Mr. Fernandez could not understand what the witness meant by "advise" and pressed Mr. Entee to explain. The Prosecuting Counsel, Mr. Chitre, intervened with the suggestion that "informed" would better convey the witness's meaning, but Mr. Entee stuck doggedly to "advise" and only reluctantly accepted counsel's suggestion when he found that matters were coming to a dead-lock. Another witness, an authentic rustic was asked how he happened to be at the place when the accused made certain speeches. He replied that he had gone to answer a call of nature and happened to hear the speeches. There was some fun at the expense of the witness, who was perfectly unconscious of it, when he was asked whether it was before or after or while answering the call that he listened to the speeches. The interchange of question and answer was carried on in a conversational tone, and more than once the accused complained that they could not hear a word. A young lady who was present added her voice to the same effect, but was gently told by Mr. Vandrekar to keep quiet. At the end of his examination the Prosecutor drafted the charge which the Magistrate after a few changes read out to the accused. He asked whether the accused pleaded guilty or not guilty. Mr. Mashruvala gave his caste as Baniya and occupation, "Social Worker" and pleaded guilty. Mr. Bhatt gave his caste as "Brahmin" and occupation, "Social Worker." Shet Jamnalal, when his turn came, stated that he was a Vaisya by birth and a Kshatriya by Karma, which naturally puzzled Mr. Fernandez. Asked about his occupation Shet Jamnalal said he was a "National Worker" and then amplified the description by adding the word "Social"—"National Social Worker." Shet Jamnalal next read out a common statement for himself and his colleagues in Marathi to which he imparted the accent and

tone of his native Hindi. The Magistrate mistook it for Gujarathi which, he said, he could not follow. Shet Jamnalal, thereafter, produced an English version which, after a little palavering, he persuaded the Magistrate to accept as the authorised one. I must say that I felt that the exhortations to the Magistrate in the statement might have been spared, firstly, because, as Mr. Fernandez remarked, it was a sermon to the Magistrate, but chiefly because it was bound to be wasted on one in his position, and words are too precious to be wasted.

The Magistrate adjourned the Court for an hour to compose his judgment and meanwhile acceded to Shet Jamnalal's request to be allowed to converse with his people who were present in Court. I had a few words with Shet Jamnalal who was calm, cheerful, and courteous as ever. When I heard later in the morning that he and his friends had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour, I was not surprised. The Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Khairas, in Bombay did not think that Mr. Nariman's offence merited more than a month's simple imprisonment. Mr. Fernandez, on this side of the creek, thought he would not be discharging his duty if he did not inflict the maximum penalty which he, as a first-class Magistrate, could inflict under the law, on Shet Jamnalal and his associates for the identical offence. Mr. Khairas was a practising Barrister before he was made a Magistrate. Mr. Fernandez is an official risen from the ranks. The combination of the executive and judicial functions in Indian administration has been a long grievance, which yet remains to be righted.

I may note here some things which struck me as peculiar in the Bandra Magistrate's Court. At a table occupying the larger part of the centre of the *dais*, sat a keen-faced gentleman in dhoti and turban whom I first took for the Magistrate. Seeing, however, that his presence passed almost unnoticed by the Pleaders, the audience and even the Policemen in the Court, I asked my neighbour who this personage was. I was told he was the Magistrate's clerk. The Magistrate himself when he appeared on the scene occupied a small table in an inconspicuous corner of the *dais*. I discovered the explanation for this apparent anomaly later. It is this. The official language of the Court is Marathi and all the proceedings, even the part of it which is carried on in English, has to be recorded in that language. The Magistrate ordinarily speaks and takes his notes in English, Counsel and witnesses often do the same. The Clerk's business is to take down everything in Marathi and hence the prominent position occupied by him on the Bench. Another feature which struck me as odd was that a Sub-Inspector of Police after giving his evidence from the witness box also took a seat on the *dais* alongside of the gentleman in dhoti. In this case where the accused pleaded guilty and asked for the maximum sentence, the point is of slight importance. But in other cases, although I have no doubt substantial justice may be done, I am not equally sure whether the accused feel that it is done under such circumstances.

K. NATARAJAN,

## SINHA ON SYDENHAM.

Four Ex-Governors of Indian Provinces headed by Lord Sydenham have been attacking Lord Irwin in the English Press for not suppressing Mahatma Gandhi. Another Ex-Governor, however, has entered the lists against the four, and pleaded for trust in Lord Irwin. With reference to the latter, the *Leader* of Allahabad gives an interesting reminiscence in a leading article. "During the years of the Montagu reforms" writes the *Leader*, "Sir John Hewett was second in command under Lord Sydenham in the Indo-British Association, which then was the most vehement in denunciation of a policy of sense and progress in the governance of this country. Sir John Hewett was summoned—against his own inclination as we understand—as a witness before the Joint Select Committee on Mr. Montagu's Bill. He had been examined by member after member before he had to answer the questions put by Lord Sinha. To the surprise of many and the disappointment of some who were present, Lord Sinha put a very few questions. The principal question was whether Sir John Hewett agreed with Lord Sydenham, himself a member of the Committee. Sir John Hewett having said 'Yes', Lord Sinha said he had no more questions to put. Asked by a friend why he had let him off so easily, Lord Sinha said that Lord Sydenham was so discredited that one had only to say that he agreed with him and one at once was out of court, and the Committee would not for this reason consider Sir John Hewett's opinions seriously."

## MADRAS VIGILANCE BILL.

The Madras Vigilance Association was established in 1925. Its main work up to now has been the promotion of a Bill which was passed by the Madras Legislative Council last January. Mr. K. V. Sesha Aiyangar, Honorary Secretary of the League has made an illuminating analysis of the provisions of the Bill which is published as appendix I, to the first Report of the Association. He mentions three points in which the Madras Act marks an advance on similar legislation in other provinces. The Madras Bill attempts a definition of prostitution. It has raised the age limit for the rescue of minor girls from brothels to 18 years, and the age for their detention in a rescue home to 21. And the Act applies to the whole of the Madras Presidency and not only to Madras City. In Mr. Aiyangar's opinion the most serious omission in the Act is the defeat of the clause in the draft Bill penalising third party earnings. We hope to be able to publish a more detailed notice of the Madras Act.

## IN SILENCE.

Why fret at your work because  
The deaf world does not hear and praise?  
Were it so bad, O workman true,  
To work in silence all your days?  
I heard the traffic in the street,  
But not the white world's o'er the town;  
I heard the gun at sunset roar,  
I did not hear the sun go down.  
Are work and workmen greater, when  
The trumpet blows their fame abroad?  
Nowhere on earth is found the man  
Who works as silently as God. —Selected.

## SPIRIT OF SERVICE AMONG WOMEN.

(BY LADY DORAB TATA.)

## II.

## ESSENTIALLY WOMEN'S WORK.

Social Service and Welfare Work are essentially women's work. They require time, leisure, patience, and perseverance and women have all those at their disposal—very few men have them—so we must look to our women, our mothers and our future mothers to carry on this work in the right and only spirit. Give of your best and give freely whether it be money or service. There are many who have not the time to devote to personal service of this kind but who can well afford to give in money or in kind the help that is so badly needed to carry on Social Welfare Work. But here again the people have not been taught to give for others and to give freely or wisely. There are many people charitably inclined who do give large sums of money but unfortunately these monies are wasted in my opinion by Hindus on such things as the feeding of beggars and giving large sums of money to Temples which are already more than wealthy and by Parsis on providing homes for the poor which tend to pauperise the people and make them indolent and worthless members of their community. Such people rely more and more on getting all kinds of provision made for them by those unwise and ignorant so-called charitable people and refuse to do a stroke of work themselves. It is something like what the "dole" system is doing in England. Such so-called charitable people, however rich they may be and however much they may give, do more harm than good because of their own want of education in the right directions. "Blessed are those that give" but still more blessed are those that give wisely, generously and selflessly.

## ENGLISH WOMEN'S APATHY.

I shall now say a few words if I may about how our English sisters in India can help in this all-important work if they only would. I regret to say that no English women in India except perhaps a mere handful and the missionaries, whose work can never sufficiently be praised, ever even try or think of trying to do something for the people of the country amongst whom they live, in most cases, from 25 to 30 years, if not more. They see the ignorance and its consequent evils that prevail all around them. They talk about it, they deplore it, but with a shrug of the shoulders it is dismissed from their minds, as something too utterly unpleasant to dwell upon. They never dream of moving a little finger or devoting one hour a week or one day a month to bring about a better state of affairs or to improve the condition of those millions who are, as is often said "under their benevolent charge." When taxed with this indifference and utter disregard some of them have been heard to say "Why should we? They are not our people. We are here today and gone



tomorrow. It is for your own people to do this work." I have myself heard this from an Englishwoman. Now I will tell you why they should do it. One reason is that the Englishwomen in India owe it as a duty to the country from which their husbands and their sons derive their living—those comfortable handsome salaries (excuse my plain speaking) which the vast majority of them would never dream of getting in their own or perhaps any other country—circumstances which enable them to give a good education to their children and start them well in life—circumstances which enable them themselves to live in ease and comfort in England in their old age after retirement. In return for all this, if for nothing else, also in justification of their oft-repeated claim that their "occupation of India is for the good of the people of that country", may we not expect that the Englishwomen in India should take some interest in the lives of the people of the country where they make their homes for the best part of their own lives? Is it too much to ask that they with their wider experience, their more advanced knowledge of Social Welfare Work, their better education and training, should try in however small or humble a way to ameliorate the lot and condition of the millions "under their care"? There are thousands of Englishwomen in India who could do a vast amount of good if they would—women whose children are at School in England and therefore are free to devote themselves to any good work they may fancy, instead of living their lives entirely apart in a little groove and coterie all their own and spending their time in lunches and teas and dinners and club-life and dances from year's end to year's end.

#### BRIDGE AND MAH JONG PARTIES.

I have known of Bridge and Mah Jong parties commencing at 11 in the morning in houses in Bombay and going on till 6 or 7 with intervals for lunch and tea. If instead of wasting these precious hours in this way, two or three times a week may be, they devoted say two or three mornings or two or three afternoons a week to some real Social Service Work in how much better a way their lives would be spent and how much good could they do, I ask you? I dare say there are about half-a-dozen or a dozen such Englishwomen scattered over the whole of India but we want them not in dozens or in hundreds but in thousands. See what two devoted people like Mr. and Mrs. Brayne have done in two short years at Gurgaon. Their achievement is marvellous and amazing and all because they had the wish and the will to do it against all obstacles. I appeal to all such Englishwomen who have not the care of little children in their homes in India to rouse themselves to this great call for doing some humanitarian work for the poor ignorant people amongst whom they live—no matter in what part of India it may be and thus make themselves beloved and remembered by these people instead of remaining for 30 years utter strangers to them, unknown to them and unmissed by them when the time comes for them to leave India.

#### SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING NEEDED.

I would urge all young English women who come out in future to India to come filled with the desire and the ambition to do something for this great country which will redound to their own credit and make them beloved of the people here. If they would only take the trouble to learn to speak the language of the country they have to live in for so many years—not necessarily to read and write it but only to speak it colloquially—if they would take a little interest in the lives of the women in their homes, both rich and poor alike, if they would even make an attempt to do these things they will find that they will meet with a response beyond their expectations. A little kindness, a little sympathy and understanding goes a long way in this country and begets sympathy and understanding and gratitude and love to an amazing degree. I cannot help saying that a great deal of the discontent and unrest and resentment of foreign rule in India would disappear if the women of both races met and understood each other and learned to love and respect each other. I ask you, is this not something worth doing? Something infinitely superior and far above the frivolous empty life led by the majority of English Society women in India? I pray that this appeal of mine will not fall on deaf ears. Let us women of both countries join hands and determine to work for the good of these poor ignorant unhappy millions whose lot is a hard one—not in a condescending, patronising spirit but with sympathy and genuine love,—let us unite in this great work and surely we ourselves will derive as much benefit, and gain as much happiness, as those will for whom we work. Let me repeat that it is in the hands of us women alone to do this great and good work. Of course we shall need the co-operation and encouragement of our menfolk, both English and Indian, in all that we undertake but if we women can unite and learn to love and respect each other and if we determine to fulfil this great mission that lies before us no one can stop us from achieving our goal. The women and men of India are awakening very rapidly to the need for Social Service—they are beginning to realize that they must come out of their homes and work for the common good.

#### TRIBUTE TO BOMBAY WOMEN.

There are many young Indian women, I am glad to say, in Bombay today who are training themselves for this work. Some have even started small Social Service Centres of their own in the congested parts of the city and are devoting their young lives to this work. So now, more than ever, will the Englishwomen who want to do some good work find ready helpers and able lieutenants, willing pupils and capable assistants amongst our Indian girls and women. I was very glad to hear a few weeks before I left Bombay last year that there are several young Englishwomen here who would like to know Indians in their homes

and who are anxious to do some serious Social Work but do not know how to set about it. This was good news indeed. Once they begin they will not stop. They will get so interested in their work and in the new friendships they will form that they must go on with the good work to the advantage and gain of both races.

I must apologise for having taken up so much of your time and will now conclude with quoting these few lines which I saw three days ago on a calendar that hangs in my room :

All hearts grow warmer in the presence  
Of one who, seeking not his own,  
Gave freely for the love of giving,  
Nor reaped for self the harvest sown.  
Thy greeting smile was pledge and prelude  
Of generous deeds and kindly words :  
In thy large heart were fair guest-chambers  
Open to sunrise and the birds.

#### THE MADRAS DEVADASI BILL.

(By MR. N. LAKSHMANA MUDALIYAR.)

For the last twenty years I have carried on propaganda, by writings and speeches, to awaken the social conscience of the Hindu masses and classes. This has been rendered easy by the precept and practice, for the last forty years, of social reformers of the type of my journalistic chief Mr. K. Natarajan, now of Bombay. I have also done considerable rescue work among Devadasis and their daughters. My humble attempt is pretty successful because, for one thing, I am their kith and kin; I have not taken shelter under any 'protective colour'; and for another, I know where exactly the shoe pinches. I am firmly convinced that these fallen sisters are merely the unfortunate victims of blind custom and of men's lust. They are indeed more often sinned against than sinning. My own experience is that, once they are freed from unwholesome external influences, they are willing to get their daughters married, like the rest of the community. Except a handful of Devadasis in the Madras city who have been misled into starting an artificial agitation against measures of social legislation, I have yet to come across Devadasis who favour the continuance of the present day degenerate and dangerous system of dedicating girls, ostensibly for temple service, but in practice, to a life of vice. Though this is the actual state of affairs, it is surprising to note, as Mr. (now Sir) B. N. Sarma, and Mr. (now the Rt. Hon'ble) V. S. Srinivasa Sastri have said with reference to the current practice in Andhra and Tamil districts respectively, that the trustees of temples are deliberately evading the law in many parts of Southern India by allowing the dedication of minor girls in their temples. (Vide my paper in the Proceedings of the South India Social Service Conference, 1925.)

Of all Provincial Legislative Councils, Madras has been the first to put an end to the practice of

dedication of young girls as Devadasis for service in Hindu temples and to enfranchise the inams granted to them from the condition of service in this matter (vide Madras Act V of 1929). The next obvious and important step is to declare dedication itself as null and void in order to emancipate the non-inam holding Devadasis also. No age limit should be recognised by law. The evil is the same whether dedication is performed inside or outside temple. I am therefore of the opinion that in clause 2 of Bill No 5 of 1930, the words "in the precincts of Hindu temples or other places of worship" should be omitted and consequential changes be made in other clauses and parts of the said Bill. Sections 372 and 373 of I. P. C. in spite of raising the age limit from 16 to 18 are, and will continue to be mere dead letters until and unless dedication as such is declared to be a penal offence. The Hon. Mr. (now Sir) Manekji Dadabhoy in his Bill of 2nd September 1912 said that experienced opinion favours the idea of introducing in the Bill an express provision against dedication as such. He accordingly framed clause 3 of his Bill for the purpose principally of making penal by statute this offence on the part of the people concerned. He has also rightly pointed out that it is always difficult to prove the criminal intention of the party contemplated in sections 372 and 373 of the I. P. C. until the girl has actually adopted prostitution as a profession and her future is blasted. This is my own sorrowful experience.

The Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock, the Home Member of the Government of India in 1912 has clearly pointed out that what is required is not only punitive but also preventive action. "In order to secure these objects," the Home member said, "power must be given to take away minor girls from the custody not only of strangers but of guardians and even of parents who are bringing them up to a life of immorality." Such a provision is quite necessary because during my rescue work on behalf of the Sangunthar Mahajana Sangam, Coimbatore, and after presiding over the third conference of the Isai Vellalars of the Tanjore District I have come to the deliberate conclusion that arts of singing and dancing, as now practised by Devadasis inside and outside temples, are merely "a cloak" for immorality. I have emphasized this point in my paper on the Theory and Practice of Dancing in India read before the Festival of Fine Arts, Bangalore. My earliest letter on the subject was published in *the Indian Social Reformer* of October 5, 1913. I am glad to note that already such power to arrange for the custody of girls in immoral surroundings is granted to District Magistrates in the Naik Girls Protection Act recently passed by the United Provinces Legislative Council.

While I sincerely believe that Government keep an open mind in the matter, I am forced to think that the dilatory motion to circulate the Bill (No. 5 of 1930) public opinion has unfortunately erred

on the side of undue caution. The public agitation against the degenerate Devadasi system is nearly two generations old. For nearly twenty years the enlightened leaders of the castes to which the Devadasis belong (and to whose opinion particular weight should be attached, as suggested in the Secretary of State's Despatch dated 3rd March 1911) have become articulate and are clamouring for a bold and radical measure of social legislation. Such a measure is long overdue. Public opinion is ripe for a change. The Hon. the Home Member of the Government of India said as early as 1912: "Not only has there been that notable development in public opinion, but in the large expansion of Your Lordship's Legislative Council, we have provided here ready to hand an agency which we expect, and confidently expect, will never fail to counteract malevolent influences that may be used against us when measures of this kind are under contemplation." Subsequent to this, the possible effect of the Post-War Constitutional Reforms has been admirably anticipated in para 152 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The Muddiman Committee Report refers to the Madras Government's admission that "the Council represents public opinion and to a certain extent also creates it." This is of course as it ought to be; and this has no doubt facilitated the passing of very many useful measures of social legislation during the past ten years. I see no reason why, under the circumstances, Government should still pause and consider. I heartily support the principle of the Bill to prevent the dedication of women to Hindu temples in the Presidency of Madras. I earnestly request that the Bill be passed into law at an early date.

#### RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(MR. S. A. REHLLIN, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA.)

It is nearly a hundred years since the great Raja Rammohun Roy—"The Father of Modern India"—rounded the Cape of Good Hope on his historic voyage and mission to the England of William IV. A note-worthy event it is in modern Indian annals, becoming more emphasised as the years roll by. And, as it will be seen, there is a distinct South African connection with the subject of this article. Such an aspect of Raja Rammohun Roy's career has been neglected by the biographer, and only after some study of old Cape Town newspapers, it is at all possible to evaluate such a contact.

It will be remembered that Raja Rammohun Roy left Calcutta for London by a ship named the "Albion," which landed at Cape Town in the second week of January, 1831. On his arrival at the Cape, the famous Indian statesman immediately gained the attention and esteem of the small band of local European intellectuals. This was due, in a way, to the great prestige he held among his compatriots in his mother-land. Secondly, his opinion on progressive religious doctrines aroused

an extra-ordinary interest in his personality in European circles in India and abroad. For example, one of the leading Cape Town journals of the day, the South African Commercial Advertiser—in its issue of January, 30, 1831, wrote as follows:

Rammohun Roy, a distinguished Brahmin who has left the Cape on his way to England, has favoured us with a copy of the following Petition, signed by Natives of India, and praying that the burning of widows, so long sanctioned by that most humane, religious, and honourable body of Merchants, the East India Company, shall not be resumed, the same having been declared a felony by the present Governor-General. One cannot but smile at the earnestness of this petition against murder, addressed to a House of Christian Legislators, as implying a doubt of their Honour's sanity; and yet how long is it since those very exalted personages defended, vindicated, and patronised a system of robbery and murder, compared with the extent and violence of which a few incriminations in Hindusthan are but, as it were, a hole in one's stocking.

Rammohun Roy himself is a very remarkable man. He has renounced the superstitions of his country, and adopted many of the doctrines of Christ. He is an ardent philanthropist, a liberal patron of Education and a real friend of liberty. He still retains the customs of his caste, and tends to remain a pure Brahmin, which, it seems, is not inconsistent with an open profession of Christianity or at least Unitarianism, which is an approach to the higher faith, the people of that persuasion recognising the authority of Christ as a Teacher and Prophet, and opposing Polytheism and the worship of idols. We wish him a prosperous voyage, and increase of happiness.

The distinction attempted to be drawn between Christianity and Unitarianism is unfair, inasmuch as it might equally well pass for a definition of Mohammedanism. Would that all classes of Christians initiated the humility of St. Paul, who says, "If any man trust to himself that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that he is Christ's even so are we Christ's."

Moreover, a similar argument took place in the columns of another local periodical between Dr. Fairbridge and a Mr. A. J. Jardine, a journalist, who was also the librarian of the Cape Town, Public Library. The periodical in question was called the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette of which Jardine was the Editor. Therein—in the issues of May 4 and June 1, 1831 respectively—were to be witnessed communications regarding Raja Rammohun Roy's theological stand-point from both angles of thought; Jardine being a strict fundamentalist in Christian philosophy. On the whole it was more vehement in tone than was the discussion in the South African Commercial Advertiser.

Then too, in the course of one's study of the literary material at hand, we gather that while at

Cape Town, Raja Rammohun Roy cemented his friendships with one or two local prominent people. This is to be plainly seen in the case of Dr. Fairbridge. In the year 1833, when the Raja Rammohun Roy died in England, Dr. Fairbridge wrote a long letter to the S. A. Commercial Advertiser commenting on his death and praiseworthy character. When at the Cape, Raja Rammohun Roy, "expressed to the writer of this letter his regret that there was no Unitarian Church in Cape Town, and generously offered his pecuniary assistance in forwarding so desirable an object. In my daily intercourse with him, theology was a frequent topic of conversation, and consequently, I had a favourable opportunity of knowing his sentiments on this important subject. So far from doubting his Christianity, I thought his zeal amounted almost to enthusiasm, for he talked of visiting America, for the sole purpose of having an interview with that eloquent Champion of Christianity, Dr. Channing."

Apart from this, Raja Rammohun Roy was honoured at Cape Town in other ways. For instance, he was elected an honorary member of one of South Africa's earliest learned bodies, which included in its membership roll several of the greatest scientists of the day. This learned body was known as the "South African Literary and Scientific Institution" (See the South African Quarterly Journal for 1833, Vol. 2, page 23).

He was also one of the first subscribers to the University of Cape Town, which was established in 1829, and is one of the oldest academies of its kind in South Africa, (Vide the History of the South African College, by Prof. W. Richer, Vol. 2, page 810). Recently, this University celebrated its centenary, but no mention was made of Raja Rammohun Roy's connection with it. He is the first Indian to be so linked with any institution of learning in South Africa—indeed, the first non-European to deserve this honour. And thus his name should be treasured at all times by those who uphold India's credit in the Southern Hemisphere.

But these remarks of the Editor of this important Cape journal were straightway challenged by a well-known contemporary Cape Town inhabitant. He was a Dr. Fairbridge whose grand-daughter at the present day is a distinguished South African novelist and historian—Miss Dorothea Fairbridge. This Dr. Fairbridge, apparently, was an enthusiastic admirer of Raja Rammohun Roy, and defended him in the South African Press, his *nom de plume* being "Boreus." And here is how he defended the name and fame of his Indian friend. His letter is to be found in the next issue of the S. A. Commercial Advertiser, reading as follows:

To the Editor, Sir:—I read, with surprise in the Advertiser of yesterday, some observations on the creed of Rammohun Roy. Being perhaps more fully acquainted with his principles than the writer of that article, I trust you will allow me, in his absence, to correct a statement which, I am sure, he would read with pain. In doing this, I must

distinctly disavow all intention of entering into any theological controversy (for which I consider the columns of a public journal an improper vehicle), or of defending the tenets of the Christian Church, of which Rammohun Roy is a member.

The writer states that this distinguished "Brahmin has adopted many of the doctrines of Christ." May I ask which of His doctrines he has not embraced? Rammohun Roy, with other Christians, receives as the Messia Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of by God, by miracles, wonders and signs, which God did by him; he believes that "there is none other God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth, (as there are many gods and many lords), but to us there is but One God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ by whom are all things, and we by him." He further holds that "this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."

This may not be orthodox—it may be but "an approach to the higher faith"; "but it is at least scriptural"; and the simple-hearted Brahmin is contented to leave to others the catechisms, confessions, and deeds of men, and to draw his faith from the foundation of the Holy Scriptures alone.

The writer goes on to say that Brahminism "it seems is not inconsistent with the open profession of Christianity, or at least Unitarianism which is an approach to the higher faith, the people of that persuasion recognising the authority of Christ as a Teacher and Prophet, and opposing Polytheism and the worship of idols." Surely, Mr. Editor, this is neither candid nor fair. What would be said of the following paragraph:—The British Government at last determined to support the Missionary cause by sending to India a bishop, for the purpose of converting the Natives to Christianity, or at least to the Church of Englandism, which is an approach to the higher faith, the people of that persuasion recognising the Athanasian Creed and opposing the abolition of tithes.

—*Advance*. March 8, 1930.

#### BIRTH CONTROL IN MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Mr. A. B. Shetti moved a token cut and raised the question of the establishment of birth-control clinics.

He said that the birth-rate was increasing; and equally so the death rate. The increase in population beyond a certain limit, meant loss of food-supply, more overcrowding and disease and less chance of decent life. The real problem before the country was one of keeping the population under check. This was the view which Major-General Mogaw took in September last, when he spoke on the subject. In a certain state of health, pregnancy was positively dangerous. In the West, birth-control was widely practised; and the use of contraceptives had become quite common in all the civilized

countries. In France, Holland and even in England the growth of population had become stationary because of birth control methods. Propaganda must be carried on even in this country. The idea was slowly spreading among the educated classes. But that would not do. Knowledge must spread to the poorer classes in towns and villages. It was the poor and the ignorant that were economically incapable of maintaining large family of children. They very badly stood in need of this knowledge. In the maternity and child welfare centres knowledge of birth-control must be made available; and the Public Health Department should carry on propaganda in this matter. He would ask the Minister to consider this matter carefully and not give him merely a readymade answer.

The Maharaja of Pithapuram seconded the motion. Birth-control in his opinion was of utmost importance to the country, especially to the poor. The condition of the poor was very deplorable indeed, why, their privations were still worse in a presidency where the Chief Minister himself, an Indian, who was expected to protect and promote the interests of the poor, came forward with the plea that funds were not available. There was a wrong impression in the minds of the people that birth-control was against religion. It was nothing of the kind. For instance it was sanctioned by Brahadaranya Upanishad and certain works as Yoga Sastras. The speaker then gave the names of well-known Britishers who had taken interest in this matter of birth-control. He concluded with an appeal to the members of the House to join the Neo-Malthusian League.

Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi said she was grateful to the mover for having brought forward this subject before the attention of the House. She was sorry that she could not entirely agree with both the previous speakers in the views that they had expressed. She felt that birth-control was necessary under certain conditions of health, where it was not desirable to propagate progeny. She said that in this country, birth-control propaganda was a little too pre-mature. They needed in this country propaganda against infant marriages. There was no meaning in tolerating marriages of children of 8 and 12 and preaching birth-control at the same time. How could these people learn to practice it? They should be taught self-control and continence. Science had proved that continence was conducive to health. Continence was possible and continence afforded also protection against disease. Birth-control was artificial and in this country, where even B.A's and M.A's did not realise the evils of child marriages and where communities like Nambudries practiced polygamy in active form birth-control clinics and propaganda would produce irresponsibility. They must have more maternity and child welfare centres and they must have mother-craft and child-craft more and more taught; and also the sanctity of motherhood and fatherhood. She then read from the writings of Gandhiji on the need for self-control;

and said they could wait for the establishment of birth-control clinics till they had put down child marriages. She would appeal to the high officials who were going about the country preaching birth-control and the members of this House, to start a campaign against child marriage.

The hon. Mr. Muthia Mualiar said in reply, that after the very interesting discussion raised in this Council, he did not think he could very usefully add to it when the time for the demand was closing. Mr. Shetty had stated if there was less of births, there would be less of disease in consequence. That is of course an axiom no one could contest. This question he might say was raised a few days ago in the Sheffield City Council and he would refer to the two views which were expressed on that occasion. Councillor Asbury, speaking on that resolution calling upon the Ministry of Health to provide facilities for giving instruction in contraceptive methods said that the Sheffield Medical Officer of health was strongly in favour of facilities being provided by the Municipality. There were women bringing children into the world who they had no right to do so. To say they would not tackle the problem was to pretend that there was no problem to tackle. This raised the fire of one of the lady councillors by name Mrs. Longdon and she got up and said: "There was a great cleavage of opinion on the question especially among medical men. Medical men conversant with home life of the individual could do more to help and advise women than could maternity clinics." Then as regards contraceptive methods she said the responsibility should not be one-sided and they had no right to introduce methods which would lead to lack of sobriety and restraint. It was only these people that wanted indulgence. As Mahatma Gandhi and the learned Deputy President of this House had said they must practice self-control rather than try contraceptive methods. That seemed to be the view of the medical people. He hoped that the interesting discussion they had, may set people thinking about the matter.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Depressed Classes Students Entertained**—On Thursday the 27th March Mr. Hanumantha Rao was at Home to the children of the D. O. M. Day School in Oubbon Park, Bangalore, when Mr. F. F. Cotton Edmonds, Inspector of Schools, Capt. J. F. D. Steedman of Sappers and Miners, and others were present. The children enjoyed the sumptuous repast given by the host and entertained the audience with some interesting items of programme. In reply to Mr. Rao's toast, Mr. Edmonds said that the boys belonged to a very lucky school in having two gentlemen like Mr. Hanumantha Rao and Mr. Lakshminarasu in doing their utmost for them, one giving them a treat every year and willing to help in other ways too, and another devoting his whole time and life for the working of the school. He enjoyed his tea, watching the boys playing basketball and games, and everything he saw. He expressed his pleasure to see their smart appearance in their uniforms and observed that went a long way making

them a different people altogether. He said that it is a school with a noble ideal to uplift the boys and girls of the depressed classes and considered it to be a very noble piece of work. He hoped that it would not be very far distant future that the school would be housed in a much better building and a healthier locality. The school correspondent next thanked Mr. Edmonds for his expression of sympathy, Capt. Steedman for providing a bus to bring the children from the school and Mr. Rao for his large-heartedness in inviting the so-called depressed classes children for tea. The function closed with the singing of the National Anthem.

**All-India Hindu Mahasabha:**—The session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha will be held this year at Akola in Berar on the 19th and 20th April 1930 under the Presidentship of Dr. Gokulchand Narang M.A. Ph.D. Bar-at-Law, Lahore. A fully representative and influential Reception Committee is formed with Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. as Chairman. All the sub-Committees for the Management of the conference are formed and have zealously commenced the work. A spacious pandhal to accommodate 5000 delegates from all over India is being erected on the Tilak Park. The fee for the member of the Reception committee is Rs. 10 and 5 according to choice. The delegate's fee is Rs. 3. Arrangement for Boarding and Lodging is made by the Reception committee. Boarding charges will be Re. 1 per day. Provincial and District Hindu Sabhas are requested to elect delegates and send the names of the delegates who will attend the conference to the General Secretary Mr. P. O. Joglekar. The subject of sending delegates to the Round Table Conference is likely to come up for discussion in addition to other subjects. All those who believe in Hindu Sangathan will not fail to attend this unique conference. Pandit Malviya, Messrs. Jayskar, Kelkar, Dr. Munje and other prominent persons and a large number of delegates from Punjab, U. P., N. W. Province, Bengal and Madras and other parts of the country are coming to attend the conference.

**South Africa Passengers:**—The Government of the South African Union desire to make it known that all passengers from small-pox infected areas proceeding to any of the Union ports are required to carry certificates of successful vaccination performed at least three weeks prior to embarkation.

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1930

No. 33

*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Is A Non-Violent Revolution Possible?—**  
To Englishmen belongs the credit of inventing a method of carrying out far-reaching revolutions without violence and bloodshed. The essence of this method is that the decision of the majority of members of the House of Commons should be accepted for the time being as embodying the will of the people. Any new idea or policy therefore, which finds popular acceptance, is sure to be adopted by the government as a national policy. Those who believe in the idea or policy have only to carry on a steady propoganda in the certainty that in course of time, if they succeed, this will become the national policy. The position in India is markedly different. The views of the majority of the elected members of the Legislature, as has happened repeatedly, can be over-ruled by the Government whenever it thinks fit by a mere stroke of the pen. Lord Reading "certified" an enhancement of the salt duty which had been rejected by the Assembly. In the last session, the Government carried through a proposal of Imperial Preference against a majority of elected members. No amount of propoganda in India will avail to change this system which is established and maintained by the authority of the British Parliament. The Indian constitution, if it may be called one, is without the means of changing itself in response to popular feeling, and thus lacks in the essential of every sound constitution. Other countries where such a state of things existed, brought about a change by means of a violent revolution making the constitution amenable to the popular will. Mahatma Gandhi has hit upon the idea of a non-violent revolution to effect the same object. Thoughtful men in many countries have hailed his action as opening a new and beneficent chapter in political history. We are glad that the British Government, too, seems to regard it somewhat in the same light, though it is difficult to say how long they will be able to maintain that position against the pressure on them to adopt a repressive policy. It has been a painful surprise to us that Christian missionaries who ought to be the first to hail

Mahatma's method as bringing politics within the influence of a religious principle, should speak of it as foredoomed to failure. For our own part, we do not see why a perfectly peaceful revolution cannot be achieved by Mahatma Gandhi's method, in the absence of appropriate constitutional machinery, and if experience in the religious and social field counts, we are sure that it can be so achieved. It is a method requiring infinite endurance, patience and perseverance, but it is a sure method which every failure but makes final success the more sure.

**Risks Of Civil Disobedience:—**There are, of course, serious risks. The requisite patience and endurance can be secured only by constant vigilance on the part of leaders and if the leaders are absent or prevented from being present with the civil resisters, they may give way, as happened in Calcutta and Karachi last week. Government cannot go on indefinitely seeing its laws violated even without violence, and they can take action only at the risk of dispelling the atmosphere of non-violence. They have not arrested Mahatma Gandhi so far, but they have arrested almost every other leader of importance including the President of the National Congress, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Messrs. Subhas Bose and Sen Gupta, the Bengal leaders, and other prominent men in nearly all parts of the country, and the situation has, therefore, become more difficult. If Government realise that the success of Mahamaji's movement so far has amply demonstrated the need for a radical change of their views on Indian reform, they can easily relieve the situation by announcing a bold policy of Indian self-government without further delay. The negative proofs of the success of the movement are far more striking than the positive proofs of it. As a result of the movement, the Sapru Conference for bringing all the non-Congress parties on a common platform, has had to be indefinitely postponed, the Hindu Mahasabha session at Akola has had to do the same. The various Moslem bodies are quiescent for the moment watching the course of Mahatmaji's movement. The untouchable classes have suspended their attempt to force entry into temples, and their leaders who threatened to start a satyagraha against that movement, have fallen in with it and have been selling contraband salt in the streets. In fact, Gandhism in its present phase has so far been a remarkable unifying factor. The Indian mercantile community has thrown its great influence on Mahatmaji's side, and the enthusiasm of women in the cause, is altogether a new feature in Indian politics.

The Liberals who at first were inclined to take an unsympathetic, not to say hostile view of the salt satyagraha, have seen the wisdom of taking up a neutral position between Government and the law-breakers. They are not embarking on any counter-propaganda on their own account, which in itself is the best proof that the Gandhi movement has a popular support which the Liberals, with all their wealth and influence, find it impossible to undermine. The moral is plain, and we earnestly trust that it will not be lost on Government here and in England. They should immediately announce that the eleven points of Mahatmaji's programme, will be taken up for consideration and prompt action and that the Viceroy will use his great personal and political influence with the British Government to secure for India a full measure of independence in her relations with great Britain with a Government solely looking to the interests of the Indian people.

**A Bombay Incident:**—The conduct of the Bombay City Police—and this is also largely true of the District Police—has given rise to few complaints in dealing with the situation created by the satyagraha against the salt duty. They seem however, to have momentarily sacrificed their self-restraint on the day when the Secretary of the Bombay Congress Committee, Mr. Abid Ali, the Captain of the Congress Volunteers, Mr. Meher Ali and a member of the latter body, were tried and convicted in the Girgaum Police Court for the now usual offences against the Salt Act. There was a big demonstration outside the Court when the prisoners were being taken away and possibly there was some provocation from the crowd. The Police according to the account of several who witnessed the scene, seem to have got out of hand and indulged in brutal assaults upon the demonstrators, and even passers—by who got mixed up with them. There has since been no repetition of such exhibition of indiscipline, and we should have left the incident pass, but for the doctrine solemnly proclaimed by a local scribe, that those who disobey a Police order and others who happen to be in their midst, have no right to complain of rough handling, however excessive it might be to the needs of the occasion. This doctrine has an appearance of plausibility and it is therefore, necessary to expose the gross fallacy underlying it.

**Restraint in Repression:**—The reason why the authority should exercise the greatest restraint in suppression is that, as has been repeatedly proved in popular outbreaks, the mob does tomorrow what it sees the Police doing today. In fact, the leaders of popular outbreaks are often men who have gained some experience of leadership in the preventive and punitive services of government. The retired or dismissed Police Inspector or Constable naturally acquires a position of influence in popular outbreaks and imparts to them some sort of organisation which makes them formidable. The French revolutionaries faithfully reproduced the methods of the Empire which they overturned as did the Bolsheviks those of the Tsarist regime. Meredith Townsend wrote if there was an insurrection in India it would be led by the Sepoys and the

armed Police. It follows that if the forces of the Crown are indulged in violent outbreaks against people who disobey orders the lesson is liable faithfully to be copied by the mob which always takes them for its model. An intemperate enforcement of law and order is very little different from the negation of law and order. The King's Government must be carried on but it must be carried on as the King would if he was present and feel proud of the manner in which it is being carried on. Publicists who condone or justify police violence on the ground that law-breakers have no claim on Police forbearance are doing no service to the Police or Government. There is also a simple consideration which they overlook. There is no call for forbearance on the part of the Police when there is peace in the land. It is only when there is a breach of the normal state of society that their intervention is called for. The law should be enforced firmly but patiently and without passion.

**The Beggar Problem:**—A melancholy interest attaches to the paper on the problem of Bombay beggars which we reprint elsewhere. Late Dewan Bahadur Pal who died two months ago was one of the most devoted workers in the movements to give relief to the helpless and infirm who are to be seen in the streets of this great city. His account of the efforts that have been and are being made in this direction have much historical and practical interest. His preliminary remarks on the causes of mendicancy in this country however, require revision. Hinduism does not favour mendicancy any more than Christianity or Islam. The existence of a considerable proportion of medicans in a community is the result of lack of sufficient avenues of employment. The unemployed are in one way or another necessarily dependent on public or private relief. When there is plenty of work of a remunerative character, the volume of beggary shows a rapid and steady contraction. There is chronic unemployment in India for millions, due to the disappearance of village industries, making the lot of the cultivator an economic impossibility. It is this problem which has to be faced and solved in order to bring the problem of beggary within manageable dimensions. British administrators have paid warm tributes to the Indian social system which provided for its destitute without any system of Poor Laws. This system has broken down under the stress of modern competitive ideas and we have come to regard as a burden what our forefathers recognised as a duty and an obligation. The socio-economic ideas of English-educated Indians are largely those which prevailed in Britain in the mid-Victorian period. The British statesman today talks not of beggary but of unemployment, and provides old age pensions, free medical aid, and unemployment doles out of taxes levied from the rich and well-employed to keep the needy above want. The beggar problem in this country when approached in the same humane spirit will not be found more difficult of solution because Hinduism, Islam or Christianity exalts a life of poverty for the religious minded.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 19, 1930.

## GANDHISM: TRUE AND FALSE.

The late Governor of Bengal, Lord Lytton, has contributed an article on "Gandhism" to the English periodical, "Ideas," which is reprinted in another page. The questions which he sets out to answer are "What does Gandhism mean?" "What is its object?", and "What Progress is it making?" Lord Lytton's answer to the first question is as follows: "Though Gandhism is expressed in many different ways, it has two essentially characteristic features. The first is non-co-operation with the British. The second is 'Ahimsa' or the doctrine of Non-violence in resisting British authority." The object of Gandhism, Lord Lytton suggests, is to see British influence removed from India. As regards the progress which Gandhism has made, in Lord Lytton's opinion it is very little. On the contrary, Gandhism by its failure has, Lord Lytton thinks, proved the solidarity of British rule. Lord Lytton is much above the intellectual level of the average British politician and it is desirable, therefore, that he should be shown where he has gone wrong. His conception of Gandhism is narrow, restricted and out of focus with the real Gandhism. If we were asked to define Gandhism, meaning thereby the total of objects and activities attempted and contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi and the group which takes its inspiration from him, we should not give the central place in it to the removal of British influence. The contact of British influence with Gandhism is incidental and indirect. In his farewell speech at the Byculla Club, Lord Curzon referring to the remissions of taxation in his time, most prominent among which was the reduction in two successive years of the salt duty, said:—

"It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent. who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their own countrymen, too often forget,—who has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, of every surplus of which I have assisted in the disposition. We see him not in the splendour and opulence, not even in the squalor of great cities. He reads no newspapers for, as a rule, he cannot read at all. He has no politics. But he is the bone and sinew of the country; by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled; from his labour comes one-fourth of the national income; he should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard."

Mahatma Gandhi, we think, would have heartily applauded this sentiment if he had been present at the banquet where it was expressed. The poor, illiterate cultivator who, Lord Curzon said, should

be "the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard," is that to Mahatmaji almost to the point of an obsession. He is the central figure with reference to whom all the activities comprised in Gandhism are activated and should be explained. Mahatma Gandhi's attitude to British rule, too, is activated and should be understood with reference to the same individual. That Mahatmaji has no prejudice against British rule as such has been proved again and again in ways which were not always understood or approved by his own people. On the contrary, he started and for many years cherished a whole-hearted belief in the beneficence of British rule. We would commend to Lord Lytton's perusal Mr. C. F. Andrews' book "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas" (George Allen and Unwin), particularly chapter XIV, headed "To Every Englishman." Like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahatmaji also has had a bitter disillusionment but while the former by an act of volition continued to cherish his faith in the British people, their intentions and impulses, Mahatma Gandhi, who understands British character better than almost any Indian dead or living, has realised that Britain helps only those who help themselves. Rightly or wrongly, he has come to the conclusion that it is hopeless to expect any real improvement in the condition of the masses under British rule. We think that Mahatmaji, in judging solely from the economic incidence of that rule, overlooks the great emancipating influence which it has been and but for which he himself would have been as impossible as in any Indian State at the present day. Even the sense of the economic wrong has come to us largely from the quickening influence of English education and British rule such as it has been.

On the other side, the common mistake which Englishmen make in thinking of India is to magnify out of all proportion British influence on Indian history. The conquest of India, to use a convenient though not quite correct phrase, is the greatest achievement of the British race. But in the history of the Indian people it is an episode and not a particularly edifying one of which they should be proud. Prior to the British conquest, India had a long history. There is no reason to think that the end of that rule will mean the end of Indian history. Now, Gandhism, as we understand it, endeavours to deal with the whole of Indian life as it has emerged from the long evolution of Indian history and not merely with the fraction of it which is covered by British influence. Mahatma Gandhi's main preoccupation is not, as Lord Lytton misapprehends, with British influence. The removal of untouchability, the prevention of drink, the elevation of women's position, the promotion of the hand-loom industry as a supplementary means of livelihood for the cultivators, and other ways

of ameliorating the conditions of the poor, occupy a far larger space in his activities than the elimination of British influence. In fact, Gandhism is four-fifths social and religious reform and barely one-fifth politics. It is this fact, namely, that social problems form the bulk of Gandhism that has drawn to it many who, like ourselves, do not believe in non-co-operation, as a method of political reform. Now, Lord Lytton studiously ignores this, the largest, side of Gandhism when he tells his English readers that it has for its object the removal of British influence. Lord Lytton is also inconsistent. In one place, he acknowledges that Mahatma's hatred of the British is not racial; in another he speaks of him as "combining an appeal to racial antipathy with a condemnation of violence." As a matter of fact, Mahatma Gandhi seldom or never in his denunciations of British rule lays stress on its foreign character. He calls it "satanic", "a curse" and so on but not because it is alien but because its methods, to him, appear to be evil. Many of us started life with complete confidence in British rule as an uplifting influence. The great tragedy of our lives is that we have survived that confidence. Lord Lytton assumes that British rule has been from first to last a consistent effort to advance India on the road to national self-government. There is not only no proof for the assumption but many facts may be cited to disprove it. May we remark, in passing, that Lord Lytton should have been above the school-boy gibe about Mahatma Gandhi owing his life to a British Surgeon and British nurses? Surgeons and nurses do not in any civilised country claim any credit for seeing those who differ from them in politics through an illness. Even enemy prisoners of war are entitled to their ministrations as a matter of course. Mahatma Gandhi was a prisoner though not of war and though he was asked to choose his own surgeon, he showed his confidence in the professional honour of an English Surgeon by asking that he might himself perform the operation. An Anglo-Indian in such circumstances would probably have demanded a European Surgeon, but the Indian is ordinarily above such colour prejudice.

As regards the progress of Gandhism, Lord Lytton admits that the British Government of India cannot endure for three months if Indians withdrew their co-operation from it. But he says that Mahatma Gandhi's opposition to the system is not shared by the mass of the population. It is true that active opposition to the system, sufficient to inspire disgust in co-operating with it, does not yet exist among the population. If it did, the system would have collapsed, as Meredith Townsend, Professor Seeley and others foretold many years ago. But if Lord Lytton means that

the prevailing sentiment is one of active contentment with the system, he is very much mistaken. A Bombay Government Press note issued on Wednesday says "It is interesting to note that so far only 317 such officers (village patels in Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach and Surat) out of a total of 2774 have actually resigned" in sympathy with Mahatma Gandhi's satyagraha against the salt duty. We, too, find the fact interesting but in a different sense from the Government Publicity officer. Ten years ago not even ten patels would have thought of giving up their jobs if a hundred Mahatmas thundered at their doors. To-day, three hundred have done so. Ten years hence all the three thousand may do the same if things are allowed to continue as they are. If Government prefer to derive their knowledge of the public feeling through the distorted medium of the Anglo-Indian press, it is their own business. But if they care to know the truth, it is that the Indian services from high to low are profoundly dissatisfied with their position and but for the absence of other remunerative occupations, Government service will have very little attraction for the more intelligent and aspiring of our young men. When the Indian National Congress was started the political movement was confined to the English-educated professional classes, chiefly lawyers. Today, the commercial classes are taking the lead in politics. If Lord Lytton would visit one of the satyagraha camps he will see that women form not the least enthusiastic of the volunteers who carry on their activities. This is another profoundly significant feature of Gandhism, showing that it appeals to the heart and not only to the head of the Indian people. The orderliness, the punctuality to time-table, the self-reliance, the resourcefulness, the simplicity and the discipline, to be witnessed in these camps, are such as to gladden one's heart. The salt tax will go, but these qualities will remain permanently to enrich the capacity of Indians to order their own affairs. It is a gross and cruel injustice to represent Mahatma to the British public as a man whose religious principle of *ahimsa* is meant for and put to no other use than the overturning of British influence. That influence will last or pass according as it makes for the good of India or for its evil. Those who seek India's good are not to blame if they find British rule a hindrance rather than a help in their way.

**Pandit Motilal's Gift To Hindu University**—  
Pandit Motilal Nehru has presented from his library a set of books on American law, consisting of about 230 volumes in full calf, to the Benares Hindu University. This set of books is more suited for research work than for a busy practising lawyer. The value of the set is said to be over Rs. 5,000. Mr. Nehru will despatch them to Benares shortly.

## MISSIONS AND DOLLARS.

In the *Reformer* of the 5th April we published a letter from Mr A. E. Armstrong who took exception to our remark in a previous issue that Christian missions relied for making converts on persuading the people among whom they work that they were the greatest sinners in the world and that they (the missionaries) have come from a sinless land "to save them from the perdition to which they are otherwise doomed." Mr. Armstrong cited a statement issued by the International Missionary Council held at Jerusalem in 1928 in which it was said that "we (the missionaries) do not go to the nations called non-Christian because they are the worst of the world and they alone are in need of redemption." He courteously challenged us to refer to anything that we have read that would indicate that missionaries or those who send and support them regard Hindus, for example, as the "greatest sinners in the world." We had intended to give a brief answer to Mr. Armstrong's letter but other matters came in the way.

The *Indian Witness* of the 10th April, however, furnishes a sufficient answer to Mr. Armstrong. It publishes a long communication from Bishop Warne, who is described as the Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the course of which he refers to the cuts in the missionary appropriations as heart-rending. He goes on to observe :

I think the people of India would naturally want to know why this transfer of funds. There are many reasons, I could fill the *Witness* with them; but will confine myself to only one which I think ought to interest India. I shall call it, confusion in thinking, on the part of the home church. Since "self determination and nationalism," have caught the imagination of the nations, there has been such a hiding of the sad and suffering elements in non-christian lands, and such an exaggeration of the excellences of the non-christian religions and civilizations, and such prominence given to the imperfections of christianity and christian civilizations, and such a lack of appreciation of all that is good in them, that people have become confused and are thinking there is not any urgency in missions. This kind of propaganda has lifted the eyes of the home church from the hundreds of millions in the villages and kraals of the non-christian world, and fixed their gazes on the small percent of the wealthy and educated in non-christian lands. This to such an extent that from many, both in the pulpit and pew, the burden of the urgency of missions has largely rolled off their hearts. *As an example—I think an extreme one—a pastor told me that a number of his leading people went to hear a speaker from India. That speaker so presented Gandhi as the greatest saint alive, and so exalted the beauties of the non-christian religions, and so unfairly criticised christian civilization that it caused a drop of ten thousand dollars for World Service in that one congregation. The church had been a great giver to missions. The pastor said, my laymen reasoned along this line. We know our civilization is not what it ought to be, we did not know the non-christian religions were so wonderful as to produce the greatest saint alive; but now that we are told this, we will give out money to improve things*

at home and let the people of India go on by themselves with their good work. I say, I think this an extreme case; but it points to what is going on in the magazines, by nationalists from many lands who are here and so on until there is much confusion of thinking.

The Bishop is perfectly frank, and that is no small thing. He objects to non-christian lands and religions being over-praised to American audiences as it has the direct effect of reducing the latter's contributors to missions. In one case, which he mentions, a sum of 10,000 dollars was lost owing to the speech of a visitor from India. The Bishop does not say who this visitor was, but it is plain that he was one whose words, carried great weight with the audience and induced them to think of the sufferings of their own people as being entitled to their first consideration. We think that this is a perfectly reasonable attitude of mind and the speaker from India—was it Mr. C. F. Andrews who helped them to it—did a service to the poor in America as well as to the people of India. To more than one earnest enquirer from the United States, who wished to know how they can best serve India, we took the liberty of replying that the first thing is not to bring or send money from the States. If they are really anxious to serve India, they could trust India, if she accepts their service, to provide for them within her limited resources. If they have faith in their mission, this should not cause any difficulty: if they have not sufficient faith in it to overcome the fear of being stranded, they should remain at home and devote themselves to tasks which make less demand on their faith. This, we are sure, will strike Bishop Warne as a counsel of perfection. But it commended itself to Jesus Christ who when he sent forth his disciples forbade them from taking any cash or clothes with them. There is something repugnant in the idea of raising funds for religious work by shutting out the truth about non-christian religions from christian communities.

## THE MADRAS PARLIAMENT.

(BY MR. N. LAKSHMANAN.)

I have just returned to my village home, after attending the Budget Session of the Madras Legislative Council. As an on-looker, I was able to see more of the game of politics than the participants themselves. The bye-elections have brought in some old and some new Members. Rao Bahadur T. A. Ramalinga Chettiar, who has succeeded Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Iyengar, now sits on the Ministerial bloc. My esteemed friend Mr. T. S. Ramaswami Iyer, who has been doing unassuming social work among the poor and the depressed, has come to occupy the University seat vacated by Mr. S. Satyamurti.

One evening I attended the Corporation meeting. The stream of Mr. Satyamurti's eloquence was flowing there. The calling of fresh tenders for the Corporation's requirements of rice evoked a caustic comment from Mr. Satyamurti at the meeting; but



after a rebuke had been administered, and a denial made by the Commissioner Mr. Satyamuri had to climb down. I mention this incident simply because I have often felt that innuendoes and invectives only serve to exacerbate racial and communal feelings. There is an air of unreality about public life in Madras. Its subtle politics baffles an on-looker. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's latest views on the Sarda Marriage Act (and to which you refer in two issues of the *Reformer*) is an instance in point.

#### LANGUAGE HANDICAP.

Some non English-knowing Members who venture to take part in the debates do justice neither to themselves nor to the Legislative Council. Here is a glaring instance. The subject under discussion was the censorship of Gandhi films. In a lengthy speech, one of the Members missed the point altogether and solemnly requested Government not to arrest Mahatma Gandhi. The genial President, who does not understand Tamil, had no other option than to call the Member to order, after receiving a timely hint from the Tamil-knowing Secretary of the Council. It is a different proposition altogether if a Member were to know English and to talk in his mother-tongue, out of a patriotic motive. I remember one such episode—the first of its kind—in the Madras Legislative Council of 1919. When Lord Pentland was presiding, Mr. B. V. Narasimha Iyer sprang a surprise on the Council by suddenly beginning his speech in Tamil. The Governor-President was indeed puzzled. On finding that the points of order had no point in them, the late Doctor T. M. Nair, just by way of relieving the tension, sportively remarked: "Let the Hon'ble Member go on with his Tamil oration and let us all adjourn for lunch." Mahakavi Rabindranath Tagore who was then sojourning in Mylapore expressed to me his eagerness to meet Mr. Narasimha Iyer. He was sent for and the poet congratulated him on the courage of his conviction.

#### BIRTH CONTROL.

There was a lively discussion on Birth Control clinics. The enlightened Maharaja of Pithapuram and Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy were diametrically opposed in their views on the vexed question. The debate was carried, on a high level of thinking. Mahatma Gandhi's considered opinion in favour of self-control was duly invoked by the learned Deputy President. The Hon'ble Mr. S. Muthaian Mudaliar also quoted Mahatma Gandhi and the out motion was declared lost. The Public Health Minister's attitude in the G. M. C. controversy has been quite satisfactory. He declared that the Madras Government were determined to see that the Madras University degrees were recognised by all possible means and that, if they should not get these degrees recognised, they would then consider the steps that should be taken to force the General Medical Council of Great Britain to recognise them. He also expressed his entire agreement with Mr. M. B. Jayakar's resolution in the Assembly on the 23rd January last demanding the revival of the competitive examination for recruitment to the Indian Medical Service in India.

#### TOTAL PROHIBITION.

Several years ago, the late lamented Mr. Kudumal Ranga Rao proposed that total prohibition should be introduced in one or two select districts to begin with. He mentioned South Canara and I put forward the claims of Coimbatore, with special reference to "the appallingly high incidence of murder" in this district. Recently, Dewan Bahadur Munuswami Naidu, the leader of the Justice Party, in moving his token out in the Excise demand, made a powerful speech urging that the government should introduce forthwith complete prohibition in the districts of Cuddappah and Nilgiris, the loss of revenue being only Rs. 15 lakhs. Even this modest suggestion was not accepted. Mr. Naidu who is a member of the central Propaganda Board said that already the Minister is feeling quite uncomfortable because side by side with propaganda he could not get the shops closed in the area in which propagandists did propaganda against the drink evil. The Minister replied that if the absence of bids was due to a genuine feeling, the government would be the first to take advantage of the situation and close the shops. I am now glad to be able to say that this is what has happened in the Revenue Firka where I am taking active part as one of the members of the District Propaganda Committee. Though I am an ardent prohibitionist, I am the first to admit that "the action of the Madras Government is perhaps the boldest departure which has ever been made by a provincial government in India upon a question involving considerations of revenue, administration and ethics." After all, mere condemnation of Dyarchy is like flogging a dead horse. As the Hon'ble Mr. Sethurathnam Iyer, the Development Minister, said: only "retail" development is possible under "retail" democracy.

#### INSINCERE POLITICAL LEADERS.

Fifteen years ago, in the course of a short speech in reply to an insistent call for it by some of those present, which was delivered by Gandhiji at the Madras Cosmopolitan club, he let fall the remark that he was at war with the leaders of society all over India, that he has cast in his lot with the masses of the people whose interests were his chief concern. Commenting on this remarkable statement, the *Hindu* wrote, with special reference to Madras, that the official vacancy of a remunerative appointment excites more interest among the leaders of society than any matter affecting large numbers of the proletariat. This remark still holds good, to some extent, in Madras public life, if one is to believe the statement that for the four or five vacant seats on the Hindu Religious Endowment Board there are not less than 120 applicants. A friend in the Cosmopolitan club humorously told me that an equal number of gentlemen are aspiring for ministerships. It has been well said that hollow and insincere political leaders are the curse of the Southern Province and form the greatest obstacle to the unity of parties and to any political progress. The people are looking forward to an early emergence of parties formed on an economic or territorial basis.

### \* THE BEGGAR PROBLEM.

(BY THE LATE DEWAN BAHADUR A. K. PAI.)

The beggar is an uncommonly common feature of this country. He meets you at your door, in the street, on the railway platform, in the railway train, at the tram terminus and at times even in your office. Like the great unknown, this great known is everywhere but unlike the great unknown this great known meets the eye everywhere. The beggar here is also a bore. He meets you sometimes with the boldness of a King's messenger, sometimes with meek entreaties, dogs your footsteps like a C. I. D. until he wrings a coin from you and then leaves your side chuckling at his success.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF BEGGARS.

The reason for this state of things is that we Indians have put a premium on pauperism; we have given the mendicant a place in our religion. We uphold the Sadhus and the so-called religious mendicants as a means to an end. By showering alms and gifts on them we think we save our souls. As Jack in the fable considered his beanstalk as a ladder to heaven we consider the beggar as a means of salvation. This the clever beggar knows to his advantage. It is this weakness of Indians that has resulted in the maintenance of a large army of beggars in this country.

Some take to beggary as a hereditary profession, some as a cheap vocation and others owing to destitution. Only the last class deserve pity and compassion. The former classes are of a loafing sort, who idle and potter away the time and look upon beggary as a pastime. It is these classes that deserve no consideration. They constitute an economic drain to the country. They constitute not only a nuisance but danger to our Society. They fatten on the earning members of the Society, doing nothing, prepared to do nothing, intending to do nothing.

There are on the other hand as I have said people who have been forced to beggary by an unkind, I might even say, malignant fate. They are destitute cripples and decrepits, the halt, the maimed and the blind. This class comprises only a small section and deserves pity and protection. Even in civilised countries of the west this class is supported from common coffers. The beggar problem would not have become practically insoluble in this country had the beggar class been constituted of only such deserving classes. Unfortunately for this class, they have been submerged by a numerous number of imposters in the line, the so-called religious mendicants, impudent malingerers, and other able-bodied and idle beggars and street arabs. These are taking advantage of the promiscuous and misdirected charities of the people to the detriment of the deserving class by being more vehement and more insistent. The real beggar is always alms shy. But the imposter makes one shy by his impudence

\* Posthumously published in the current number of the *Social Service Quarterly*, Bombay.

and obliquity. Among this class the religious mendicant is difficult to handle.

#### SADHU WORSHIP.

Any stern measures to tackle him raise the wrath of the orthodox Hindu who has a notorious weakness for the Fakir or the Sadhu. The Fakir is the prince of beggars. An ordinary beggar who has failed to eke out a living has only to wear the ochre-coloured robe of a Fakir and his living is insured. Carefully considered, the Sadhus and Fakirs are a source of nuisance, mischief, and in some cases even crime. But it is hopeless to think of making beggary on their part criminal in the present state of the Hindu mentality. The more cautious and prudent course to take is to undertake mass education and teach the people to throw off the thralldom of old-world-ideas, to carry home to them that an idle beggar is a pest even if he be a Fakir. It is not easy I know to make even educated people believe that Fakirism is only common beggary robed in coloured cloth and dyed in ashes. For I have seen that even the communities that contain an apparently large sprinkling of educated men and women cannot divest themselves of the feelings of tender compassion, I should say, religious devotion with which they regard the religious mendicant and feed and clothe him. A casual visit to a temple or a mosque is sufficient to convince any one with open eyes that even the educated are not free from superstition which gets the better of their reason and makes them lavish money in charity on those whom they must really leave to themselves to suffer the consequences of their self-chosen mode of life. It has been said of us that we are the slaves of gods; let it not be said of us that we are also the slaves of sadhus. I therefore urge on my Hindu brethren not to be sadhu-ridden. To encourage Sadhus in their profession is not compassion but superstition. It is not charity but bigotry, to give the sadhus all that they want and neglect the deserving beggar to famish and die. Let us not allow the proud beggar an opportunity to supplant the deserving kind. For this purpose I would suggest the establishment of institutional charity, conducted on a well thought-out plan. Promiscuous doles do not reach the deserving quarters. Hence I suggest that all the rich and the middle class people should join hands, pool all their charities, create a Trust and distribute charities at various centres in the City to *bonafide* cases of destitution. Charities should include not only doles but medical relief to beggars suffering from loathsome diseases and sores. If the latter are left in the street, as they are at present, they constitute a menace to the health of the city as most of them suffer from dangerous contagious diseases.

#### INSTITUTIONAL RELIEF.

The difficulty in the matter of institutional relief hitherto has been who should "Bell the Cat" as the phrase goes. The Municipal Corporation

represented some time back to Government to undertake this measure, and Government appointed an Officer to investigate into the matter but the scheme fell through because the Government and the Corporation could not embark on it singly or jointly for financial reasons. The Corporation, however, have been helping a Beggars' Camp started by the Helpless Beggars' Relief Committee at Rowli Hill, Matunga, by a grant-in-aid. The Committee is an unofficial body constituted by philanthropic persons intending to do their own bit in the matter of poor relief. They appeal to the public for funds when necessary and with the aid of the donations received and the grant from the Municipal Corporation maintain a colony of over 250 beggars. They are fed, clothed and taught some useful industry. But it has been found that the beggars do not like to stay there long, not that the life is hard there but because it is well regulated. A life that is spent in indolence does not easily yield to orderly routine of a camp though it can earn a pretty penny honourably by its industry. What is, therefore, needed is that we should discourage individual begging, pool charities and start institutions like the camp I have spoken of where poor beggars can, not only be housed, fed, clothed, nursed when ill, but also taught to earn an honest livelihood. "Better one's own half a loaf than another's whole loaf" that is what we should teach these beggars, this unfortunate flotsam of human society, who drift here and there in sheer destitution and, above all let us not allow, this poor lot to be swamped by pirates in the line whom our better reason and education should be able to detect and deal with according to their deserts.

#### BEGGON WORK IN BOMBAY.

The principles of modern charity are slowly gaining ground in this country. But hitherto no systematic attempts have been made to reclaim beggars whenever possible and to convert them into useful members of society. Several proposals have been mooted from time to time but no practical efforts were made upto now to eradicate the evil. Attempts are made in Bombay to give only relief to some beggars who are in a helpless condition.

On 9th May 1920 Mr. W. B. Manley who was then at the head of the Bombay City Police (C.I.D.) and who had noticed the fact that beggars were dying almost daily of starvation in the streets of Bombay called an informal meeting in his office of sympathisers and it was at this meeting resolved to begin rescue work at once. After a few months it was considered necessary to have a permanent organisation to carry on this work for various reasons. With this object in view persons known to be interested in the work met at the Municipal Hall on the 17th November 1920 under the chairmanship of the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar at which a committee known as the Bombay Helpless Beggars' Relief Committee was formed to undertake the supervision of the Refuge and to devise means to place it on a permanent footing.

## INDIANS OVERSEAS.

### FIJI INDIANS DEMAND COMMON ROLL.

On Legislative Council assembling the Acting-Governor and the Senior Elected Member made speeches welcoming three Indian representatives. Sir Maynard Hedstrom quoted the Kenya White Paper at length, urged its applicability to this Colony also, and pointed out that an acceptance of this position was a necessary condition if the Indian Members of Council were to be useful and welcome. In replying, Mr. Permanand Singh simply thanked the Acting-Governor and Senior Elected Member, thus tacitly accepting the principle of Communal Franchise without protest. This was a great disappointment to the Indian Electorate, who had hoped for a vigorous speech protesting against the present franchise and urging a Common Electoral Roll.

At an unofficial meeting of elected members the Indian representatives, however, reversed their policy, and refused to discuss any subject other than the Common Roll. Having thus ascertained that the European Elected Members were willing to co-operate with them in other matters affecting the welfare of their constituents, but were opposed to any immediate alteration of the New Letters Patent, Messrs. Vishnu Deo and Permanand Singh put before Council a Motion that a telegram be sent to the Secretary of State asking for an alteration of the basis of franchise granted in the Letters Patent. This motion naturally was lost, and the three Indian Members resigned.

At a meeting in Suva Town Hall the three members accounted to the public for their action in resigning, and indicated their intention of standing again and repeating their protest at every ensuing bye-election. In order to strengthen their position in this matter, the meeting enthusiastically agreed to return them unopposed as often as need be.

The European Elected Members quickly took advantage of the absence of Indian representation to petition the Secretary of State against the Government's proposal for Indian Election. In reply the Secretary of State dissented from their views, but agreed that the education scheme be postponed till the new Governor arrived and the Indian representatives returned to Council.

When the bye-election came the Indian Electorate loyally kept their promise to return the three members unopposed; but the three gentlemen in question failed to hand in their nomination papers. A message was received from Mahatma Gandhi approving of the resignation, and urging continued agitation for the Common Roll. *Vridhhi, Suva.*

### A HIGH SCHOOL FOR INDIAN GIRLS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Indian opinion welcomes the opening of the Mitchell Crescent School as a High School for Indian Girls. Hitherto, it says, the facilities for the

education of our girls have been very meagre and we have more than once appealed for an extension of those facilities. The Indian parents have always been averse to sending their girls to mixed schools. And this aversion no doubt exists amongst the older girls. Mr. Hugh Bryan, the Superintendent of Education, in opening a High School for our girls, has taken a step that has been hailed with delight by the Indian community of Natal. But that is not all. Nothing would be more gratifying to Mr. Bryan than to see that the Girls' High School is being well attended. At one of the meetings of the Indo-European Council, one of the lady members, who happens to be a Teacher at the school, mentioned that the attendance at the school was not encouraging. We are informed that the number of girls attending the school is 38. This is certainly a most discouraging piece of news. Some of the lady teachers in the school have served well at the Carlisle Street Indian School. Many of our students who were successful in the two Cape examinations owe a great deal for their success to these ladies. And our girls are therefore extremely fortunate in securing the services of these ladies. They are sincere in their work and their one object is to see an army of educated girls.

#### A CHRISTIAN VIEW ON MAHATMA'S MARCH.

The march of Mahatma Gandhi and hundreds of young men and women all over the country to civil disobedience in the form of salt-making may not have much immediate effect on the gaining of swaraj but it undoubtedly has a significance for the future far greater than any results that may come in the present. In the first place, it shows the strength of that urge to freedom that animates the mind of India to-day. Most people have never visualised what Swaraj really means and hardly know whether in itself it will mean a better state; what they do want is to be free, to feel that the reproach that the world has cast upon them as a people in subjection is done away with that they can stand upon their feet before the nations of the world, as a self-respecting people. This may only be a sentiment but it is the kind of sentiment that has led to some of the greatest events of history. The Indian is made to feel the lack of freedom in a thousand ways that the Englishman can hardly understand. The position of Englishmen in the strategic positions of authority and influence in India, the maintenance of the army as a close preserve for English officers and the refusal to bring its finances under the control of the Assembly, the leadership of the League of Nations delegation by an Englishman until last year, the subjection of India in so many ways to the domination of Whitehall, the arrogance of many Britishers in India,—all these and many more have brought home to the ordinary Indian the fact that he is a member of a subject nation and the iron has entered into his soul. Freedom, they feel they must have and at once, freedom to rule their own lives and to determine their own destinies. Behind all this campaign and

all this unrest is this passionate urge to freedom, whatever it may mean. It has become quite clear that the time has gone by when for any reason India is prepared to acquiesce in its rule by another nation. This fact stands out bald and plain for all to understand. The second significant thing that comes out of this present campaign of Mahatma Gandhi is that India has at last discovered a new method of revolution. Just as Bardoli showed how a limited area could make its protest felt against economic injustice so in this campaign of salt-making the country is showing a way in which India can ultimately win its way to swaraj if the British Government for any reason refuse to satisfy its demand for freedom. The enthusiasm of the apostles of extremism has again been deflected from the cult of the bomb and the knife and turned to the harder path of self-denial and suffering. If as one result of this campaign the iniquitous salt tax is abolished that will be something for which India will be grateful. If Government is wise it will leave alone these bands of enthusiasts and allow them to make salt as much as they like and instead will turn its attention to salt itself and see if they cannot do away this impost that has been denounced by Viceroy and leaders for many years. To fill the jails with young salt-makers will only lead to worse evils that may not be long in coming. It is tragic that for so many years past the British Raj should have shut its eyes to the signs of the times and should have not realised that it was its duty to provide at the earliest possible moment for a self-governing India. Of its own freewill it has never done anything for this aim but has only yielded from time to time to agitation that it could not control. The words "Too late" have been written over all British attempts to meet the demand of India for more freedom in her own life. It may not yet be too late for the final act of this drama if only the Government will act wisely and quickly. There is still time but not much, and there is still hope: *The Guardian, Calcutta.*

**Cottage Industry in Bihar:**—The speech delivered by Sir Muhammad Fakhiruddin, says the *Behar Herald*, at the opening of the handloom Industries Exhibition is of particular interest at this moment. The Hon'ble Minister utilised the occasion to introduce the public to the present position of the textile industry, particularly to the handloom industry. It is estimated, he said, that there are today nearly 25,00,000 active handlooms all over India, and the output from them is over one thousand million yards. In this province the number of handlooms is stated to be over 160,000, producing goods valued at five crores of rupees annually. Nearly 40 p. c. of the cloth requirements of this province is supplied by handlooms, and about 500,000 people are engaged in this industry. It will be seen from the above figures that the handloom industry of Bihar is a very important national industry and in the domain of cottage industries it undoubtedly occupies the first place. The Hon'ble Minister is fully alive to the advantages of the cottage industries. He appreciates the advantage to the weavers of being enabled to work in the peace and quiet of their simple homes and quotes with approval Aldous Huxley's description of factory work as "just a dirty job that's got to be done but is utterly irrelevant to the real human life."

## LORD LYTTON ON 'GANDHISM'.

'THEORISTS WHO WOULD WRECK THE EMPIRE.'

You have asked me to tell you something about "Gandhism." What does it mean? What is its object? What progress is it making?

By Gandhism, I presume, is meant that section of Indian nationalism which accepts the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, and carries out the policy which he advocates. In this restricted sense the movement is so small as to be almost insignificant; for though most Indians have a respect for Mr. Gandhi's personality, and many share his political aspirations there are few who regard him as a practical leader and are prepared to follow his advice. There are admirers of Mr. Gandhi in all parties, but no party in India accepts his leadership without reserve. Not even the Congress party—the most extreme and, perhaps, the smallest of all the Indian political groups—accepts his leadership in everything, writes Lord Lytton in "Ideas".

Though Gandhism is expressed in many different ways, it has two essentially characteristic features. The first is non-co-operation with the British, the second is "ahimsa", or the doctrine of non-violence in resisting British authority. Let me examine these two fundamental principles of his creed, and see to what action they lead.

Mr. Gandhi's hatred of the British is not racial but political. He does not dislike Englishmen as Englishmen; he has many English friends, and he admires many of their national characteristics. He admits that he owes his life to the skill of an English surgeon, and the care of English nurses. He is not ungrateful; but he has no use for the British in India, except as guests. He resents their authority and considers that their influence has been harmful to his country.

In this he differs from another great Indian leader who once said, "England has made the roads along which India will pass to freedom; God bless England." But Mr. Gandhi is not content to express his own hostility to the British and to invite his countrymen to share it. He assumes, erroneously, that it is already shared by them.

The second characteristic feature of Mr. Gandhi's political philosophy is that resistance to evil is unjustifiable, and violence a moral sin. In this belief, for which there is sanction in the Hindu sacred books, as well as in the teaching of Christ, Mr. Gandhi is sincere, but the numbers who share this faith with him are even fewer than those who share his hatred of the British.

Being anxious to see British influence removed from India, and being equally anxious to avoid any element of violence in his resistance to the present Government of that country Mr. Gandhi is hard put to it to find an effective policy. The problem of how to embarrass the Government without being false to his principles, is one about which he has "thought furiously," one which he has spent laborious days and sleepless nights trying to solve, and he has not found a solution yet.

## UNSUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENTS.

He has tried one or two experiments, but they have not been successful. The most important was his policy of non-co-operation. Had his premises been true, the policy he advocated would have been well calculated to demonstrate their truth. But as they were false, it failed. "If the present Government in India," he said, "is without the sanction and support of the people of India, armed insurrection is not required to bring it to an end. Let every Indian passively refuse any cooperation with the Government, let all who hold official posts resign them, let them refrain from attending, or utilising any Government service, and in three months the Government will be at an end."

The statement was true enough. As the overwhelming majority of officials in India are Indians, as no Government service could be carried on without Indian help, three months would not have been required to realise his prediction, if his premises had been true, and his advice had been followed. But a much shorter time sufficed to prove that his premises were false, and the only result of his policy was to involve in useless sacrifices the few who acted as he directed.

One of the most cruel consequences of the non-cooperation movement was the injury which it inflicted on the young men, who in their patriotic enthusiasm left their colleges at an important stage of their educational career, and found no other institutions to replace them.

The prolongation of the movement, long after its failure as a test of Indian opinion had been demonstrated, led to much violence and bloodshed; and when Mr. Gandhi was finally imprisoned for his share in bringing about these disturbances, the whole movement collapsed.

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Undeterred by these experiences, Mr. Gandhi is now advocating a programme of what is called civil disobedience which must inevitably lead to more useless sacrifices and to many acts of violence. The victims will again be impressionable youths and poor peasants. It is the irony of fate that Mr. Gandhi who combines an appeal to racial antipathy with a condemnation of violence, has done more than any man in India to prove the solidarity of Indian support of the British connection and to bring about violent disturbances in which his own countrymen are the chief sufferers.

If these are consequences of Gandhism, why, it is often asked, is it tolerated by the Government? Tolerance of opinion is the test of the security of a Government. The Government of India is the most tolerant in the world, because it is the most secure, and those who point to the indulgence extended to the critics of Government, as evidence of the weakness or timidity of the administration, fail entirely to understand the situation.

When hostility exceeds the expression of opinion and indulges in the commission of violent or criminal acts, the Government enforces the law, and in

maintaining order is assured of the support of the majority of the people. It has done so in the past, and will do so in the future; and because it can count on the loyal support of its police and its troops in the maintenance of order, it can afford to ignore the insults and misrepresentations of its political critics.

#### PROCEEDING CAUTIOUSLY.

The British people are determined to establish representative institutions in a federated India, if they can do so without weakening the authority of the Central Government and without sacrificing the interests of minority communities. They are equally determined to proceed cautiously, and not to advance to the next stage till they are satisfied of the success of the last.

They will neither be turned aside from pursuing the goal they have set themselves, by disturbers of the peace, whom they are well able to control, nor be hustled into premature action by those who make no secret of their hostility.

They are engaged in building a constitutional edifice, and when they are assured that the foundation and the walls are secure, they will put on the roof. Those who wish to see the progress of the building accelerated, must produce proof of the solidarity of what has been already built, and the surest way of retarding the progress is to demonstrate the unsoundness of the foundations, the inadequacy of the walls.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**A Patiala Communique:**—The Patiala authorities have issued the following statement to the *Associated Press*:—"The attention of the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, has been drawn to certain comments in the press on the pamphlet called "An Indictment of Patiala," purporting to be the report of an inquiry committee appointed by the Indian States People's Conference, and avowedly based on *ex parte* evidence. It is understood that the said pamphlet has been widely circulated in the country and abroad. The said pamphlet makes very serious allegations against the personal honour of the Ruler of the State and against the Government. After the publication of the report over the signatures of some public men in British India His Highness's Government immediately gave attention to the question as to what course they should adopt to vindicate the honour of His Highness and his Government. Although they have hitherto refrained from taking any notice of the campaign which has been carried on in certain sections of the press in British India, the allegation contained in the report are so serious that His Highness's Government cannot allow them to go unchallenged. Without further entering into any controversy in the press, His Highness's Government desire to state that they propose to take at an early date such steps as they may be advised to take for the vindication of the personal honour of the ruler of the State, and the reputation of his Government. His Highness's Government hope that the *ex parte* verdict of the committee based upon evidence, the truth and strength of which has yet to be tested impartially will not be treated as carrying with it the weight and the authority of an Imperial Tribunal."

'Unhappy India' in French:—The late Lala Lajpat Rai's *Unhappy India* has been translated into French by Madame Marcel Griette under the title *L'Inde Malheureuse*, and containing a foreword by Romain Rolland. The book is published by Les Editions Bieder, Paris.

**Maharani and Son to Live Apart:**—Her Highness the Junior Maharani has been ordered by the Government of India to live separately from her son, the young minor Maharaja of Travancore, during the next few years of his training in administrative matters under Mr. P. O. Dutt, I. C. S. Her Highness will, however, be afforded all conveniences necessary to meet her son occasionally.

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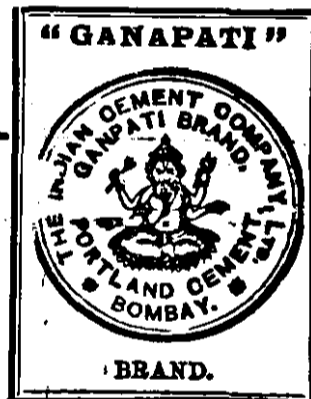
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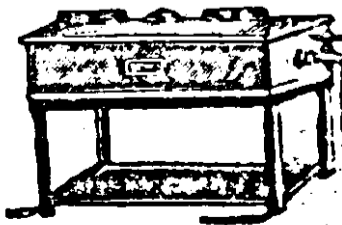
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1 Reel. ( Fox Review ).

Time:—Sat. 4-30 and 6-30 p.m. Cinema and 9-30 p.m. Indian Concert by AJAMBAL

Sun. 6 p.m. Indian Concert by AJAMBAL and 10 p.m. Cinema.

Mon. 4-30, 6-30, 8-15 and 10 p.m. Cinema.

Tue. to Fri. 6-30, 8-15 and 10 p.m. Cinema.

# THE INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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No. 34

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Bombay Government on the Salt Duty:—** The Government of Bombay have issued a laboured justification of the salt duty as being too small to be felt by the poorest Indian. This rather shows that the Government have got out of touch with the realities of Indian life than that there has been a change in the latter. The late Lord Morley when he was Secretary of State for India made an important pronouncement on the Salt Tax question in the House of Commons in 1906. In his speech introducing the Indian Budget Lord (then Mr.) Morely said:—"In 1903 Sir Henry Fowler, then not in office, made a very powerful appeal in favour of the remission of the salt duty. A remission has been made. But for my part, I cannot regard, and I will not regard with satisfaction, or even with patience, the continuance at a high scale of a tax on a prime necessity of life. It is a question, however, that you cannot settle right off, or by a stroke of the pen. But any one who reads the report in the Blue Book published this year will see that the last remission of the tax, which was considerable, has had a most admirable effect in cheapening the retail price; and the knowledge that they were entitled to the reduction has become known to the most ignorant class in the country. Even the Bhil woman who buys salt by the ounce knows that she is entitled to more than she used to get. What was formerly purchased to last three or four days now lasts five or six days. In some provinces the consumption has risen 10 per cent. in the last three years, and the saving per head of the population is reckoned as one day's wages to the poorest of the working classes. I have some figures as to the comparative effect of the imposition of the salt tax in India and in a famous European country where the tax is still imposed—namely, Italy—but they can wait for another occasion. It is not that the Indian is more heavily burdened in the matter of the salt

duty than the Italian. But however that may be I am glad to think that the very able and expert financial member of the Viceroy's Council hopes to make further reduction in the duty, even though he cannot go so far as I should like to go, and *sweep the thing away altogether.*" Lord Morley wished to sweep the thing away altogether, which is precisely what Mahatma Gandhi wants to do. Lord Curzon's opinion of the salt tax we quoted in our leading article last week, and it was not that of the Bombay Government's Press Note. The fact is that the Government of Bombay of recent years have come to view questions from the point of view of the financier rather than that of the cultivator.

**Sir K. V. Reddi on South African Situation:—** Sir K. V. Reddi, Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa, who had been in India on sick leave, left Bombay for South Africa on Wednesday afternoon by the S. S. Karagola. His son, Mr. K. V. Gopaldaswami, accompanied him and he will be his Secretary during his term of office. Interviewed by a local Press representative prior to his departure Sir Kurma stated that although the situation in South Africa with reference to Indians there had somewhat improved during the past two years, there were still several problems which remained to be tackled. The chief amongst them was that relating to the trading licenses in the Transvaal. In this connection, Sir Kurma felt glad that during his absence the South African Indians resident in the Union had a staunch friend in Mr. J. D. Tyson who had been specially chosen by the Government of India to have the claims of Indians represented strongly before the Select Committee appointed by the Government of the Union of South Africa. Discussing the question of trading licenses, Sir Kurma said that the laws of the Transvaal were peculiar, and the right of Indians to own or occupy immovable property was regulated by certain laws. According to them they could not own lands or reside in many areas. Besides, trading licenses had been refused to Indians by certain municipalities which had to recommend the grant of certificates. The question was taken up by him during his stay there last year whereupon a Select Committee was appointed "to inquire into the position created by certain recent judgments of the Supreme Court regarding residence on, or occupation of, fixed property by Indians or other persons, belonging to native races of Asia on Proclaimed Grounds in the Transvaal and the question as to how far the intentions of Parliament are being given effect to."

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 26, 1930.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The non-violent character of the satyagraha against the salt law, has been almost completely preserved in the greater part of the country, both on the side of the *Satyagrahis* and on that of the authorities. There were a few complaints of violence of rather a gross character from one or two places in Gujarat, but the latest bulletins from Ahmedabad state that there has been no further molestation on the part of the Police. Nevertheless, in view of the possibility of a repetition of such incidents, Mahatma Gandhi has called attention to them in the current *'Young India'*. Referring to a particularly brutal assault also referred to in Mr. Kumarappa's letter published elsewhere Mahatmaji writes:—

"A bullet wound is any day better than these barbarous, unnecessary, unprovoked assaults. The person of a citizen must be held inviolate. It can only be touched to arrest or to prevent violence, never in the manner being done now. It is a prostitution even of the salt laws to use them against civil resisters. The provisions were designed to deal (even then unjustly as I hold) with surreptitious breaches of its new provisions, never to deal with masses of men openly defying them. If the Government do not stop this brutal violation of the body, they will find the Satyagrahis presently compelling them to use the guns against them. I do not want this to happen. But if the Government will have it, I should have no hesitation whatsoever in giving them the opportunity."

In Bombay city there are still complaints of unjustifiable aggression on the side of the Police but the published opinion of the Commissioner of Police that he is against the use of lathis against passive resisters, encourages the hope that we shall hear no more complaints of the kind. Incidentally, we welcome the declaration as the first public official recognition of the essential distinction between non-violent satyagrahis and violent revolutionaries. Non-violent civil disobedience is, as we pointed out last week, an attempt on the part of a people without constitutional means of bringing the administration in conformity with their needs and sentiments, to find a substitute from which all the anti-social factors of violent political revolutions are carefully and even scrupulously excluded. We say an "attempt," because it remains to be seen how far it will be a success on an all-India scale, though the result obtained so far has, on the whole, been very encouraging. The incidents of the previous week in Calcutta and Karachi on the arrest and conviction of some

satyagrahis do not materially detract from the general opinion which we have expressed above. We must say at the same time that there is perceptible a growing feeling of bitterness even in Gujarat where Mahatma Gandhi is in direct control at the arrest and imprisonment of many of the best men. The sooner Government realise that the verdict of the country has gone completely against the salt duty as a feature of the Indian tax system and announce their intention to bring its abolition at the earliest possible date, the better will it be for all concerned. Mahatma Gandhi has declared that such a step on the part of the Government would be regarded by him as proof of the change of heart on which he has been insisting.

We think that a settlement of this matter is urgent in view of the outbreak in Chittagong which has all the appearance of an armed rising. It is impossible to resist the impression that this manifestation of revolutionary violence is intended to discredit the non-violent movement whose success must render for ever, not only in India but everywhere, violent revolutions out of date. It is obvious that the two movements cannot co-exist side by side. The imprisonment of the leaders of the non-violent movement lays the vast organisation which they have built up to capture by adventitious influences fundamentally opposed to it. Nor is it right for Government to seek to combat both the non-violent and violent movements, all the while doing nothing to enable India to bring about changes through constitutional machinery. The *raison d'être* of the civil disobedience movement will be gone if the people have at hand such machinery which they can operate without interference from outside. Till the machinery is provided non-violent movements like the salt satyagraha should be regarded as a sort of rough and ready referendum to a largely illiterate population which can be appraised only by a sort of political kindergarten of the questions at issue.

**Fiji Indians And A Common Roll :—**While Indians in Kenya are firmly determined not to accept segregation in the electorates any more than in townships, some surprise was caused by the news that Indians in Fiji had agreed to a separate electoral roll for themselves. We reprinted in the last issue from *Vridhhi*, published in Suva, an account of further developments which shows that Indians in Fiji also demand common electorates, and refuse special ones. The three members who were elected have resigned and Mahatma Gandhi has sent a message approving of the resignation and urging continued agitation for the common roll.

## BANDRA IN THE LIMELIGHT.

On leaving Bombay the Bombay, Baroda, Central India Railway crosses several creeks before entering Gujarat. The first of these is the one which forms the boundary line between Bombay and Salsette, a corruption of Sashti (sixty villages). Bandra is the southernmost point of Salsette, and hence the name of Bandra Creek. Bandra, or as some old residents still love to call it "Bandora" played a somewhat prominent part in Portuguese times and was then and has since been a centre of Catholicism without a trace of the militancy of the days of the Inquisition. Under British rule it has subsided into a suburb of Bombay. Analysing the causes of the growth of Imperialism in England, L. T. Hobhouse laid his finger on the rise of suburbs as one of the more important of them. He observed that "politically the suburb is a greater burden on the nation than the slum," and proceeded to give reasons for the opinion, the chief of them being the easy self-satisfaction and the imperviousness to ideas which are fostered by suburban life.

The placid, pathetic contentment, to quote the late Mr. Montagu's famous phrase, of this quiet suburb, was rudely disturbed by the trial of Shet Jammalal Bajaj of which I gave a description in these columns. To the Police, the Magistracy and the public, the event was without a precedent. The accommodation in the lock-up is primitive and limited, being meant only for the humble Koli who now and then broke the law against being drunk in public by obeying too enthusiastically the law intended to derive the maximum revenue to the State from a minimum consumption of liquor. The Bandra Magistrate's Court itself is a glorified *Chawdi*. I had to intrude on Mr. Fernandez, the presiding Magistrate, during the last few days and I am grateful to him for the unvarying courtesy and kindness with which he met my requests. I felt rather sore when I found that, after giving me a permit to visit Swami Anand and Messrs. Kher and Vandekar in the lock-up the next day, he quietly went early morning, delivered his judgment and packed them off to Thana. And I was surprised to read in the papers a passage from his judgment describing the offence of these gentlemen as the result of a "mania" which he thought would be cured by rigorous imprisonment for some months. The Gandhi movement has been considered important enough by the Vatican to call for a pronouncement, and the little Church on the Bandra Creek will, no doubt, revise its opinion of it in time. Mr. Fernandez will then have no excuse for treating it as a mental disease for which rigorous imprisonment is the only cure. I can only regard it as the outcome of a suburban mentality that while magistrates on the other side of the creek almost invariably pass sentences of simple imprisonment for the offence the Bandra Magistrate should cherish such a touching faith in the virtues of hard labour.

I am not, however, worrying about the unconscionable sentences of Mr. Fernandez and some other mofussil Magistrates on men whose offence is that they broke a law which, in the opinion of Secretaries of State and Viceroys, should be swept off altogether from the statute-book. These men will have to be all out before the Round Table Conference or any other kind of negotiation can be opened, and that cannot be a long way off. The Home Member in the present British Cabinet, Mr. Clynes, speaking on some question of prison administration in the House of Commons the other day, remarked that several of his colleagues in the Ministry had served sentences in jail in their time and knew more about the subject than the Opposition leaders. Some of these "maniacs" now in jail will have a potent voice in the revision of the constitution, whatever it may be, and they will surely sweep away the inhumanities of the present lock-ups with their open stinking urinals, mosquito-infested, and without any privy arrangement from sunset to dawn, and the whole system which relegates judicial functions to Magistrates who depend for promotion on the goodwill of the Executive Government and the Police. From this point of view, it is all to the good that Indian political leaders enjoy an experience of the inside of jails as a preliminary to self-government for their country.

The present epidemic of prosecutions at any rate on this side of India, is depriving the country at a crucial time of several of the best and most devoted social workers. Bal Gangadhar Kher was one of the Secretaries of the Bombay Swaraj Party at its inception when for a brief space I was inducted into its leadership by my friends, Messrs. Vithalbai Patel and M. R. Jayakar. I then learnt to appreciate the sunshine in his nature which shone through the thickest gloom. He had more recently thrown himself heart and soul into social work. On the very day of his conviction, comes to hand a copy of the annual report of the Association for rendering legal aid to the poor and destitute which he with his friends founded some years ago and which has been rendering invaluable service to those whose wrongs would otherwise have gone without redress. He has been taking parties of the Youth League into villages for sanitary and relief work, and when a village near Ambernath was burnt down some time back, Kher and his party were among the first in the field of relief. More recently, Kher had become closely identified with the movement of the Antyajias to obtain entry into Hindu temples, and it was his vivid and moving description of the Satyagraha at the Rama temple at Nasik that enabled me to realise the genuine religious feeling which inspires this great movement to enlarge the bounds of Hinduism. Swami Anand was, just before his joining the salt satyagraha, the Secretary of the Congress sub-committee for the removal of untouchability of which Shet Jammalal was President. He was untiring in his labours to carry on the propaganda against untouchability, his early training

in the Ramakrishna Mission stood him in good stead in his socio-religious activities. On Tuesday night after meals in the lock-up, he read out the verses in the 2nd chapter of the Bhagavadgita describing the qualities of the "sthitha pragya", the man of steady wisdom. These verses are familiar to me but the place and the occasion and the personality of the reader, have impressed them with a memorableness which will last through life. Squatting on some jail blankets in the narrow verandah outside their cell, with a dim hurricane lamp for light, with two Policemen, one with fixed bayonet, watching on, Swami Anand had for audience Kher, Vandrekar, the Koli leader, Poshha Govind Nakwa, my daughter and myself. In the adjoining cell were two or three poor people, who, too, I thought, for the moment felt a ray of light illuminating their hearts. It is a scene not easily forgotten.

Posha Patel's inclusion in this batch is a sign of the times. He is the headman of the Kolis of Versova numbering 4,000. A tall, broad man, his bearing in the lock-up and the Court impressed all who saw him as independent and dignified. With his three fellow-accused, Poshha Patel was honoured with the *kuntum* mark on the forehead and khaddar garland by the women present in Court. The honour was evidently much appreciated as we noted that the red mark still shone on the Koli leader's forehead when we took leave of him after meals at night on Tuesday.

K. NATARAJAN.

#### EPWORTH LEAGUE INSTITUTE, ARRAH.

(BY REV. H. S. PETERS, BAREILLY.)

The second Epworth League Institute was held at Arrah, Bihar for the boys and girls of the Calcutta area of the Methodist Episcopal Church. There were about 110 boys and girls who had the privilege of having the fullest, happiest and most worthwhile week in their lives. The place of this Institute was in the mission compound itself which is so situated as to make this possible within its own area. The beautiful tall trees of the tropics gave shelter to all who came from out station and some of them served the purpose of the class rooms. The staff that came to help the Institute going was composed of pastors, teachers and missionaries. The courses were very thoughtfully arranged. New Testament was taught by Miss Tirsgaard, Life service by Rev. A. H. McGee, Building the Indian Church by Rev. G. M. Massey, Village Service by Miss Bacon, Remaking the Indian village by Miss Abbott. In this course Rev. H. S. Peters of Bareilly Theological Seminary conducted a class for the cabinet members of all the League chapters that were present and advised them to do something practical in their individual chapters. He told them how to conduct the meetings in general and led the discussions. He took all the members one evening to survey a near by village. This survey was an eye opener as it put before the youths the actual condition of their

motherland and created in them a consciousness of how to act in order to improve conditions. The methods of Church work were taught by Mr. E. B. Paul and lot of interest was taken by leaders' group in the Class of Preaching to children which was conducted by Rev. H.S. Peters.

The music class was made specially interesting when Baman Babu came with his *Vina* and *Israi* and played the most meditative, melodious, and inspiring tunes upon them. He taught the theory of music and it was very surprising when he criticized and finally discarded the use of the harmonium as a musical instrument. Then there were some religious hymns which were very inspiring to the soul. All took delight in learning them.

Among the special features of the evenings were the fellowship meetings, stunts, hike and singing contest, drama which was enacted by the Arrah girls for the benefit of the Warne Baby Fold, the proceeds of which were Rs. 70. On Saturday Mr. E. B. Paul gave an example of model Epworth League meeting and the climax of this all was reached when on Sunday evening a Bon fire and consecration service was impressively held, on the play-ground of the Boys school. It was very ably led by the Rev. A. H. McGee. There were many testimonies borne to the effect as to what the institute had meant to them.

Our sojourn during the Institute was made very lively and delightful by the able administration of Miss Sheldon, Mr. John Lal, and Mr. G. A. Ackeely who made very interesting programme for games—Volley ball, Badminton and tennis which were played jointly. Mr. Yaqub Masish then won the day in Volley ball. A hockey match was played between the Institute and Police Officers of Arrah.

In short the Institute was a complete success and if India is to win the day she will do so if her boys and girls behave in their lives as they did in this Institute and if they put into practice those principles which were inculcated there. It was a real time of fellowship together and it is our prayer that this occasion may be repeated and bring blessings in its train to the many youths who will attend it in future.

**Derosio Celebration:**—The Anglo-Indian Poet and Reformer, Derosio died close upon a hundred years ago. It is intended to pay tribute to his great memory. Last year there was held a Dinner at one of the prominent hotels of Calcutta. This year it is proposed to have a similar function, of which the time and place are being arranged. The Anglo-Indian League of 2 Wellesly Square, Calcutta are arranging details and it is hoped to have a large gathering of both Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians shortly after the Easter Vacation is over.

**Vacation Course in Education:**—A Vacation class will be conducted by Prof. S. V. Phadnis and Principal V. K. Joshi for S.T.O. candidates. The class will meet in General Education Institute Premises, Dadar (near B. B. O. I. By. Station) every day from 1st to 31st of May between 7-30 A.M. to 9-30 A.M. Particulars can be had from Prof. Phadnis, Bombay 6, or Principal Joshi, Dadar.

## POLICE VIOLENCE.

AN APPEAL TO ALL CHRISTIAN WORKERS AND MISSIONARIES.

Dear Friends,

We are at present passing through one of the greatest crisis in India's long history—a crisis that bids fair to leave its mark not only on India but on humanity itself. The days when personal differences were fought out by duels is practically a thing of the past. Private individuals no longer appeal to brute force. But nations are still resorting to barbarous methods of violence; and might is right in International disputes. There has been a race for armaments in spite of repeated efforts at reducing them since the World War. There is no need for me to point out at this late hour that warfare reduces us to the level of brutes and mechanised warfare to one even below that. We need to exert ourselves to rise to, at least, a human level if not to a spiritual plane. Enlightened men the world over have been striving for what William James calls 'a moral equivalent for warfare,' as a means of settling national disputes. Before our very eyes, Gandhiji is substituting for warfare the gospel of love in a practical way. The details may have to be worked out to a greater degree of refinement before Satyagraha can be used on an universal scale, but the basic principle is the one that concerns us vitally at this moment.

What is going to be the contribution of those of us who profess to follow the Prince of Peace whose banner is Love? At this juncture a great responsibility is laid on our shoulders which we dare not shirk. Here is an opportunity at or very door the like of which Christendom has never faced before. Do we not hear the Man of Sorrows say, 'He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me'? The choice is imminent.

I am perfectly aware that our political views may honestly differ and we may be poles apart. Amongst Christians, there are Indians and foreigners and those who see eye to eye with the national movement and those who may honestly believe that the Nationalists are misled. But there can be no difference of opinion regarding non-violence amongst those who were enjoined by their Master to turn to 'whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek the other also' and to return good for evil.

No appeal is necessary to those who are in full agreement with Gandhiji and who are convinced that this movement is to clothe the naked and feed the hungry as these friends are committed to non-violence.

My appeal is mainly to those who differ from the national cause. They have a great function to perform. I know some of the foreign missionary friends are here under a contract with the British Government not to interfere in Politics. But where non-interference means compromising a principle which they hold fundamental, I submit that they are bound in loyalty to their Lord to impress upon the Government the duty of adopting non-violent methods, even at the risk of their very lives. I am

quite conscious that theirs is a more difficult task than swimming with the current of the national movement but I am certain that the greater task affords a greater opportunity to 'let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven.'

In today's issue of *Young India* there are cited numerous cases of brutalities practised by the Police. I give here the following two reports only:—

*From Delhi*

"Ten volunteers were wounded as the Police tried to wrest from our hands a bucket of salt. Among the wounded five were seriously injured. They had been heavily belaboured on the chest and the abdomen. Two received severe injuries on their private parts."

*From Dholera*

"Eight to ten Policemen fell upon Ambalal. They brutally pressed his testicles, struck him with fists on the chest and abdomen, pressed their finger nails on his neck, so much so that Ambalal fell senseless. Mr. Fletcher and others quietly witnessed the brutality."

After these accounts no more words from me will be needed to commend to your Christian spirit the noble cause of non-violence. As far as the Satyagrahis themselves are concerned they pride in their tribulations and thank God for the opportunity of suffering much for what they hold to be a righteous and a sacred cause like the early Christian Martyrs. But that does not condone the violence on the Government side. I am confident that no true Christian, be he Indian or foreign, will leave a stone unturned in finding ways and means of persuading the Government to use humane methods in their attempt to 'maintain Law and Order.'

Gujarat Vidyapith, }  
Ahmedabad, }  
17th April 1930. }

Yours sincerely,  
J. C. KUMARAPPA.

## EQUAL FREEDOM FOR ALL.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your statement "Man does not live by bread alone, but he cannot live without it" is true; and the efforts toward greater and greater freedom throughout the world must continue until the peoples of the earth have learned enough about the subject to establish equal freedom among all sane adult human beings. One essential to such equality of freedom is that all prices (all non-gift working of one adult for another) be fixed on the basis of hour for hour exchange of adult human work. For only so can people get the benefit of each other's special abilities, skill or knowledge without any of them in any way becoming the economic slaves of any of the others. The very essence of economic slavery being the necessity of spending a greater duration from one's life for the benefit of others than others spend from their lives for one's benefit.

Arizona U. S. A. } Sincerely,  
March 19, 1930. } Miss VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW.



## WHAT IS SANATANA DHARMA?

ACHARYA VIVEKANANDA'S VERDICT.

(BY SWAMI ISWARANANDA.)

The orthodox section among the Hindus are now greatly agitated over the Sarda Act for the removal of which they are moving heaven and earth. The obstinacy with which they are clinging to a custom which to say the least, has been draining away for centuries the vitality of the nation is really a pitiable sight. What strikes us as very strange in their opposition campaign is their ignorant hue and cry "Religion in danger!" That slogan has been in their mouth in and out of season whenever any change in the existing order of things has been proposed. We are indeed tired of hearing from these "guardians" of dharma how Sanatana Dharma will be destroyed if the antyajias gain equality of privileges and rights in the Hindu Society or if the Devadasi Service in temples is abolished. This question then is of great importance as various social reform measures are being contemplated and waiting to receive the support of the public. For on the right answer to this question will depend whether the reforms will have the support or opposition of the orthodox Hindus. The Nasik Satyagraha also has brought this question to a head for, His Holiness Dr. Kurtukoti Sankaracharya Swamiji is said to have asked the Satyagrahis to state their creed. Whether they are Sanatanis who believe only in the Vedas or in the Smritis also, though we are at a loss to understand how the statement of their creed is directly going to settle the question of temple entry, for the trustees will have no power to prevent entry to Sanatanis of the upper classes who have ceased to believe in the binding force of the smritis for all times or on all people.

What then is Sanatana Dharma? And who is a Sanatani? It is therefore imperative that every Sanatanist should have a clear grasp of what constitutes Sanatana Dharma. In this age we cannot find a better man to speak with authority on this Subject than Acharya Swami Vivekananda, the Dharmasthapaka of this age, who embraced Hinduism in all its aspects and rejected none, but who gave to every idea and institution of Hinduism its own proper place, its own value and its due importance and who understood it in all its confusing ramifications and complexity and ever interpreted it from the orthodox view point. We therefore quote here the verdict of the Swamiji as to what is Sanatana Dharma to serve as a guide to all Hindus irrespective of caste and creed. Speaking at Madura he said:—

"In India there is a tremendous revival of religion. There is danger ahead, as well as glory; for revival sometimes breeds fanaticism, sometimes goes to extreme, so that often it is not even in the power of those who start the revival to control it when it has gone beyond a certain length. It is better therefore to be forewarned. We have to find our way between the scylla of old superstitious

orthodoxy and the charybdis of materialism. These two have to be taken care of. In the first place we cannot become westerns, therefore imitating the westerns is useless...we must also remember that in every village god and every little superstitious custom is that which we are accustomed to call our religious faith. Local customs are infinite and contradictory; which are we to obey and which not to obey?.....If you put forward your custom they are equally ready with theirs.\* The greatest mistake made is that ignorant people always think that this local custom is the essence of our religion.

"But beyond this there is a still greater difficulty. There are two sorts of truths we find in our Sastras, one that is based upon the eternal nature of man—the one that deals with the eternal relation of God, soul, and nature; the other with local circumstances, environments of the time, social institutions of the period, and so forth. The first class of truths is chiefly embodied in our Vedas our scriptures; the second in the Smritis, the Puranas, etc. We must remember that for all periods the Vedas are the final goal and authority, and if the Puranas differ in any respect from the Vedas that portion of the Puranas is to be rejected without mercy. We find then that in all these Smritis the teachings are different. One smriti says this is the custom and this should be the practice of this age. Another one says, this is the practice of this age and so forth. Now this is the most glorious doctrine you have that eternal truths being based upon the nature of man will never change so long as man lives, they are for all times, omnipresent universal virtues. But smritis speak generally of local circumstances, of duties arising from different environments, and they change in course of time. This you have always to remember that because a little social custom is going to be changed you are not going to lose your religion, not at all. Remember these customs have already been changed. In course of time other laws had to be made. These in turn will have to go, and other smritis will come. This is the one fact we have to learn that the Vedas being eternal will be one and the same throughout all ages, but the smritis will have an end. As time rolls on more and more of the smritis will go, sages will come, and they will change and direct society into better channels, into duties and into paths which are the necessity of the age and without which it is impossible that society can live. Thus we have to guide our course avoiding these two dangers and I hope every one of you here will have breadth enough, and at the same time faith enough to understand what that means and that what I suppose, is the inclusion of everything and not the exclusion. I want the intensity of the fanatic plus the extensivity of the materialist. Let us be progressive as any nation that ever existed and at the

\* Even among Brahmins pre-puberty marriage is not a universal custom. For post-puberty marriage has been the orthodox custom among the Brahmins of Malabar, the Nambudiris, the caste of the great Acharya Sankara. They say they have retained it from the vedic times.

same time as faithful and conservative towards our traditions as Hindus alone know how to be. In plain we have first to learn the distinction between the essentials and the non-essentials in everything. The essentials are eternal, the non-essentials have value only for a certain time, and if after a time they are not replaced by something essential they are positively dangerous." (Extract from the complete works of S. V. Vol III).

No society has ever remained stationary and yet lived on for ages and Hindu Society is no exception to the rule. Our Acharyas of yore knew this and so they were bold to change these non-essentials and we too must be bold in initiating all necessary reforms. It is therefore vain for the orthodox to say that no changes shall be made. Those who weep that with the changes of *deshacharas*, *lokacharas*, and *smarthacharas* the sanatana dharma will go are anything but sanatanis; they are only *acharis* and all those who pin their faith to the eternal called Vedas as the essentials leaving a margin for social changes are the real Sanatanis. True Sanatanis therefore will not be misled by these *acharis* with their silly cry of "Religion in danger! Sanatana dharma in danger."

#### AN AMERICAN VIEW.

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

The difference between the East at its best and the West at its average was never more strikingly displayed than in Mahatma Gandhi's march to the sea, where he and his little band of followers will make salt in defiance of the British monopoly. In no other country, in the twentieth century, would millions of people who are seething with hatred of the foreign invader, be willing to stand by while this ritualistic and symbolic pilgrimage took place. Even in India it is only made possible by the personal power of Gandhi, one of the few great religious leaders of all time. His disbelief in the use of force does not rest on mere expediency. Among the Hindus there are, however, thousands of persons who are not satisfied with his non-resistant philosophy, who feel that the force of the English must be answered with force of their own. If Gandhi should be imprisoned, or should die as a result of some incident in connection with his present campaign, the tidal wave of hatred would break, with consequences which it is impossible to foresee.

Those who expected great things from the Labor government in regard to India have been disappointed but it was probably inevitable that this should be so. It must be remembered that MacDonalld has only a minority in the House of Commons, and that the subject of India is one which arouses automatic and violent response, on a basis of pure prejudice, in the breasts of thousands of Englishmen. It must also be remembered that while governments, Conservative, Liberal and Labor, come and go, the permanent bureaucracy continues to run the British Empire. Even with these allowances made, however, the Labor government has done badly in regard to India. It has continued the historic policy of making concessions, but of never doing so until it is too late. A few years ago, an offer of Dominion status might have stabilized the situation in India for a generation to come. Today, England is at least half-heartedly willing to give Dominion status, and India, angered by the delay and by the well-grounded belief that the politicians promise more than they mean, turns toward complete freedom.

#### THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE GANDHI MOVEMENT

A special cable to the *Hindu*, dated London, April 11, says: "The Vatican news agency at Rome declares that the Gandhi Movement is being followed with particular interest by the Holy See, because it may have considerable effect on the position of the Roman Catholic Church. It says that ecclesiastical authorities are anxious to prevent resistance to foreign political domination becoming opposition to the Catholic religion, which can very easily reconcile itself to the legitimate aspirations of nations seeking to acquire independence. The Catholic Church is, therefore, not prepared to take up an antagonistic attitude to the Gandhi Movement so far as it seeks to win political autonomy, but will only oppose the tendency which is said to have been manifested to create, with the establishment of a Government composed of Indians, a situation of oppression or inferiority for Roman Catholics."

The position of the Catholic Church in regard to the struggles of subject nations for self-Government is clearly indicated in the above paragraph. The Catholic Church is not opposed to the attainment of political autonomy by any country. Catholic philosophers have always taught that the juridical validity of a government depends on the consent of the governed. All authority comes from God but it is the popular will that determines the form of government or the recipient of that authority. Supreme civil authority resides in the nation as a whole and may be transferred to an individual or group of individuals or to elected representatives. "A State," says Cardinal Newman, "depends and rests, not simply on force of arms, not on logic, not on anything short of the sentiment and will of those who are governed." It is comparatively of little importance whether a particular State is a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy or a combination of all these forms of Government. "The right to rule," says Pope Leo XIII, "is not necessarily bound up with any, special mode of Government. It may take this or that form, provided that it be of a nature to ensure the general welfare." Whether the future constitution of India be on the basis of Dominion Status or even complete independence it is of little importance in the eyes of the Catholic Church. She has never opposed the legitimate aspirations of any country or nation for self-rule.

But in the struggle for self-government it is to be hoped that Indian leaders will not identify Catholic missions with Government agencies. Catholicism is a universal religion, knows no differences of race or country and is adapted to all classes of people. It is a spiritual power which knows no geographical, racial or cultural distinctions. Unfortunately there is an impression in the minds of a section of the people that all missionaries, whether Catholic or Protestant, are agents of the Government in the work of civilisation and education: "If any army," said Keshab Chandar Sen in a lecture in 1866, "holds India for England, it is the

army of Christian missionaries." We wonder how such a great religious and social reformer could have so grossly misunderstood the purpose of missionary effort. The country has undergone tremendous changes since this strange view was expressed but even now the motives of missionary work have not been properly grasped by the bulk of the people of the country. No impartial observer of the work of Catholic missions can have the least doubt about the essentially spiritual nature of their aims and objects. Catholic missionaries take no part in the political movements of the country nor are they in the least antagonistic to the struggle of the Indian people for political and economic freedom.

The Catholic Church has no reason to fear any antagonism to mission work as the outcome of impending political changes. She can easily reconcile herself to any form of government. And the history of the country and the events of the past ten years do not justify the anticipation of any organised and active opposition towards the work of the Christian missionaries. Catholicism has not relied on Western Governments for protection in the past and does not require it in the future. Catholicism flourished and made rapid headway under Hindu and Mahomedan rulers in certain parts of the country. When Christianity was first preached in the interior of the country, many of the native princes struck by the high character, talents, virtues and perfect disinterestedness of the missionaries took them under their protection and accorded to them their support. It is quite possible that under a more Indian form of Government the Church may be better able to assert the fundamentally spiritual nature of her mission and the essential difference between the methods and spheres of Government and those of her own. The Church is concerned with spiritual values and their influence over the lives of men. Any political changes that will not affect their nature are not a matter of serious concern to her. The Catholic Church has not derived any particular advantage from the administration of the country by the British, though their principle of toleration and equal protection for all religions has considerably contributed to her peaceful progress. And we have no reason to anticipate any organised opposition to the Catholic Church from a purely Indian Government. It is quite possible that under the impulse of aggressive nationalism, Christians may be harassed in some places but it is not likely that Catholicism will meet with real persecution or even antagonism. We Catholics have nothing to fear from the impending political developments in the country. With better organisation and consolidation of our forces we may be prepared for any emergency. The future of the Church will depend largely on an able, holy and zealous Indian clergy and an enlightened laity who will give proofs of their service to the country and convince their countrymen of the universal and supra-national character of Catholicism.—*The Catholic Leader.*

## THE BEGGAR PROBLEM.\*

### II.

Since that time this Committee has been steadily carrying on the work of rescuing the utterly destitute and helpless beggars in Bombay. During the year 1926 over 500 persons died on the footpaths in Bombay in an utterly destitute state. In the year 1926 that number was reduced to 250. Credit for reducing the beggar mortality in the city must be given to the efforts of the above Committee. (The monthly average of inmates in the beggars' camp at Rowly Hill, Matunga, conducted by the Committee, for the year 1926 was 238). Beggars are sent to Camp by the police authorities and by the medical officers of Hospitals. But the majority are collected from the streets by the members of the Committee and officers of the Salvation Army under whose supervision the Camp is placed by the Committee. Inmates able enough to work are taught handloom weaving, bidi-making and gardening.

### VAGRANCY ACT NEEDED.

As for efforts made to eradicate the evil, this question was first brought up before the Municipal Corporation in the year 1915 and a Committee was appointed to report on the measures required to deal with the problem. The Committee suggested in its report the establishment of a refuge, an infirmary and a work-house and the passing of Vagrancy Act. These proposals were sent to the Government who informed the Corporation in September 1918 that their recommendation would be considered along with the report of a Committee appointed by Government themselves. The latter Committee was appointed in pursuance of a resolution passed in the Bombay Legislative Council on the 6th December 1917. This Committee submitted their report in April 1919 but its consideration was postponed by Government till the meeting of the reformed Council came into existence but Government forgot all about the report. They were reminded of the matter several times by the Bombay Municipal Corporation but they did not even care to reply in time to the letters addressed to them by the Corporation, and finally it was stated that the report was under consideration. After thus sleeping over the matter for more than five years, in the beginning of the year 1925, Government asked Mr. O. H. B. Starte, I.C.S., Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, Bombay Presidency, to prepare a rough scheme for establishing and maintaining a Beggar Settlement in the vicinity of Bombay on the lines of a criminal tribes settlement. This scheme also was ready at the end of the year 1925 and was circulated for obtaining the views of public bodies in April 1926.

### MR. STARTE'S SCHEME.

In Mr. Starte, Government fortunately found a most capable officer for this purpose and his work was further facilitated by allowing him to make a study of the English and continental systems of poor

\* The first part of the article contributed by the late Dewan Bahadur A. K. Pai to the *Social Service Quarterly* was reproduced in the issue of the 19th instant.

relief. He studied the principles underlying the relief of poverty and the measures adopted in other countries for that purpose. Being acquainted with social work among criminal tribes for a number of years his own administrative experience was of much use to him in this connection. The scheme is a comprehensive one and on the whole one can agree with Mr. Starte on the principles and methods embodied in the scheme.

In the opinion of Mr. Starte it is not practically possible to recognise formally by statute the legal obligations of relieving the necessitous poor, though he himself has given a long list of countries who have recognised such a legal obligation. He also thinks that the public relief of the poor should not be under direct Government control, only the Penal Colony being under its control.

He suggests that a committee to be called the Public Assistance Committee be established. One half of this Committee should be chosen by the District Local Board or Municipality from among its elected members and the other half nominated by the Municipality or District Board from outside their numbers, such persons being chosen for their experience in the administration of public assistance or other cognate work. He further suggests that the President of the District Local Board or Municipality should establish where possible a Council called the Council of Social Service and should invite to sit upon it trustees of charities, leaders of the principal religious organisations, and others of experience in dealing with the poor and also some members of the Public Assistance Committee.

The functions of such a Council would be:—

(a) To make a survey of existing charities and of the organisations which the Committee of Public Assistance has established or intends to establish.

(b) To consider what organisations or institutions are needed to complete a scheme so that for every person needing institutional treatment or home assistance there may be a suitable institution or home treatment.

(c) To suggest to suitable existing organizations such extensions of their work as will cover the gaps revealed by the enquiry.

(d) Where existing organisations cannot take up the work to consider the question of assisting in the formation of new organisations to do the work or to undertake the work themselves.

(e) To collect funds to carry on its work and to distribute charities committed to their care.

Mr. Starte does not propose by the institution of the Council of Social Service that existing private charities should be merged into it or that they should lose their present freedom of action. He only asks them that they should voluntarily give information of the assistance given, for the case records, in types of cases where it is likely that the same person will be applying for assistance from other societies affiliated to the Council or is likely to come under the care of the Committee of Public Assistance.

Mr. Starte wants that everyone appointed to a post except to a purely clerical or menial post should be required to pass within a certain fixed time an examination on the subject to be held by Government or to be recognised by it. Mr. Starte says that the Chief Executive Officer should be a member of the Public Assistance Committee and have voting powers, so that his word should carry weight in the deliberations of the Committee.

Mr. Starte says that in order to limit activities of beggars and to make their profession less paying they should be limited to begging in temples and mosques (with the consent of the trustees) or in their vicinity by the consent of the Commissioner of Police or District Magistrate and to house to house begging and not to be violent in language or action.

Mr. Starte proposes the definition of a beggar as follows:—

Any person found in any street, premises or place for the purposes of begging or receiving alms or of giving of alms provided that such person shall not be deemed to be a beggar if he solicits or receives alms in such a way as not to cause annoyance in private premises or in religious places with the consent of the trustees or in the immediate vicinity of religious places as defined by an order in writing by the Commissioner of Police in the Bombay City or by the District Magistrate of the district, provided also he is not by reason of any disease a danger to the public health.

As the classification is an essential condition to success according to the experience of all countries Mr. Starte gives the following list of institutions necessary to make a complete scheme:—

I. Under the Council of Social Service or under other voluntary Associations:—

- (a) Homes for aged persons of good conduct.
- (b) Institutions for infirm persons of good conduct.
- (c) Homes for children.
- (d) School for blind children.
- (e) Training Institute and workshop for blind adults.
- (f) Institutions for other defective children.
- (g) Hostels for lads.

II. Under the Committee of public Assistance:—

- (a) A receiving House.
- (b) A compulsory colony for able bodied men.
- (c) A compulsory colony for infirm and aged persons with hospital accommodation attached.
- (d) A small colony for: } If they are not provided by Voluntary Societies.
- (e) Homes for children. }

III. Under direct Government control:—

- Institutions for mental deficiency cases.
- Colony for intractable cases.

If beggary is to be effectively checked it is not desirable to leave religious beggars alone. There being no standard, it is easy for all sorts of beggars to pose as religious beggars, and moreover, many

of the so-called religious beggars, even at present are undesirable. It is quite necessary at least for the present that their begging activities should be restricted to temples and mosques with the consent of the trustees and to the vicinity of temples and mosques with the permission of the Commissioner of Police or the District Magistrate. But it is not desirable that house to house begging should be allowed in view of the fact that some of the so-called religious beggars are so only in name and cause nuisance to the people in various ways.

In this connection the inference that is drawn by the Committee appointed by Government in 1917 in connection with the treatment of sadhus and fakirs is worth quoting here:—"The opinions collected by us leaves no room for doubt that whatever may be the interpretation of the texts of Hindu or Mohamedan sacred literature on the question of begging, there is a consensus of opinion that begging in public streets and places, as a profession, is contrary to modern notions of religious sanctity. We have therefore arrived at a practical solution of the problem of professional beggary so far as it is associated with the institutions of religious mendicants of both Hindu and Mohamedan faiths that all persons begging in public streets and places be regarded as committing a public nuisance."

Over four years have already passed since the publication of the above report and there are no signs that Government is anxious to carry out the scheme. Government will probably put forward a plea that owing to financial stringency it is not able to spare the money required for giving effect to the scheme. But if the Government will be able to secure the co-operation of all the existing organisations, whether private, communal or of a semi-public character and utilize them to advance the scheme there is a possibility of the whole scheme being made almost self-supporting.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Airmen at India Council:**—Messrs. Ohawia and Engineer visited the India Office at the conclusion of the sitting of the India Council, and, were introduced to Mr. Wedgwood Benn and members of the India Council, and received hearty congratulations from all. The Aga Khan wired from Antibe congratulating Mr. Ohawia on his splendid achievement and hoping that in his return journey he would succeed in winning his prizes. The Aga Khan adds that after the prize is won, he intends to give other prizes for his country-men, including one for a flight to America. Neither Mr. Ohawia nor Mr. Engineer has decided on his immediate plans. Both expect to remain in England at least a month. They have not decided whether to fly back to India. They point out that the machine needs overhauling, which will probably take a fortnight, and for which they will probably fly the aeroplanes from Croydon to Stag Lane, Hendon. Mr. Ohawia estimates the cost of the actual flight at £1,000 and total expenses, including the cost of the aeroplane, at £1,200. At present he holds a civil

aviation scholarship awarded by the Government of India, and hopes, after passing the theoretical examination, to take up employment in civil aviation. Mr. Engineer, who is 17 years of age, is at present studying for engineering. He will continue his studies on his return to India. He also hopes to take up civil aviation.

**Muslim Trustee for Hindu Temple:**—A correspondent writes in the *Hindu*—The Board of Commissioners heard on the 24th a case relating to the hereditary trusteeship of a Mahomedan gentleman to a Mariamman temple. The facts of the case are: In a Mariamman temple in the village of Nattam, Melur Taluk, Madura District, one Abbas Hussain Rowther and his ancestors before him were managing the affairs of the temple, conducting annual festivals and obtaining the first honours. The petitioner's submissions are that the temple was in existence from the times of Thirumalai Naik of Madura that the temple was endowed by Sulava Naik, a chieftain to the family of Abbas Hussain, that there were inscriptions on copper plates about their family reputation and as such the temple was an excepted temple under Section 84 of Act II of 1927, the trusteeship was hereditary, and that the Madura Temple Circle Committee had no jurisdiction over the temple. Then the question arose whether a Mahomedan could be a trustee of a Hindu temple. It was argued on behalf of the petitioner, that Chapter VI of Act II of 1927 applied only to non-excepted temples, that there was nothing illegal for a Mahomedan to manage the secular affairs of the temple, that it was held in 1923 A. I. R. (165) that a Mahomedan Mall could even offer puja to the Hindu deity, that in Shakrapalli in Tanjore district there was a precedent of a Mahomedan trustee for a Hindu temple and that therefore the Board should declare the temple as excepted and trusteeship as hereditary. The Commissioners after hearing arguments and making necessary local enquiries declared the temple 'excepted' under Section 84 Cl. 2 of Act II of 1927. The orders as to the hereditary trusteeship were reserved.

**Buddha Society (Bombay) Exhibition:**—We are requested to state that the last day to send the exhibits for this exhibition is the 5th of May.

**Miss Kemchand, Secretary A. I. W. C.**—On Saturday the 13th April 1930, at 5 p. m. there was a largely attended meeting of women at the Kundanmal Girls' High School. Mrs. Chaturbai Hiranandani presided. The annual report was read by the local secretary Miss Khemchand. Then followed the impressions of the three delegates to the All-India Women's Conference at Bombay. Thereafter the annual election of members for the managing committee and of office-bearers of the Association took place. The chairman announced the resignation of Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya from the secretaryship of the All-India Women's Conference and the proposal sent by the chief organiser of the All-India Women's Conference, Mrs. Margaret Cousins, that Miss Khemchand should take up the work for the current year. A vote of thanks was proposed to the chair and after an appreciation of the work of the outgoing president, Mrs Chaturbai Hiranandani was given by the secretary it was passed.

**Jail For Women At Vellore:**—A Presidency jail for women, said to be first of its kind in India, was opened at Vellore on the 15th April by Sir Mahomed Usman, member in charge of the jail portfolio.

**Another Informal Conference:**—Talks between the Princes and political leaders have led to the appointment of an informal committee consisting of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Maulana Mohamed Ali, Col. K. N. Haksar and Sir Ohnibhai Mehta to sketch out issues of common interest to British India and the Indian States and make suggestions before the next session of the Assembly in Simla. The Princes assured the leaders of their sympathy with the ideal of Dominion Status and that their desire really was to secure a proper interpretation of their treaties which was not due to fears regarding the political movement in India. British Indian political leaders assured the Princes that they did not stand for interference in their internal administration and stressed the ideal of a Federal India. The Maharaja of Patiala thanked them for their brotherly feelings and hoped there would be some tangible result of their informal talks.

**Goans' Civil Status:**—Recalling, says the *Examiner*, the order of the Government of Bombay in 1926, issued with the agreement of the Portuguese Consul-General here, directing that for the purpose of classification according to race or caste, persons of Portuguese nationality should be divided into three categories viz: Portuguese, Indo-Portuguese and Portuguese Indians according as they were of European, mixed or Indian descent. *The Anglo-Lusitano* (Feb. 22) states that in consequence of representations made by the Goan Union, the Consul-General has requested the Government of Bombay to cancel the above resolution of Nov. 18, 1926; "The Consul-General has further informed the Government of Bombay that the Portuguese Government recognizes no distinctions of race, caste or colour, and has desired that the natives of Goa, Damaun and Diu should in future be described as Portuguese in official documents.

**Hindu Temple in New York:**—New York City is to have a Hindu Temple on Riverside Drive, the first to be erected in this country, says the *Alliance* weekly. The temple is to have a roof garden where its devotees may worship the rising sun. There is no congregational worship, and but one man at a time enters. The founder, educated at Benares, arrived in this country penniless, but he is now the editor of an Oriental magazine, and has been encouraged by a group of interested followers to found the India Society, and raise funds for the temple. He claims that the caste system is already being developed in this country.

**Buddhist Temple in London:**—According to the *Record of Christian Work*, the first Buddhist temple in London is to be built in the West End. A site has been acquired and the temple will be modelled on that of the famous Caves of Ajanta in Hyderabad, believed to date from 200 B. C. At a public meeting in Colombo it was decided to send three priests to London, where it is estimated there are about 500 Buddhists. A wealthy Ceylonese, who has given 75,000 rupees (dollars 35,500) towards the establishment of the temple, is meeting the expenses of sending the priests. London already has a Moslem mosque, and the Nizam of Hyderabad has promised five lakhs of rupees (about Dollars 137,500) to the fund which is being raised for building another.

**Aligarh Women Support Sarda Act:**—In a well attended meeting of the Aligarh Branch of the All-India Women's Conference recently the following resolutions were passed:—That the most crying need of the United Province is the secondary and higher education of girls

for which no school or college exists, that this meeting urges upon the Government to open at least one high school in each division and one Government College for women in a central place. That in the opinion of this meeting the enactment of the Sarda Act has introduced a most necessary reform on Indian society and must be welcomed and supported by all well-wishers of the country. That this meeting approves of the bill introduced by Mr. Abdul Haya for making it incumbent on the Muslims of India to act up to the Islamic law of inheritance relating to Muslim women and hopes that it may soon be passed into law by the Legislative Assembly by repealing the customary laws in the Punjab and certain other localities, which are contrary to the Quran.

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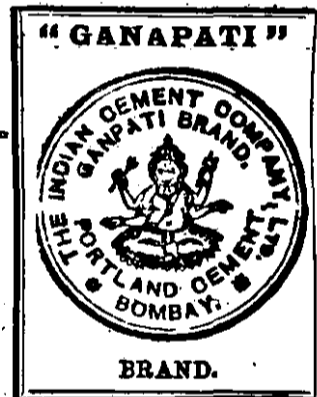
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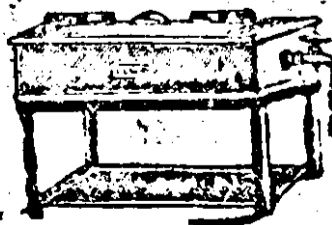
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No. 35

*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
exouse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Mahomed Ali's Peace Efforts:**—Maulana Mahomed Ali telegraphed to the Viceroy on the 15th instant as follows:—"I earnestly appeal to Your Excellency not to permit the situation to become graver by the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. Both he and the Government have made a sufficient demonstration of their strength. I pray that considerations of prestige will prevent neither from seeking a rapprochement by retracing their steps and bringing about peace and freedom. With an assurance from you we shall try our utmost to bring about peace honourable to both. I am telegraphing this to Mahatmaji also and am similarly appealing to him." The Private Secretary replied in a letter dated the 25th, conveying his Excellency's recognition of the spirit of goodwill which prompted the message, and referring to what the Viceroy said at the opening of the Legislative Assembly on the 25th January. Unfortunately, it was in the same speech that Lord Irwin threw cold water on the hopes of an early attainment of Dominion status, and the situation as it has developed since, has to be approached from a fresh point of view on both sides. The Viceroy says that so long as the law is openly defied neither he nor his Government can do anything but resist its subversion by whatever means may be in their power and in whatever manner that may seem most appropriate. This is quite correct but it may be hoped his Excellency does not forget that subversion of law may be as well resisted, and sometimes more effectively resisted, by necessary modifications of the Law as by punitive measures. We do not like the Maulana's view of the present situation as a trial of strength between Government and Mahatma Gandhi. A duel between Goliath armed with all the legal and military machinery of a modern State and a David without even the sling, is a terribly unequal one, and the victory of the former is a foregone conclusion. The present struggle is not between personalities but between principles, namely, whether self-government for India should be reached by way of law-breaking and repression or by way of mutual understanding and sympathy. If Maulana Mahomed Ali can by his proffered

service bring about the substitution of the latter for the former, he will earn the gratitude of the whole country. We have been reading the proceedings of the Malaviya Conference of 1922, and are struck by the remarkable similarity between the position then and to-day. Maulana Mahomed Ali was then one of the "fatwa prisoners" for whose release Mahatma Gandhi stipulated as the condition of his accepting the Round Table Conference offered by Lord Reading, while he is the appreciated correspondent of Lord Irwin to-day. With this single exception, there is a good deal in common between then and now, and even the speeches at the Conference, several of them with very slight modifications, will be as apposite to-day as they were eight years ago. Why not convene a second Malaviya Conference and invite Mahatma Gandhi to allow it to devise means of bringing the present intolerable situation to an honourable end by establishing touch between Government and the national, including the Gandhi, movement?

**Viceroy And The Press:**—It is shown in our leading article on the Viceroy's Press Ordinance that there are no grounds for his Excellency's opinion that the writings in the Press have created the present situation. His Excellency did a great thing when he persuaded the British Government to authorise him to state that the declaration of 1917 meant and was intended to mean Dominion status and that Indian representatives will sit in conference with His Majesty's Government before framing proposals on the receipt of the report of the Simon Commission. The attacks made on him in the British Parliament and Press, only drew Indian support closer to him, but in a moment, we cannot help thinking, of weariness, he drove it away from him by dilating on the distance which must lie between starting on the journey towards and reaching the goal of Dominion status. The disappointment caused by this speech was as great as was the enthusiasm called forth by the first announcement. If the Indian Press wrote bitterly, the British Press was not behindhand in its acrimonious attacks on Indian nationalism. From the days of the Ilbert Bill, it has always been the British Press that set the example followed at a long distance by the Indian. And always the punishment has fallen on the Indian, while the English Press has enjoyed the discomfiture of its opponents and rivals. That the Viceroy could not think of any better means of controlling the situation than this discredited and discarded old weapon of

1910, carries its own moral. It has been suggested that the Ordinance is intended to ensure a "good press" for the Simon Commission's Report which is due to be published in the course of the next few months. If so, the Report stands condemned in advance from the Indian point of view. With many public workers in jail and with the Press gagged and bound by the ordinance, the outlook for the Round Table Conference is far from rosy. The ordinance, we may mention, applies a system of licensing to the Press with very faint judicial safeguard.

**Christian Views Of The Gandhi Movement:**—We have been reproducing the views expressed by Indian Christian journals on various phases of the Gandhi movement and the Gandhi movement as a whole. The week before last we printed an article from the *Guardian* of Calcutta. Last week, we reprinted one from the *Catholic Leader*. This week we reprint an article from the *Indian Witness* published at Lucknow. The political issue lies on the surface and is relatively a minor one, but deep down beneath it are great moral and spiritual issues. It is highly important that the attitude of Christian missions to Indian nationalism should be studied and understood from the standpoint of the several missionary organizations, as upon it must depend the attitude of nationalism to these missions. To come to the article of the *Witness* we cannot help thinking that our contemporary has not tried to understand the Gandhi movement from the Indian point of view, which is, after all, the only point of view which should count in the matter. It is common ground between that movement and the vast majority of Indians and their friends, that violence should have no place in the methods by which constitutional changes are brought about. The *Witness* believes in the ballot and Council Chamber as the most acceptable non-violent method of reform. But when these are not available or are but only very partially available, as in India at present, the *Witness* does not indicate how constitutional changes are to be brought about. It says that Mahatma Gandhi could have achieved great gains if he had co-operated with the Viceroy in the Round Table Conference. While we are by no means so sanguine, we too have been of the opinion that a chance should have been given to the Labour Government to fulfil its promise. Mahatma Gandhi's position is that if the Viceroy at least had taken his stand firmly upon the Indian national demand, he would not have refused to go to the Conference whatever its outcome might be. Lord Irwin was not prepared to do this. Everybody knows, Mahatma Gandhi not the least, the risks and dangers of disobeying the law even in a non-violent manner, and it is for people like the writer in our contemporary "every fibre in whom cries out for the right of every people to determine for themselves the form of government under which they wish to live," to suggest an alternative, instead of denouncing men who may be mistaken but whose honesty, sincerity and patriotism are unquestionable. Indians, however much they may differ from Mahatma Gandhi, must continue to regard him as being at least as capable of understanding what India needs and is capable of as Christian missionary gentlemen from foreign countries.

**President Patel's Resignation:**—Mr. Vithal-bhai J. Patel has resigned the Presidentship of the Legislative Assembly. Under the reformed constitution, the Assembly was to elect its own President from amongst its elected members after the lapse of the first four years when it had a President nominated by the Governor-General. Mr. Patel was the first President so elected. In a long letter to the Viceroy, he sets forth the difficulties against which he had to contend during his term of office, due to the open and veiled opposition of the official members. Mr. Patel's position was more analogous to that of the Speaker of the British House of Commons in the days when it was engaged in its long struggle to establish its influence against the Crown than that at the present day when it has been firmly established. The only difference was that in Mr. Patel's case it was not the Crown he had to contend against, as the Viceroy's support was consistently extended to him, but the officials who had accepted the Reforms without much enthusiasm and were not inclined to go out of their way to make them a success. Mr. Patel proved to be a strong President in maintaining the rights of the elected members of the Assembly, and if at times he seemed to strain his powers almost to the breaking point in withstanding what he suspected to be attempted encroachments on them, this is no more than what great Speakers of the House of Commons have done in similar circumstances. At the last session, the President was obliged to place on record his considered opinion that the Assembly was deprived by the attitude adopted by Government of the opportunity of a free debate on the proposal for imposing a differential duty on cotton goods imported from countries other than Great Britain. Mr. Patel has been forced in view of these facts to the conclusion that he could serve the country better by resigning the Presidentship. With most of the leading men of the Congress party in jail, there is great need for other leaders to keep the non-violent movement within the strict bounds of its creed, and for that reason alone, if for no other, Mr. Patel's resumption of his freedom of action, is very opportune.

**Woman in Nationalism.**—We publish to-day the text of a letter which women of several of the leading families of Gujerat have addressed to Lord Irwin informing his Excellency of their intention to take an active part in the movement to boycott foreign cloth and drink. This is the first occasion on which a British Viceroy of India has been approached by the women of India with such a communication. There is no violation of the law in carrying on a propaganda against foreign cloth and liquor. Government have accepted the duty of protecting Indian cloth by an import duty and they cannot very well object to the propaganda against the devastating evil of drink. We hope that Lord Irwin will be able to return a sympathetic reply to the women's letter in respect of these two questions. Government are naturally most concerned with the law-breaking aspect of the satyagraha movement. But it is not its most abiding or interesting aspect, and is already on the wane. The great awakening which the movement has caused among women is, in our opinion, its most remarkable result and a permanent asset to Indian national life.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 3, 1930.

## THE PRESS ORDINANCE.

The promulgation of the Press Ordinance based on the Press Act of 1910 means that the bureaucracy has succeeded in wearing down Lord Irwin's resistance to repressive measures and that the Secretary of State and the British Government have acquiesced in the Viceroy's defection. Provincial Governments were opposed to the repeal of the Act in 1922, and, according to the Viceroy's statement, they have since been pressing for its re-enactment. As fairly regular readers of the principal Indo-English newspapers, we have not noticed that the repeal of the Act had made them more violent or irresponsible. On the contrary, social and economic questions have come to the foreground, and mere political controversy has lost its disproportionate importance. There was a progressive improvement in the general level of criticism, until the appointment of the Simon Commission which did exacerbate public feeling, the Liberals, being the most vehement, not to say violent, of the critics. The Viceroy's announcements on his return from England created an atmosphere markedly favourable to friendly co-operation between Government and the popular leaders, but this was dispelled by the campaign in the British Press and Parliament and, finally, by Lord Irwin's speech stressing the journey between the starting point and the goal. The reaction naturally led to great bitterness of feeling in the country. All this is clearly set forth in the statement of the Council of the Western India Liberal Association which we publish in another page. But the Viceroy ignores these happenings and attributes the exasperated tone of the Press to the repeal of the Press Act eight years ago. We have not approved of the method of civil disobedience, but it is a gross misrepresentation to assert that it is responsible for the armed outbreak in Chittagong which is clearly an attempt to discredit and overthrow the non-violent movement. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, told the House of Commons on Tuesday that the outbreak was the outcome of the anarchic movement. The Viceroy, on the other hand, includes it among the happenings due to Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent movement. The Calcutta, Karachi and Peshawar incidents seem to have arisen out of the Satyagraha movement miscarrying, but the Press has done nothing to bring about the miscarriage, and to make them the excuse for promulgating the Ordinance is hardly fair. Having decided to gag the Press, there was apparently no need to be particular about assigning reasons for doing so.

The objections to the Press Act were summed up in their Report by the Press Law Committee of 1922 over which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, then the Law

Member of the Government of India, presided. They observed :

We find that, while many local Governments advocate its retention in the interests of the administration, on the other hand the Act is regarded with bitter hostility by nearly all shades of Indian opinion. Most of the witnesses examined before us believe it to be indefensible in principle and unjust in its application. It has been said that the terms of section 4 of the Act are so comprehensive that legitimate criticism of Government might well be brought within its scope; that the Act is very uncertain in its operation; that it has been applied with varying degrees of rigour at different times and by different local Governments and in particular that it has not been applied with equal severity to English-owned and Indian-owned papers. A general feeling was also apparent among the witnesses that the Act is irritating and humiliating to Indian journalism and that the resentment caused by the measure is the more bitter because of the great services rendered to Government by the Press in the war. Many witnesses indeed are of opinion that the Act is fatal to the growth of a healthy spirit of responsibility in the Press and that it deters persons of ability and independent character from joining the profession of journalism. Finally it is maintained that the Act places in the hands of the executive government arbitrary powers, not subject to adequate control by any independent tribunal, which may be used to suppress legitimate criticism of Government and that such a law is entirely inconsistent with the spirit of the reforms scheme and the gradual evolution of responsible Government.

These objections to the old Act are applicable to the new as well.

Lord Irwin had two ways of meeting the present situation the seriousness of which we do not underestimate. The first was, to identify himself publicly with the aspiration of Indians to full self-government, and to announce his resolve to use his great influence with the British Government and people to have effect given to it as early as possible. Lord Hardinge's speech in Madras taking his stand on the side of Indians in South Africa at the time of the satyagraha movement there, furnishes a parallel. Such a declaration on the part of the Viceroy might have had an immediate effect in rallying Indian opinion. This Lord Irwin has not done. Instead, he has elected to promulgate an ordinance bringing the Indian Press under the control of Provincial Governments which have ever been antipathetic towards it. Lord Irwin's act is derogatory to the status of the Press as a liberal profession. Freedom of the Press is no fetish. The dignity of the Press is best maintained by its maintaining a tone of sober responsibility which, in some cases, is at present deplorably lacking. But an Ordinance of this kind is not likely to secure this object. The Sapru committee found that the Act of 1910 had not the effect it was intended to have. They observed :

We are not, however, satisfied that the cessation of such incitements (to murder and violence) is due solely or even mainly to the Act or that in present conditions the ordinary law is not adequate to deal with such offences. Further, it must be admitted that in so far as the law was directed to prevent the more insidious

dissemination of sedition, of general misrepresentations of the action of Government, of exaggerations of comparatively minor incidents, of insinuations of injustice and of articles intended to exacerbate racial feeling, the Act has been of little practical value, for we find that a section of the Press is at present just as hostile to Government as ever it was and that it preaches doctrines calculated to bring the Government and also occasionally particular classes or sections of the community into hatred and contempt as freely now as before the Act was passed. Moreover, we believe that the more direct and violent forms of sedition are now disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerary propagandists than by the Press, and no press law can be effective for the repression of such activities.

The Press Act of 1910 was passed for the especial purpose of dealing with incitements to violence and murder. Mahatma Gandhi's insistence on non-violence has inculcated in the largest section of the public and publicists a deep faith in the superior efficacy non-violence. This has been more than once acknowledged in the official review entitled "India". In the volume dealing with events in 1922-23, it was observed with reference to the absence of anarchical crime in the two previous years: "The spirit of modern India is changing, and young idealists can now find an outlet for their energies in directions more profitable both for their country and for themselves than the organization of anarchic outrage. The idealism characterising some aspects of Mr. Gandhi's movement must certainly not be deprived of its share of the credit for the achievement of this state of affairs". The volume of 1925-26 went further and noted that the failure of Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement had led to the revival of revolutionary crime. "The earlier stages of the non-co-operation movement," it observed, "with its emphasis on non-violence, placed considerable obstacle in their (irreconcilables) way. Mr. Gandhi's ideals and personality captured the imagination of the emotional middle class youths of Bengal to whom the terrorists have always looked for their recruits. In and after 1922, it was gradually realised that the policy of non-co-operation had failed to achieve the ends to which it was immediately directed. The terrorists thereupon came more into the open; and began, in opposition to Mr. Gandhi's own declarations, to preach the necessity of violence." These two passages taken from an official publication issued "under the authority and general approval of the Secretary of State for India" clearly bring out the fundamental antagonism between Mahatma Gandhi's movement and the revolutionary movement. Yet Lord Irwin treats both as belonging to the same category and the new Ordinance does the same. The signal service rendered by Mahatma Gandhi in establishing the principle of non-violence in the popular mind, cannot fail to be adequately recognised by the impartial historian. The main reason for the Act of 1910 does not exist and is not operative now, and that fact makes the promulgation of the Ordinance an act purely of authority without any justification in the circumstances of the times.

#### LIBERALS AND REPRESSION.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye writes:—"You say in your statement that Indian Liberals,—especially Ministers, who were then in office—agreed with the policy of prosecuting Gandhi in 1921. You will remember that an official statement was issued correcting the implication that Indian Ministers agreed with this policy. In fact, Chunilal and myself gave to the Governor a written opinion that we disagreed with the step and the decision was taken by the Executive Council only. As the Department of Justice was reserved, we had no hand in it, and we were not called upon to resign in consequence. As a matter of fact since that time Lord Lloyd bore a grudge against us for not supporting him."

In my statement, I did mention that it was subsequently stated that the Liberal Ministers were not actually consulted about Mahatma Gandhi's prosecution. Dr. Paranjpye says that he and Sir Chunilal Mehta gave a written opinion to the Governor that they disagreed with the step. We did not know this fact which is to the credit of the two Ministers. But what did they do to see that their written opinion was respected by the Governor and the Members of the Executive Council, two of whom were Liberal leaders like themselves? Dr. Paranjpye says that as the Department of Justice was reserved, they did not feel called upon to resign when Lord Lloyd threw their opinion into the waste paper basket. This is not in accord with the intention of the Reforms as it was expressly stated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Even before the Reforms Sir Sankaran Nair felt it his duty to resign, though he was in charge of Education and not of Justice when he dissented from the Government of India's policy on the Punjab atrocities. The Indian Minister's duty is to keep a watchful eye on the whole sphere of administration in Indian interests, and not merely to administer his particular department which can be done equally well by a European Member of Council. If Dr. Paranjpye and Sir Chunilal Mehta had resigned when Lord Lloyd ignored their opinion, they would have saved their Party from the ignominious fate which awaited it at the next General Election. It was only the other day when an ex-Governor—Sir Michael O'Dwyer, or Lord Sydenham or perhaps Lord Lloyd himself—wrote in an English paper that no dog barked when Gandhi was arrested. He could not have said so if two important Indian Ministers had thrown up their jobs in protest against Mahatmaji's arrest.

The Liberals, any more than others, cannot both eat their cake and have it. Two days before the promulgation of the Press Ordinance, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapra wrote a letter in the *Leader*, a summary of which was sent by the Associated Press all over the country, in which he proclaimed that we were heading for disaster. The acts of omission and commission of Government and the Gandhites were sought to be carefully balanced, but it was sufficiently clear on which side, in Sir Tej's

opinion, the greater responsibility lay. Here are a few sentences. "We ought not to disguise it from ourselves and our trustful countrymen that we are heading for disaster, and the forces that are being let loose may soon become uncontrollable." Then, again: "No Government, foreign or national, can afford to see its law broken by large masses of people, and in putting down such breaches there are bound to be excesses on the part of the agency it employs and they in their turn tend to swell the mass of public feeling against the Government. It is equally obvious that however much the leaders of the movement may preach non-violence and themselves act in that principle, the atmosphere created cannot prevent outbreaks of violence due to excess of zeal whether on one side or the other." It needs not much reading between the lines to see that while Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru dislikes violence he is rather more ready to condone it in the case of authority than in the case of civil resisters though in the latter case it is against their principle of non-violence. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was Law Member of the Government of India when the Press Act of 1910 was repealed. He presided over the Committee which reported in favour of the repeal. His letter in the *Leader* may be taken as showing that in his view in the present situation the reasons which operated in his mind in favour of the repeal of the Act, have ceased to operate. It is clear that Liberal opinion is divided on the ordinance. The *Leader* edited by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, has condemned it in strong terms. A Bombay paper which also claims to represent Liberal opinion has, on the other hand, justified it. The public is entitled to know which is the true Liberal view.

If the Liberals had any chance of functioning as an independent political unit after the debacle of 1923, they irrevocably lost it when, at the instance chiefly of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, they decided upon non-co-operating with the Simon Commission. By that decision, they ceased to exist as a party whose working principle was co-operation and became a unit of the non-co-operation party. If they had been faithful to their principle, they should have appeared before the Commission and given all the help they could under protest. They embraced for the time being instead the principle of non-co-operation and, when they did so, they handed over their leadership to those who were well drilled in the technique of non-co-operation. When the hartals, black flags and other demonstrations, which are in the nature of the non-co-operation routine, followed as they were bound to do, some of the Liberals got alarmed and publicly dissociated themselves from these incidents, while others floated with the flowing stream. Even after the Viceroy's statement announcing the Round Table Conference and definitely declaring that Dominion Status was the goal, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others signed the Delhi memorandum demanding that the Conference should be to consider a scheme of immediate self-government and that the Congress should have predominant representation

on it. After having stood with the Congress party and encouraged it so far, they suddenly turn round and denounce it as leading the country to disaster, and a section of them support the Press Ordinance of the Viceroy. This wobbling on their part has made them ineffectual as an independent party without a constructive policy and programme of their own, and, therefore, obliged to wait upon events instead of directing their course.

What the country needs is a party with a social programme better co-ordinated and more comprehensive than that of Mahatma Gandhi, and a method inspired by faith in co-operation as the sovereign principle of progress without untoward reactions. My own hope is that the Gandhi movement itself may as the result of experience find that it can progress most speedily by utilising instead of antagonising existing agencies. I think it is already feeling its way in that direction and hence I agree with Mr. G. K. Devadhar's observation in a press interview on Thursday that the All-Parties Conference which is to meet in Bombay next week might well undertake the task of bringing about a rapprochement between the Government and Mahatma Gandhi.

K. NATARAJAN.

#### GUJERAT WOMEN'S LETTER TO THE VICEROY.

The text of the joint letter addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy by a number of women from Gujerat with reference to the picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops, is published in today's *Young India*. The letter is as follows:—

Your Excellency,

We, the undersigned women of Gujerat, have come to the conclusion that we may not keep ourselves aloof from the great national upheaval that is taking place. We are in full sympathy with the civil disobedience campaign in respect of the salt tax. Our sisters in the villages have already begun the manufacture of contraband salt.

But we feel that we must, as women, find an additional and special field for our activity. We feel the force of Gandhiji's argument that women are better fitted for dealing with the question of the prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs and boycott of foreign cloth. Drink has desolated many a home, and foreign cloth has deprived millions of India's women of their employment during leisure hours, which amount in the aggregate to no less than four months in the year.

These two are therefore questions that concern the women more than men. And in so far as they can be dealt with through picketing, i. e., an appeal to the hearts of those who traffic in these things, and those who are lured to the drink and the drug or the foreign cloth shops, we feel that we can make a more successful effort than men. And women doing the work must automatically ensure its peaceful nature.



As we embark upon the campaign we should respectfully point out that it is essentially the duty of the State to prohibit traffic in intoxicating drinks and drugs because they ruin both mind and body and homes of those who indulge in them and to prohibit the entry of foreign cloth inasmuch as it has brought about the economic ruin of the villages of this unhappy land.

As to the importation of foreign cloth it might be urged that the argument that applies to foreign cloth applies also partially to the cloth manufactured in Indian mills. Only the output of Indian mills is so far short of the requirements that Khadi can have nothing to fear from them.

We wish that we had time enough to canvass the opinion of our sisters in the other provinces. But we know what their opinion is likely to be. After all we are not dealing with new problems. These have already been before the nation through its national organisation, the Congress. What we are seeking to do is to dedicate ourselves more to these questions than to the others which along with these are being dealt with in terms of the Independence movement.

We are,

Yours faithfully,

Sarda Mehta.	Sulochna Chinubhai
Indumati C. Divan.	Tanumati Chinubhai
Manorama Chinubhai.	M. Ranchhodlal
Parvatibehn Girdharlal Amritlal.	Sarladevi Ambalal Sarabhai
Vijayagauri Durgaprasad Lashkari.	Vasantgauri Narsidas
Mahalakshmi Mansukhram.	Mrs. Ohimanlai Nagindas
Chaturlakshmi Jivanlal Divan.	Anasuya Sarabhai
Vijayagauri Balavantrao Kanuga.	Motibai Ranchhodlal
Amina Kureshi.	Lilavati Harilal Desai
Lakshmi Bai Khare	Nirmala Bakubhai Mansukhbhai
Mithubehn Petit	Santok M. Gandhi
Amina Tyabji	Durga Mahadev Desai
Rajhana Tyabji	Gangabehn Ranchhod-
Kanchangauri Mangaldas Girdhardas	das Bhatia
	Savita Trivedi
	Mrs. Jayantilal Amritlal.

#### WHO IS WHO OF THE SIGNATORIES.

Many of the signatories to the letter belong to well-known families in Gujerat.

Shrimati Sharda Mehta is the wife of Dr. Sunant Mehta, a medical practitioner and follower of Mr. Gandhi.

Srimati Indumati C. Divan presided over the Women's Conference recently held at which it was decided to picket liquor and foreign cloth shops.

Shrimati Mahalakshmi Mansukhram is the wife of a Ahmedabad millowner.

Miss Mithubehn Petit, has been actively assisting Mr. Gandhi in his campaign.

Miss Amina and Miss Rajhana are daughters of Mr. Abbas Tyabji, a follower of Mr. Gandhi.

Lady Sulochana Chinubhai is the widow of Sir Chinubhai Madhavdas, Baronet and millowner of Ahmedabad.

Shrimati Sarladevi Ambalal Sarabhai is the wife of Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, a rich millowner of Ahmedabad. Shrimati Anasuya Sarabhai is the sister of Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai and a social worker.

Shrimati Lilavati Harilal Desai is the wife of Mr. Hari Prasad Desai, F. R. C. S. Ahmedabad.

Shrimati Durga Mahadev Desai is the wife of Mr. Mahadev Desai, Secretary of Mr. Gandhi, who was sentenced to imprisonment last week.

Shrimati Savita Trivedi is the Principal of the Mahila Vidyalaya, Ahmedabad.

#### BOMBAY LIBERALS' STATEMENT.

The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association issued the following statement to the press on the 25th April :

"The Liberal Party made it clear at the session of the Liberal Federation at Madras that they wanted the establishment of Dominion Status for India immediately with such reservations and safeguards as may be necessary for the transition period and welcomed the Round Table Conference and expressed their willingness to participate in it for the above purpose. They also urged upon the Government the extreme desirability of holding the Round Table Conference at an early date and regarding the composition of the Indian delegation they considered that it was essential for the success of the conference that the "progressive elements in the country should have a preponderant representation."

"Unfortunately the Government have taken no action to reassure the public mind by making an announcement of the specific terms of reference to the Round Table Conference and the date of its meeting. On the contrary various pronouncements by responsible statesmen have created an atmosphere of considerable suspicion as to the real intentions of Government. The main reason why the offer of the Round Table Conference was not accepted by certain sections of the public was the loss of faith and confidence in the intentions of Government. That situation has been further emphasised by the inaction of Government and their failure promptly to implement the Viceregal pronouncement. This has naturally weakened the position of all sections of the public who welcomed the Round Table Conference and has reduced considerably their influence and power to induce the public to put their faith in the achievement of an early realisation of the desire of the Indian people to be a self-governing dominion by constitutional means.

"The Liberals firmly hold their view that the Civil Disobedience movement will not only fail in bringing us nearer to the early attainment of our national aspirations but will on the contrary retard it and plunge the country into a violent turmoil in spite of the determination of those who have inaugurated it to keep non-violent. The movement has gained accession of strength owing to economic conditions now obtaining in the country. Commercial, industrial and trading interests of the country

had begun to despair of securing under the present regime their rightful claims to unhampered development and progress. They feel that under the present system of administration their interests are and will always continue to be subordinated to outside interests.

"The Liberals repeat what they have often indicated, namely that the only way to counteract the present disruptive tendencies and restore faith in the efficacy of constitutional methods is not a policy of repression but courageously to make clear that Britain means to establish Dominion Status for India without any delay and that the Round Table Conference will consider and evolve a scheme to that end with necessary reservations and safeguards for the transition period.

"The Liberals strongly disapprove of severe sentences on some civil resisters in various places and are of opinion that such uncalled for sentences are calculated to further inflame the public mind.

"The Liberals strongly urge upon Government the desirability of instituting a searching enquiry by an independent tribunal into the allegations that have been openly made regarding the mal-treatment of satyagrahis by the police in various places."

#### LORD IRWIN ON THE PRESS ORDINANCE.

The Viceroy and Governor-General has promulgated an Ordinance to provide for the better control of the press. In his statement prefacing it Lord Irwin says:—

The Indian Press Act which was passed in 1910 with the object of preventing dissemination of sedition and of incitements to violence was repealed in 1922. It was suggested at the time that the Act was not wholly effective for these purposes and that in any case the political situation and the new constitutional outlook rendered its retention undesirable. It was believed that the press, if left to itself, would be able to overcome those malignant influences to which a part of it was subject.

On various occasions since 1922 the evil effects of the writings in the Indian Press in promoting a spirit of revolution and stirring up extreme hatred of the Government established by law in British India have been brought prominently to notice by certain local Governments.

It has been recognised that the anticipations formed in 1922 have not been fulfilled but that on the contrary the tone of a certain section of the press has been growing almost steadily worse with its immunity from effective control.

The measure of the effectiveness of the Press Act has been shown very clearly by the remarkable accentuation since its repeal of those features which it was intended to check.

Prosecutions are from time to time instituted in the worst cases but it has always been recognised that these provide only a partial remedy and, looked at broadly, are ineffective to control the ceaseless output of extreme seditious and revolutionary propaganda.

Nevertheless, my Government, looking to the constitutional developments that are anticipated and confidently expecting that these would operate to remove many of the causes which underlie the extreme hostility of a section of the Press, have consistently refused to deal merely with symptoms while they are engaged in a search for more far reaching remedies.

The developments, however, since the initiation of the civil disobedience movement have made it necessary to approach the problem no longer as one of general policy but as one that constitutes a serious and dangerous emergency.

The civil disobedience movement, whatever may have been the professed object of those who launched it, is rapidly developing, as all reasonable men foresaw, into violent resistance to constituted authority.

The riots at Calcutta and Karachi, the armed outbreak at Chittagong and the grave disturbances at Peshawar show clearly that the spirit of revolution fostered by the civil disobedience movement is beginning to emerge in dangerous forms.

Nothing at the present moment is opening so powerfully to promote that spirit as the writings in the press, many inciting openly to violent and revolutionary action others by consistent laudation of the civil disobedience movement, encouraging a spirit of lawlessness throughout the country.

In these circumstances I have felt it my duty to promulgate an Ordinance which revises the powers of the Press Act of 1910 with certain amendments which the conditions of the present time appeared to require. The measure is not designed to restrict the just liberties of the press or to check the fair criticisms of the administration. It is one of emergency but the emergency is plain and my responsibility for dealing with it is equally plain.

I trust that at this time all the more sober and stable elements in India realising what must now clearly be seen to be the inevitable issue of this lawless movement will unite with me and my Government in resisting the forces of anarchy and leading the country back into the paths of peace and orderly progress.

**Prisoner's Rights:—**We reprint in another column the new rules regarding the treatment of prisoners issued by the Government of Bombay. These rules are framed on the lines recommended by the Government of India which has had under consideration the question of the treatment of political prisoners. Political prisoners as such are not provided for, but the new rules indicate with sufficient clearness the class for whom the more lenient treatment is intended. This is by no means a concession to but a right of men who in the pursuit of a public and unselfish object find themselves in conflict with laws which they regard as oppressive. The object of restraining these men is to give time to the Legislature to consider the best way of modifying the law or laws objected to so as to bring them in line with public opinion without dislocating the machinery of administration, and restrictions of a humiliating or annoying character are clearly out of place.

## INDIA AND PEACE.

The *Commonwealth* of Australia, a journal devoted to religious and social questions, shows in its latest issue a greater interest in Indian affairs. We reproduce below a para on the political situation in this country :—

If we are to trust non-British reports, India is by no means a happy country, and no small section of the people is become restive and impatient under British control. "To grant complete Dominion Status at this time," writes Kirby Page in *Unity*, "would undoubtedly be a dangerous procedure; to withhold it may prove to be far more perilous." Mr. Kirby Page's article in *Unity* is dated from Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram, Sabarmati, India. The Non-Co-operative Movement, led by Gandhi, and by Jawaharlal Nehru, president of the Indian National Congress—"a graduate of Harrow and Cambridge," who is seeking to organise students and workers for more efficient activity in the campaign for independence from Great Britain, on the one hand, and from the landlords and industrialists on the other—is a powerful one. Its members do not believe in violence. But then there are others who might be roused to violence against the British who number only 165,000 as against 320 millions. And, then, there are some firebrand communists whose methods are not those of peace and goodwill. What will happen when the non-co-operative refuses to pay taxes? Gandhi, Mr. Kirby Page tells us, is conscious of the dangers accompanying independence, but is aware also of the danger of attempting to hold in subjection a proud people, who think that Britain is in India for her own selfish ends, and regards India as a conquered country and Indians as an inferior race. India seems to be coming of age, and quite naturally looks with envious eyes on the status of Ireland, Canada, and Australia. It is fortunate that Mr. MacDonald is at the head of affairs, and not a militaristic Government. Mr. Kirby suggests that Mr. MacDonald should visit India, as he visited America, and meet Mr. Gandhi in friendly conference. It is a big responsibility that rests on us all, as members of the British Commonwealth, in guiding the future of our fellow subjects in India. But, alas! it is to be feared many of us do not realise our responsibility, and have little knowledge of or interest in Indian affairs. The Peace Society and the W.I.L. might, perhaps, secure addresses on India that would serve to enlighten and to stir up interest.

## "WHERE WE STAND."

The *Indian Witness*, Lucknow, the organ of the American Methodist Mission, has explained its attitude towards Mahatma Gandhi's movement in a leading article which we reproduce below and a comment on which appears in our editorial columns :—

Just what is *Satyagraha*? It seems to be somewhat elastic in its applications. It is at times made to stand for the turning of the other cheek. It seems to imply the suffering of violence without any

attempt to defend one's self or to retaliate. The picture of a sheep before its shearers being dumb and that of a lamb led to slaughter without opening its mouth, are said to be true to the spirit of *satyagraha*. It is supposed to embody non-violence.

One would conclude from these general impressions that the true follower of *satyagraha* would be passive and that his aim would be not to encourage acts of violence.

But the term seems to be receiving a wider definition. We hear of the salt *satyagraha*. In this there is a deliberately worked out plan to violate the salt laws. True no violence is used in breaking those laws. But in many ordinary cases of law breaking no violence is used. The man who forges a cheque uses no violence. If he is a radical communist and believes in having all bank accounts in common he would probably consider himself to practice communistic *satyagraha*. The liquor bootlegger in America and the drug bootlegger in India do not believe that there should be laws restricting their operations and so they practice non-violent *satyagraha*.

The salt *satyagraha* is in exactly the same class. That the world-famed non-co-operator is the leader, does not change the fact one iota. Our esteemed contemporary the *Social Reformer*, recently took us to task for being un-Christian in our lack of appreciation for the methods of Mr. Gandhi. We have never questioned Mr. Gandhi's high purposes but we do most emphatically question both his wisdom and his consistency in his salt *satyagraha* and his whole civil disobedience programme. And we are thoroughly Christian in doing so.

We have said before and say again that there was every reason why Mr. Gandhi might have co-operated with the Viceroy in making the Round Table what he wished it to be. If he had brought his great influence to bear upon the issues that would be presented there, he could have tested the response which his fellow Indians might be ready to give to a line of constructive statesmanship. For him to drag in age long contentions and to make a list of preliminary demands, did not tend to inspire confidence in his ability to carry through a really workable and sound programme.

Mr. Gandhi appears to have expected that he would be arrested and probably his plans have been a bit upset because he has been allowed to go his way. He has looked upon the riots as almost inevitable outcroppings of his movement. He attempts to wash his hands of all real responsibility. He has expressed himself as disappointed that the youth of India has not more eagerly and in larger numbers responded to his appeal. He speaks of War Councils and urges his followers to resist even to death, having their personal liberty violated by those charged with enforcing the laws.

We are asked to consider all this as a programme of self-sacrifice and patriotism incomparably beyond anything the world has ever seen. We are charged

with being out of sympathy with India's nationalistic aspirations unless we sign on the dotted line an endorsement of this programme. We cannot so sign. But we claim a very real and vital interest in India's national hopes. We have in our veins the blood of those who fought in the American Revolutionary war. Both our grandsires and our sire, plus an uncle or two, fought side by side with John Brown and the rest of those "freestaters" who won Kansas for the Union as a free state. Every fibre in us cries out for the right of every people to determine for themselves the form of government under which they wish to live. But we believe thoroughly in non-violent methods of changing laws, in the duty and privilege of any minority to peacefully make its positions known, and in the right of the ballot and the Council Chambers to ultimately register the public will. We refuse to grant to any minority the right to dictate by any method what the majority must believe and do. The minority has the right of transforming its minority into the majority if it can do so through the instrumentalities of the forum and the ballot. It has no other rights that democratic institutions may safely tolerate, for the sure road to despotism lies in allowing any minority to force its will upon the majority.

There is not much to choose between when it comes to minorities. A minority like the present Government that has certain established methods of procedure and a solemnly declared policy of reform which embodies thorough-going democratic principles, has much that commends itself over against another minority that desires to usurp power but which gives no guarantee that a stable and fair government can be established or that the principles of democracy will be allowed to develop. Our influence will always be upon the side of law and order while claiming an alienable right to help make the laws and determine their application. We believe this to be in every way Christian in its spirit and in its purpose.

For ourselves and for others we hold that India's highest patriotism and the demands of India's fullest national development do not lie in the direction of subscribing to Mr. Gandhi's present programme of out and out anarchy and revolution. We believe in calling a thing by its proper name, and anarchy is anarchy just as revolution is revolution.

Government has probably been well advised to move slowly in the matter of taking active steps to check the lawbreakers. Our own opinion is that the salt law breakers might have been absolutely ignored. In reality the salt law is not concerned with the spirit or the letter. It is concerned only with the revenue. There was little or no danger that salt makers would ever have seriously challenged the revenue feature of the salt act. These multitudes of salt makers are not interested in the salt they make but merely in the making of it. Government is interested in salt, salt by the train load and ship load. So quite probably the salt *satyagraha* could have been met with a prosecution *satyagraha*, without any very serious effects.

But it is serious to have national leaders who are willing to appeal to the public and particularly to the youth, urging them to break the laws of the land. We take our stand squarely against any such philosophy of government as this and as a Christian journal we appeal to Christians and all others in India, to combine in demanding that India be allowed to work out her own destiny in her Council Chambers and with her ballots, and that a small minority of right hearted and wrong headed zealots be not permitted to cloud the issue and threaten the peace and security of every one in India.

#### TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

The Government of India recently announced the principles on which they desired that the jail rules in force in the several Provinces for the classification of prisoners should be revised. In pursuance of the principles there laid down the Government of Bombay have now issued instructions for the separation of all convicted prisoners into three classes.

Class A will include only a limited number of exceptional cases. Prisoners may be admitted to class A if:

- (1) they are non-habitual prisoners of good character;
- (2) they, by reason of their education, occupation and superior mode of living, are clearly of high social-status.

They will not be eligible for Class A if they have been convicted of:

- (1) offences involving :
  - (a) elements of cruelty, moral degradation or personal greed;
  - (b) serious or premeditated violence;
  - (c) serious offences against property;
- (2) offences relating to the possession of explosives, firearms and other dangerous weapons with the object of committing an offence or enabling an offence to be committed;
- (3) abetment or incitement of offences falling within these sub-clauses.

Class B will include prisoners while not qualified for admission to Class A, have by social status, education or habits of life, been accustomed to a mode of living superior to that of the ordinary jail population.

The ordinary jail population will constitute Class C.

Prisoners in Class A will have, as far as may be practicable, separate cell accommodation, a few useful articles of furniture, reasonable facilities for association and exercise and suitable sanitary and bathing arrangements. They will be given a diet superior to that of the ordinary jail population and will be permitted to supplement it at their own expense. They will be permitted to wear their own clothes. They will be given increased facilities for reading and will be allowed to write and receive one letter

and have one interview, a fortnight. They will also be permitted to use their own cooking and feeding utensils. A lamp, or electric light, when available, will be provided for use up to 10 p.m.

Prisoners in Class B will be given the same diet as that in Class A, but will not be permitted the privilege of supplementing it. They will wear prison clothing, modified in certain respects and of a better type than that worn by C Class prisoners, due regard being paid to their health and to the mode of living to which they are accustomed. They may write and receive one letter and have an interview, once a month. Where cellular accommodation is available a lamp, or electric light, will be provided for their use up to 10 p.m. or where they are living in association barracks one or two good general lights will be provided for the common use of the prisoners in each barrack.

Similar arrangements will, as far as conditions may require or permit, be made for the special treatment of undertrial prisoners of these classes.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**The Vatican and the Gandhi Movement:**—Some of the papers here have reproduced the following cable, sent (it should be noted) from London: London, April 11.—The Vatican News Agency declares that the Gandhi movement is being followed with particular interest by the Holy See because of the effects it might have on the position of the Roman Catholic Church. Ecclesiastical authorities are said to be anxious to prevent the resistance to a "foreign political domination" from becoming an opposition to the Roman Catholic religion, which can very easily reconcile itself to the legitimate aspirations of nations to acquire their independence. Consequently it is stated that the Roman Catholic Church will not be prepared to take up a position contrary to the Gandhi movement in so far as that movement seeks to win political autonomy, but will only oppose a tendency to create, with the establishment of a Government composed of Indians, a situation of oppression or of inferiority for Roman Catholicism. This is the first time we have heard of "The Vatican News Agency." Such an institution would be very welcome, but if it were established, the fact would certainly be announced by the Holy See. No such announcement has been made. We doubt very much therefore whether this statement has any official authority at all. And our mistrust is increased by the very contents of the message. For, while it is perfectly true that the Catholic Church is in no way opposed to a movement towards political autonomy as such—in any country—it certainly would not, given the present conditions in India, recognise Mr. Gandhi's "Campaign of Civil Disobedience" as a legitimate means to attain this end. We have therefore no hesitation at all in regarding this message, as it stands, as another journalistic *canard*. At most, it may represent the view of some subordinate official at the Vatican, with whom the journalist responsible for the cable had a talk.

**A Buddhist Upasika:**—Mrs. D. B. Jayatillake, the wife of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatillake, M. L. C. who died at Colombo, Ceylon, on the 30th December last, was a woman of exceptional charm and attainments,

observes the *British Buddhist*. She was the daughter of an eminent scholar and educationist—the late Pandit Batuwantudave—who was one of the leaders of the movement for the revival of learning, which swept over Ceylon during the latter half of the nineteenth century. She was born in 1874 and thus was 55 years of age at the time of her death. Possessed of uncommon talents and a practical idealism, Mrs. Jayatillake occupied a position of public usefulness in Ceylon, which was a credit to Sinhalese womanhood. As the wife of that distinguished servant of Ceylon, she identified herself with every movement for the regeneration of her country. Her husband, who has dedicated his life to the service of his religion and people, found in her a true friend and valued adviser, for her conception of wifehood was a very comprehensive one—it meant making all her husband's interests, her own, and doing her best to advance them. A Buddhist *upasika* of the noblest type, she devoted herself wholeheartedly to the service of others. Education and religion were the causes that appealed to her most; and she contributed materially to the success of the movement for the spreading of education among women. Special mention must be made of her work in connection with the establishment and growth of the Visakha Vidyalaya—a splendid secondary school for Buddhist girls in Colombo. As a member of the Board of Education her services to the cause of education were considerable. No small credit is due to her for the popularising of Dhamma-preaching on Sundays, which is now a regular feature of life in Colombo. It would be an almost boring task to enumerate all the great causes Mrs. Jayatillake helped in various ways. The Colombo Social Service League, the Victoria Home for Incurables, the Mallika Home for the Aged, the Cottage Industries' Society, are only a few among them. She was interested in the Buddhist movements in Europe, and, during her visits to England, associated herself with the good work done by Buddhist workers in this country.

**Education of the Anglo-Indian:**—Colonel Gidney delivered a tirade against the present system of European education in India. He particularly directed his attack against the Senior Cambridge examination as being unenfitable for Anglo-Indians and urged its substitution by a matriculation examination or an examination of a similar standard. The occasion, was the annual meeting of the Bengal Provincial branch of the Anglo-Indian and Domestic European Association (All-India and Burma), held at Calcutta. Mr. E. T. McCluskie, M. L. C., presided.

**Shiah-Sunni Dispute Settled:**—The age-long feud between the Shias and the Sunni Oraksis of Tirah, which culminated in August, 1927 in a wholesale ejection of the Shias from their village in Tirah by a combined force of Sunnis, Oraksis and Afridis, has at last reached a more peaceful phase. Negotiations, which have been in progress for more than a year, ended on March 29, in a joint jirgha of the tribes concerned at Kohat. At this Jirgha the Sunnis agreed to restore their ancestral lands to the Shias and both the parties gave guarantees for future peace in this area. The peace has been accepted by the Sunni Oraksi leader, the notorious Mulla Akhun Zada, whose opposition had hitherto prevented any amicable settlement of this thorny problem. There is at present every indication that the tribes intend to carry out the peace terms.

**Cosmopolitan Co-operative Housing Society:—** The Karachi Municipality has sanctioned about 58,000 square yards to the above Society for building houses for their new members. The area (excluding roads) is to be divided into 53 plots and is situated in close proximity to the existing G plots of the Society. The Cosmopolitan, as its name indicates, is the only non-communal society in Karachi into which are admitted members of all communities who have lived in this city, at least for 6 months. In the allotment of the new plots, it is desired that as many communities as possible, Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian and Jew, should be represented. The Cosmopolitan has already built about forty-five houses for its members within 21 months and 15 more houses are under course of construction; and when the full programme, as at present contemplated, is finished the Society will have housed about 130 members in their own dwellings. The amount of money hitherto spent on the houses exceeds 8½ lakhs. The Cosmopolitan bids fair to become the biggest co-operative housing society in Sindh and even in the presidency. Intending applicants for membership who should come from as many communities as possible are requested to communicate with Mr. Udham Kewalram, Hon. Secretary, at the Society's Office in the Colony (Punayapur) or with Mr. K. Punniyah, President.—*The Sind Observer.*

**Christianity in Action:—** Outspoken criticism of the alleged un-Christian example set by White men to the Natives of Africa were made by Lord Mountmorres at a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge held in London under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lord Mountmorres, formerly vicar of Swinton, Manchester, has travelled extensively in Africa. Whereas the European civil servants and the traders in Africa were all splendid in many ways, Lord Mountmorres said they were not good enough in the lump because they failed to present to the Native, who was keenly observant and critical, an adequate example of what the White man's Christianity can rise to. He insisted that the failure of the Europeans in Africa to attain a higher standard had a disastrous effect on the attempts to convince the so-called backward races. Christianity is a better religion than their own. The White man had disturbed the minds of the Natives, creating a gap which, unless the European could fill it with Christianity, would leave the Native a prey to materialism. One Chief, Lord Mountmorres stated, journeyed to Accra to study Christianity among the Whites and see whether it could not be adopted by his own tribe. What he saw in Accra convinced him that the change was not worth while.—*Natal Mercury.*

**Mr. Hasan Imam:—** Boycott of foreign cloth propaganda is proceeding vigorously. Mr. Hasan Imam and his whole family have taken the Swadeshi vow and are taking a prominent part in the propaganda. On the 24th April a huge meeting was held at Dinapur, Mr. Hasan Imam presiding. Exhorting the people to boycott foreign goods, particularly foreign cloth, he said that their real religion should be the religion of Indian nationalism, and they must all be worshippers of the common motherland. Two and a half crores worth of cigarettes were imported into the country. He had been a sinner in that respect, but had taken a vow not to touch any more. The course handspun and hand-

woven cloth of his land would be to him a glory indeed, in preference to the silken fabrics of foreign make.

**Three Salt Satyagrahis recant:—** A Bombay Government Press Communique says: "Three salt law breakers who had each been sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment and to a fine of Rs. 50 by the 2nd Class Magistrate, Vagra appealed expressing regret for their action and praying that they might be dealt with under Section 562, Criminal Procedure Code as they were prepared to offer sureties. Their request was granted and they were released after giving sureties."

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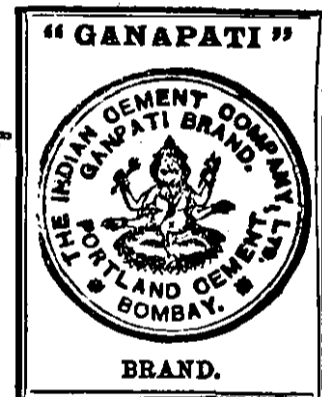
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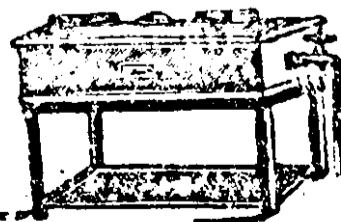
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Vol. XL.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1930

No. 36

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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<p>Earthquake in Burma. The Youth Movement. The Vatican and the Gandhi Movement. Mahatmaji and the Missionaries. Buddhist Art and Antiquities. To The Mahatma. Mahatma Gandhi's Arrest. "Sowing The Wind." Women Crusaders In India.</p>	<p>A Christian View of the Gandhi Movement. Indian Crisis—An Appeal To Men Of Good Will. How Mahatma Gandhi Was Arrested. Government Communiqué. Mahatma Gandhi's Message. Mr. Gandhi's Second Letter To The Viceroy.</p>
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### NOTES.

**Earthquake In Burma:**—The details of the havoc caused by the earthquake which occurred in Burma on Monday the 5th of May, are now available and whilst it is not possible to estimate correctly the loss inflicted on the people of Burma still the reports in the daily press give a fair idea of the disaster. The earthquake seems to have been most devastating in Rangoon and in Pegu which is about 50 miles from Rangoon. Pegu has been practically wiped out and more than a thousand persons were killed, and hundreds of thousands rendered homeless. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon and the Shwehmawdaw Pagoda at Pegu have been badly damaged and various public buildings in the two towns have crumbled in the earthquake. The calamity has come as a shock to the country. It is unfortunate that most of the men in this country who have had experience of constructive work and are imbued with the spirit of social service should be in jail, but we hope that even if men cannot be sent to render help at least funds will be made available in large measure and the various organisations in India, we are sure, will avail themselves of this new opportunity for serving the country. Mr. Devadhar himself who is indefatigable in relief work must already be moving the Servants of India Society to take prompt action in this matter. We should like to point out in this connection that what is required most in such a crisis is immediate action and we trust there will be no delay in launching on relief work.

**The Youth Movement:**—This movement which started in Germany has, according to Carl von Prosch who writes in "the World's Youth" undergone a radical change in that country. While it is only becoming known in other countries now, he observes, it is already beginning to be a thing of the past in the country of its origin. In the beginning it was too often in open conflict with the "old." It wished to create its own forms of life on its own responsibility and with complete freedom and sincerity. All this is changed. It no longer adopts a hostile attitude towards the "old." "Youth is tired of problems and wants clear and definite orders. It joyfully accepts

strict discipline." It is once more ready to accept the leadership of adults. In India, too, this tendency may be noticed in the large number of young persons who have enrolled themselves as volunteers in the Satyagraha movement accepting its strict discipline of non-violence.

**The Vatican And The Gandhi Movement:**—We reproduced in a recent issue a leading article from the *Catholic Leader* commenting on a message from London regarding the attitude of the Vatican to the Gandhi movement. The *Leader* did not see fit to question the authenticity of the message and, in fact, confirmed it by adding that it clearly indicated the position of the Catholic Church in regard to the struggles of subject nations. The *Examiner* of Bombay, on the other hand, is inclined to regard the message as a journalistic canard and asserts that it does not represent the views of the Catholic Church. The difference may be due to the fact that while the *Leader* represents the views of Indian Catholics, the *Examiner* voices the sentiments of the European clergy.

**Mahatmaji And The Missionaries:**—We are publishing this week two articles giving the missionary attitude towards the political questions of India. We have some more communications on this subject and we shall publish and comment on them in a subsequent issue.

**Buddhist Art and Antiquities:**—An Exhibition of Paintings and antiquities pertaining to Bhagawan Buddha and His life is open for five days from 9th to 13th May 1930 at the Blavatsky Lodge, Theosophical Buildings, French Bridge, Chaupati. All are earnestly requested to attend. Time:—9 A.M. to 12 Noon, and 3 P.M. to 6-30 P.M.

#### To The Mahatma.

Incaruate soul of Ind! Mahatma, Saint!  
We hang our heads in shame who have not sought.

Incarceration, e'en as thou, nor fought  
In Freedom's cause beside thee, being faint.  
Help us, O thou, to wash away this taint;  
Waft us the strength to will, to do, to dare,  
To suffer meekly and with patience bear  
The Crown of Thorns without the least complaint.

The world awaits in expectation dumb  
The issue of thy fight, non-violent;  
For ne'er on earth, since Christ here walked,  
has come

A such as thou, a leader heaven-sent.  
We lift our hands to Heav'n and with thee pray  
For light to guide us on our onward way.

—J. R. DALAL.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 10, 1930.

## MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARREST.

There is a sloka in the Bhagavad Gita which Swami Swarupananda of the Ramakrishna Mission has translated as follows in his excellent edition: "Fettered, O son of Kunti, by thy own Karma, born of thy own nature, what thou, from delusion, desirest not to do, thou shalt have to do in spite of thyself." This verse came to mind when the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest materialised from rumour to fact in the course of Monday morning. Government had tried hard to avoid touching him. They allowed him for nearly two months to go on preaching non-violence, and civil disobedience, and breaking the salt law in the villages of Gujarat. They arrested and imprisoned nearly all his leading workers—Vallabhbhai Patel, Jannalal Bajaj, Mahadev Desai, Swami Anand, and a number of others, among whom were two of his sons. But the movement did not stop. Government were saying from the first that civil disobedience cannot be non-violent, and that it must break out in violence sooner or later. Their expectation was belied by Gujarat which has throughout maintained an atmosphere of complete non-violence notwithstanding the violence of the Police in some places. The same has been the case in most other parts of the country. The only exceptions were outbreaks at Calcutta and Karachi which were obviously due to the mob getting out of hand, and at Peshawar where the Congress version maintains that the national volunteers adhered to the principle of non-violence with one or two regretted exceptions though the official version tells a different story. The Chittagong outbreak has been officially acknowledged to be the doing of the anarchic party which does not believe in non-violence. The Peshawar trouble assumed serious proportions owing chiefly to the incompetence of the Chief Commissioner, Sir Norman Bolton, who suddenly left the country last week. It was officially acknowledged that the behaviour of some Indian troops was "unsatisfactory," it being freely stated in non-official circles that they refused to fire on an unarmed crowd. Whether this was the cause or there were others, the Governor-General promulgated the Press Ordinance immediately on the occurrence of the Peshawar incidents. A week passed and the country was still excited over the Ordinance, when Mahatma Gandhi was arrested at midnight on Sunday under an antiquated Regulation of 1827. Events have proved too strong for Government. Fettered by their own Karma, born of their own nature, what Government did not want to do, they had to do in spite of themselves. Their hope that they might beat

Mahatmaji with his own favourite weapon of non-violence, was the delusion which led them to leave him alone for the space of two months. Though, however, Government did not want to arrest him, Mahatma Gandhi himself wanted intensely to be arrested. There is truth in what some of his critics have said, that the Government's passive attitude dislocated his plans and obliged him to cast about for other ways to force them out of it. His arrest and incarceration was evidently regarded by him as being in some way essential to the working out of his plans as he intended. In the end, Government have had to arrest him as he wished and they did not wish.

What was Mahatma Gandhi's idea in forcing Government to arrest him? In what way can he be better able to effect his objective by being imprisoned than by being free? It has been suggested that, having got himself into a hopeless tangle by acceding to the Congress resolution on Independence, Mahatma Gandhi might have longed for the jail as a haven of refuge from his friends and followers. It has been also suggested that Government knew this and did not want to help Mahatmaji out of his difficulties by arresting and making a martyr of him. If this is correct, why have Government given up their waiting game and conferred on Mahatmaji the martyrdom they were determined to withhold? The fact is that Government had no deep motive in not arresting Mahatmaji so long and in arresting him now. The existence of Free Will in individuals has been the subject of a philosophical discussion which is not yet closed. Governments, however, have no free will: they are ever the creatures of circumstance: they act impelled by their Karma born of their nature. Government had under-rated the Gandhi movement. They were misled by the official and semi-official sources on which they rely for information. They were told that Mr. Gandhi was a dreamer and that his plans were so many castles in the air. So long as they were under this illusion, they held their hand expecting every minute that the bubble would burst. But when they found that it did not burst and did not show signs of bursting, they were "alarmed". Seldom, in our recollection, have the Government of India owned to their being "alarmed" at any political movement in this country. Their attitude at least outwardly was always one of confidence in their own strength. On this occasion, however, they declare that their reason for arresting Mahatmaji is their "alarm" at the growing strength of his movement. The strength of the movement, however, is only partially due to Mahatma Gandhi's personality. There is a new spirit abroad of which Mahatma Gandhi is not so much the originator as the mouthpiece, and his imprisonment will not put an end to it.

“SOWING THE WIND.”

Mr. K. Chandy, retired Member of Council, Mysore, is an old acquaintance. He was one of the first batches who entered the Mysore Civil Service by the open door of a competitive examination when it was first instituted by the late Sir Seshadri Iyer. He worked his way up to the Excise Commissioner-ship and was, in due course, made a member of the Maharaja's Executive Council from which he retired sometime back. I had a letter from him at the time in which he referred to his impending retirement and expressed a wish to find some fresh field of activity. More recently I received another letter from him in which he mentioned his differences with Mahatma Gandhi and that Mahatmaji had declined to be drawn into a epistolary discussion, on the eve of his march to Dandi, by politely intimating to Mr. Chandy that they should agree to differ. This, by some process of reasoning not quite clear to me, Mr. Chandy understood to be a request to him not to publish his differences with Mahatmaji. It could have made no difference to Mahatma Gandhi if Mr. Chandy had published his views. Mr. Chandy also told me that he was surprised at my attitude towards Mahatmaji's movement and explained at some length his own opinions on the subject. I did not feel that I should attempt a reply to that letter, and other pre-occupations too left me without leisure to do so. There is a vast difference between an official and a non-official who has by chance or intent acquired a foothold in public life, as they get on in years. The official is compulsorily retired and may spend the evening of his life without worrying himself or others about how the world goes around him. The responsibilities and engagements of the non-official publicist, on the other hand, seem to grow with growing years and he has neither the time nor inclination for speculative controversy in private correspondence, particularly so if he happens, like me, to have to write regularly for a paper like the *Reformer*. Nowadays, I expect my friends to gather my views on public affairs from my writings in these columns, and many of them, I am glad to say, have, of their own accord and without any request on my own part, adopted this plan.

Mr. Chandy has now sought the columns of *New India* to ventilate his views on Mahatma Gandhi's Civil Disobedience. In an article headed “Sowing the Wind,” he suggests what in his opinion would have been the right way of dealing with the Gandhi movement. The sum and substance of his plan is that Mahatmaji and his followers should have been interned before the march began, and the telegraph, the post, the railways and other public means of communication closed to them. In addition, I am using Mr. Chandy's own words, the interned satyagrahis should have been required to give free scope to their ideas in the internment camps and make themselves self-supporting, their living and clothing charges depending on the proceeds of spinning. “It seems to me,” observes the retired member of the Mysore Council, “that within six months or

a year a great majority would have tired of Non-co-operation, and of living in medieval style within the camps with, of course, none of the modern amenities such as newspapers.” Mr. Chandy and others who reason like this make the same mistake which they impute to Mahatmaji, namely, that he believes all people are like himself. If they were put in such internment camps, they would certainly tire of it in much less than six months. Perhaps, six days would suffice to cure them of their convictions. But in the Satyagrahashram at Sabarmati men and women live under a stern discipline and the deprivations which frighten Mr. Chandy may be welcomed by them as a fresh discipline. Moreover, the one hundred satyagrahis who accompanied Mahatmaji had been previously subjected to special training and they set out under conditions not dissimilar to those laid down for the Apostles when they set out to preach the good tidings to the inhabitants of Palestine two thousand years ago. Many of these men are now in prison—and Mr. Chandy may take my word for it, because I know them—they will come out six months or a year or even two years hence with their convictions strengthened and deepened. And that is not all. The whole of Gujarat would have had to be interned because the very women and children there are fired with the Gandhi spirit. Mr. Chandy should read the letter which Lady Chinubai and some other women of the first families in Gujarat have addressed to the Viceroy. He will find it in the last *Reformer*. The fact is that Mr. Chandy has not understood the enormous change that has come over the mind and spirit of the people of British India. He is not to blame. Even British Indian officials are only slowly and painfully awakening to the fact that the public no longer regards them as its masters and is determined to put them in their place as its servants.

My principal reason for noticing Mr. Chandy's article is that he does me the honour of making more than one pointed reference to my opinion on the present Gandhi movement. I have again and again said here and elsewhere that I do not recognise any hard and fast line between social and political reform and that the methods which have been tried and have proved successful in the social field are the ones which hold out the best hope of success in the political field also. Now, the most important feature of the method of social reform is that the reformers have remained and worked within their society and never thought of cutting themselves loose from it. In the political sphere, therefore, I dislike the idea of severing India's connection with Great Britain as a means of effecting reforms and would strain every nerve to avoid it. I hold that India has a mission to the British Commonwealth of which she has grown to be a part and that in fulfilling it she will be fulfilling her duty to the world at large. While remaining within their society, reformers have felt it their conscientious duty to disobey customs and practices having practically the force of law which

operate injuriously to the well-being of individuals and society. This disobedience has never been associated with violence and has always been rendered in the spirit of sympathy and goodwill. From my own personal experience as well as observation, I can say that this method which is not different from civil disobedience has proved wonderfully effective in bringing round society to the side of reforms. Such disobedience has been offered by individuals, social reform societies, and caste organisations. In politics, the established system of Government represents the orthodox opponents in the social field. Civil disobedience in the one case is on the same footing as in the other, and reformers who have faced social persecution will not shrink when the occasion calls for political persecution. Mr. Chandy's article reads remarkably like the tirades which I used to answer in these columns thirty years ago from persons who would trust to time and circumstance to bring about all needed changes.

K. NATARAJAN.

#### WOMEN CRUSADERS IN INDIA.

(BY DR. MARY J. CAMPBELL.)

All who pray earnestly for the coming of Prohibition must be looking on most earnestly at the movement which is spreading among the women of India in the warfare against the liquor traffic. From here and there reports are coming of women picketers standing before both foreign and country liquor shops and pleading with those who drink, and those who sell, to give up this harmful practice. Delhi has a weekly paper "The Chronicle." In the edition which was published on April 21, there is an article written from Simla which takes exception to this Temperance propaganda. That women should become crusaders in this movement seems to the writer of the article a foolish and a dangerous policy. The reason he gives is that it is men of depraved habits, anxious to satisfy their thirst for alcohol that frequent these shops and the women's presence might lead to a conflict between them and the drinking men. We are glad that he has designated the men as having "depraved habits" who come to these shops. I am glad his plea has not been on the basis of women desisting from this work because of interference with the personal liberty of the men drinkers. He seems to have a real concern for the good name of the women volunteers but I am afraid from the tone of the whole article that his concern is greater because of the danger of the women being successful in closing some shops and in causing a decrease in the list of drinkers. Had the writer been acquainted with the history of the Prohibition movement in other lands, more especially in the United States, he would have realised what a mighty force was let loose against alcohol shops for this evil to be done away. The success they had may be read by all the world and I believe the women of India will not

be one whit behind their sisters in America who sixty years ago picketed liquor shops. This is a work that should and does appeal to womanhood.

The Simla Correspondent is very much concerned lest these men of "depraved habits" should make it unpleasant for the women who stand before the liquor shops. He does not mention the numberless women who have suffered in their own homes because of the "depraved habits" of drinking men, women who have suffered in silence because of the results of liquor shops. Now if women who have suffered, and women who are determined to save their suffering sisters are publicly showing their disapproval of this terrible evil way should not all good men and women every where stand behind them in their earnest effort to do what men, and even great temperance organisations have not yet been able to accomplish. This is a great social reform movement and all who wish well to India's people, both European and Indian, should pray for this movement now undertaken so earnestly by the sisters in India that it may have speedy success.

#### A CHRISTIAN VIEW OF THE GANDHI MOVEMENT.

(THE REV. W. M. RYBURN M.A.)

In any movement such as that which we have in India to-day, especially in any movement that has a religious basis, it is necessary to distinguish between the fundamental principles that underlie the movement, and the way in which those principles are brought into action. There may be agreement on the question of principle, while at the same time the methods of practically applying those principles may give rise to great differences of opinion.

Now there seem to be four principles at the basis of not only the present campaign of Mahatma Gandhi, but of all his efforts for his country. In the first place there is an absolute loyalty to truth; a loyalty to conscience that will result in an uncompromising opposition to all that is wrong and false, no matter what the consequences for himself or for others. In the second place there is a strict adherence to methods that do not call for the use of physical force or violence on the part of those who are putting the methods into practice. In the third place there is a belief in the power of the suffering of the innocent to reform and to redeem the world. Lastly there is a belief in the need of the individual for preparation and self purification before launching out in any campaign of reforms where the weapons to be used are spiritual ones. There are other factors, but these seem to me to be the main fundamental principles on which the movement is founded.

Now it would be hard to find four principles that were more in accord with the mind and life of Jesus Christ than these. To take the last first, the regeneration of the individual was the first point made by Christ when He started His campaign. "Repent ye" was His cry. All His life He was insisting on spiritual preparation for a spiritual campaign. Then

again His whole life, and especially His death, are illustrations of the highest teaching of the Hebrews, that the suffering of the innocent has a redemptive effect. Again, His whole life and teaching laid down the principle of "turning the other cheek" as the highest spiritual principle on which men could act. This was recognised and acted on by Christians for about three centuries after the death of Christ, but gradually the principle was lost sight of, and now, among nations is never acted on. In the cause of loyalty to truth Jesus would never hesitate to break any law which He considered was useless, false or harmful.

It is this question of law-breaking that is the crux of the present movement. Is it Christian to break laws? The answer is that it most certainly is under certain circumstances. Although we have no instance of Christ breaking any of the Roman laws, he broke numbers of the Jewish ones, and there is no doubt that if He had been brought up against a Roman law that He considered wrong He would have broken it unhesitatingly. The conscientious objectors who broke a law during the war, were much more Christian in their attitude than the majority of the nation. If a law is morally wrong, then it can have no force with any man who knows it to be so. The doctrine that laws must be obeyed because they are made by the State, and *must* be remedied by constitutional means, though generally accepted by Christians, is not a Christian doctrine but is a pagan one, which was taken up by the Christian Church very early in its history. It is not according to the mind of Christ. On the merely political plane also, no Englishman or American can object to law-breaking. The liberties of England were built up on the armed resistance of a portion of the nation to arbitrarily imposed law. The American Nation was founded on armed opposition by a minority to what was regarded as unjustly imposed laws. Mahatma Gandhi has brought the matter closer to the teaching of Jesus by cutting out the armed part, and making it a non-violent revolution.

Now, the rightness or wrongness of law-breaking depends on the law. If a law is morally wrong, I do not think that any Christian could logically defend submission to it. We have to decide the morality of a law for ourselves. Having decided that a law is wrong, no Christian should be able to blame us if we refuse to obey it. If Mahatma Gandhi considers that the salt tax is morally wrong, Christians should have no quarrel with him for disobeying the law. The weak point in Mahatmaji's action here however, seems to be that he is breaking this particular law from expediency. No doubt he regards it as morally wrong, but he let it go for so long and did not resist it. He did not discover its immorality just lately. Here we come to the question of putting principles into practice. Most of us probably have wished that Mahatma Gandhi could have held his hand for a while until the final result of the offer of a Conference could be seen. But because we may differ on the point of the

principles in question, that does not alter the nature of those principles.

Mahatma Gandhi is also condemned because it is said that from his non-violent campaign violence will come. Here again no Christian should be found in the ranks of those who condemn. If a man sees truth, then he must at all costs act according to that truth. We may think him mistaken, but we cannot condemn his action. Jesus said that He brought not peace but a sword, because He knew that although violence would never come from His side yet from others and from His own followers who did not understand His message, violence would arise. Christian history is full of men who have followed truth at the risk of suffering to themselves and *others*. There is no doubt that the present movement will lead to outbreaks of violence, but I cannot see that any Christian could therefore recommend Mahatma Gandhi to suppress the truth as he sees it. The advances made in Science have been used for foul purposes in war, and may be used again, but that does not mean to say that we should put an end to all advance in Science. We have in India seen, and are seeing again, an attempt to put into practice a fundamental Christian principle, the redeeming effect of non-resisting suffering, a thing that the West has never attempted to do, and even though mistakes may be made in the working out of this principle, we should be ready to thank God that someone has had the courage to make the attempt.

### INDIA'S CRISIS—AN APPEAL TO MEN OF GOOD WILL.

A HEARTRENDING SITUATION.

(By Rev. J. F. EDWARDS).

Three reasons lead me to take up my pen: first, acute distress on discovering such a situation on one's return to India after fourteen months' absence; secondly, the personal appeal of the editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* to put in writing for his readers a few things I said to him in personal conversation; and thirdly, the near approach of the Conference in Bombay on May 14 when a great effort should surely be made by all men of good will to get together for the purpose of national reconciliation. When I left India on February 9 last year, on the point of a serious collapse, I quickly retired to my cabin in deep sorrow because I was leaving Bombay the Beautiful in blood and tempest, for a dozen persons were murdered around my bungalow in Byculla that very morning before I sailed. And after travelling for nine months in England, three months in the United States and two months in Japan, Korea and China interpreting India as best I can, I come back to find India's prophet once more in gaol and a great part of India's intelligentsia in deadly grips with the Government in a conflict which somehow or other *must* be reconciled quickly if all the bridges of conciliation are not to be burned down which many missionaries, Indian Christian



leaders, Indian statesmen and Government officials have given priceless years in building. I write these lines as a passionate lover of freedom, personal and national, as a missionary to whom is committed by Unseen Hands "the ministry of reconciliation," as one who has already learned a great deal from India in his first twenty-one years in India and who has come back to learn a great deal more during his second twenty-one years. I have no right of any kind to represent anyone else but myself, for most missionaries are very properly resting on the hills after a heavy year of work, but an Inner Voice leads me to make an appeal to all men of good will to terminate these days of peril and destruction.

#### BRITAIN'S REAL ATTITUDE.

Having spent some nine months in England among my own people I have some right to interpret their feelings in the present crisis, and the first serious thing I wish to say is in this connection. Some eighteen months ago I ventured to address an "Appeal to Britain's Parliament and People through the Indian Statutory Commission," an Appeal which bore the title, "India's Excise Demand," which has since then been printed as a public pamphlet, a copy having been sent by the generosity of friends in England to every member of the British Parliament. I have clear evidence to show that this "Appeal" has not fallen on deaf ears. Having made that "Appeal" on India's behalf a year and a half since, I have some sort of prescriptive right at this critical juncture to make a similar Appeal to India's leaders on behalf of Britain's Parliament and People. I base my Appeal on the deep conviction gained during nine months in Britain among all classes of the population—electors, Members of Commons and of the Lords, a conviction I wish now to express with all the emphasis of which I am capable, that *if India will only tell Britain, with substantial unity what it is that India really wants, then India will get it.* I have put this crucial sentence in italics, for it is perhaps the most important thing I want to say. I know many may disbelieve the statement, but any one who does so fails to attach due weight to the fact that the position taken up by Lord Irwin in his important statement of October 31 last year was taken up by a Viceroy who came out to India as a Conservative; his statement was later supported in London by the Acting Viceroy, Lord Goschen, another Conservative; the Conservative Ex-premier, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, risked his whole career in standing by the Viceregal utterance; and that utterance embodied the considered verdict of the existing Government, one of the ablest Governments of modern times. The full significance of these facts not even India has yet grasped, and my first appeal is that Indian leaders will accept the olive branch thus held out.

#### THE LONDON PRESS AND THE INDIAN PRESS.

Should anyone remind me of a certain series of articles in the London *Daily Mail* when India and

her leaders were held up to contumely, a sufficient answer is found in the well-known facts lying behind the circulation of the *Daily Mail* into which I need not enter here. Instead, let me relate a personal incident of what happened in a missionary meeting. I was addressing in one of the most influential parts of London when those strange articles were the joke of London people. In my speech I alluded to the editor of the *Reformer*, further describing him as the editor (at that time) of the *Indian Daily Mail*. I added in a little aside that my hearers must not get the impression that the *Indian Daily Mail* was in any sense an Indian edition of the London *Daily Mail*, and when I ventured to observe that there was "far more of real Christianity and of the spirit of Jesus Christ in the *Indian Daily Mail* than in the London *Daily Mail*" the response of the audience left no one in doubt as to what they thought of the articles appearing about India. Conversation with many people in England convinced me that one strong reason why the *Daily Mail's* venom against India was either deplored or laughed at as being unworthy of any serious consideration was the fact that British people of any weight have long since satisfied themselves that India has quite enough statesmanship and ability among her leaders to justify India being given her rightful place of complete equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations (or as the *Reformer's* editor suggests "the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations," an excellent suggestion.) Similar faith in India's ability I found everywhere in America as well, for Miss Mayo has by no means had the field to herself in U. S. A. and Canada. It is from this fact of the world's faith in India that part of my acute distress arises, as I contemplate India's suicidal disunity which is in such danger of marring India's golden opportunity in the eyes of the world.

#### THE MISSIONARY ATTITUDE TO INDIAN NATIONALISM.

Let me repeat that I in no way represent anyone else but myself in this article, and yet I have so recently seen the British (and American) Missionary Societies that I am fairly confident in affirming that while India's Christian missionaries appreciate to the very fullest India's aspirations after national freedom, as being the true goal equally of Christian work and of British influence, it nevertheless remains true that the Churches of Britain and America who have sent the greater part of India's missionaries would feel it a grave error for missionaries to be intervening in India's political business on whatever side it might be. For missionaries are not in India to shape India's political Constitution but to do all that lies in their power to help in shaping individual and national character without which none of India's movements can be of nation-building or enduring value. In other words missionaries are in India to direct India's mind and heart to Him Who as the Prince of Peace holds in His Hands the secret both of individual peace of heart and of national reconciliation. How deeply some of India's missionaries feel on India's struggle for national self-expression in the form of complete self-government is illustrated in the very last issue of *Young India* brought out by

Gandhiji before his arrest where the Rev Verrier Elwin of the Christa Seva Sangh of Poona writes what many others would have said had they the opportunity. And where missionaries are silent or where their editors express themselves in a way some would approve and others disapprove, it must be remembered that missionaries hold as a matter of principle that their greatest contribution is far more inward and basic than any political contribution could possibly be. I venture to say, moreover, that in no part of India are more earnest prayers being offered up for India (as well as for her rulers) than in missionary homes and institutions throughout the length and breadth of India. Could Indian patriots peep in at such prayer-seasons they would find one burden of such intercessions is that India may be found worthy of Gandhiji's central message, that a solution may be found for India's most terrible problem, that of her poverty, with her families earning on the average less than two pence a day. Behind those prayers would be detected a growing solicitude lest the increasing spirit of lawlessness shall disqualify India's youth for worthy citizenship and lest this lawlessness shall rebound on India in the future, near or far, by making any form of *swaraj* impossible if the rising generation is to grow up in the present atmosphere of disrespect for law.

#### THE "GOLDEN RULE" FOR INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT.

It is in light of such considerations that I have interpreted (and possibly misinterpreted) a sentence in the last issue of the *Reformer*. In the editorial paragraph on "Christian Views of the Gandhi Movement" there appear these words: "It is highly important that the attitude of Christian missions to Indian nationalism should be studied and understood from the standpoint of the several missionary organizations, as upon it must depend the attitude of nationalism to these missions." I refrain from comment lest I have missed the real point that was intended, save to observe: *If it were* the duty of Christian missions to remember that "the attitude of nationalism to these missions" will be determined by the present "attitude of Christian missions"—which I earnestly believe is *not* the meaning of my friend the editor of the *Reformer*—would it not be equally the duty of Christian missions to remember that "the attitude" of Indian Mahomedans may also be determined by "the attitude of Christian missions to Indian Mahomedans." And in these days when "Indian nationalism" and Indian Mahomedanism are ranged so largely on opposite sides in relation to the latest aspects of the "Gandhi movement", are India's missions and Churches so to act as to disregard their moral and spiritual duty either to the 70 millions of Indian Islam or to the 217 millions of Hindus from whom come the greater part of Gandhiji's outright disciples? No, I feel sure my friend the editor of the *Reformer* will heartily agree that the greatest service India's Christian missionaries can render in the present crisis is to remind all alike—Mahomedans, Hindus of all castes as well as India's long-suffering out-castes, and not forgetting India's "ruling caste", that India will find herself in the haven of reconciliation only in so far as she listens to the Voice of Him Who says to every one of us, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them." Therefore, just as my first appeal in this article is that Indian leaders of all shades of opinion will accept Britain's proffered hand of

reconciliation in the proposed Round Table Conference, so my second appeal is to every side of this delicate controversy, surely the most complex political problem in the world's history, that they will make it their ambition to follow the Golden Rule of Jesus Christ.

#### APPEAL TO INDIA'S LEADERS AND RULERS.

My space is more than used up, though I desired to say something about those "great moral and spiritual issues" underlying the Indian "political issue," to use the fine terminology of last week's *Reformer* note. How, for example, can India's Christian missionaries contemplate with anything but agony, especially all women missionaries, who are in the majority, the appalling series of events represented by the organized opposition to the beneficent Sarda Act, an opposition that has rushed thousands of mere infants into marriage? Is the outstretched hand of a Government that has so risked its popularity not worthy of being grasped? If missionaries must needs speak on things national in India one of their first words must needs be one of unsparing denunciation of certain Mahomedans and Brahmins alike for their unspeakable wrong against the little Indian girls of this our day. And whilst missionaries remained in the "national ring" they would have something to say in equal condemnation of Government and of Indian statesmen for their respective shares in India's great liquor wrong. For if the Government is culpable because of its continued infliction of foreign liquor on India despite India's revolt as expressed in the Legislative Assembly resolution of September 1925 when every non-official Indian opposed the Government, the latter having done nothing since then to carry out India's wishes, how much India's own statesmen might have done in the "transferred department" of Indian Excise, Sir Chunilal Mehta showed by reducing the drinking of Indian liquor by more than fifty per cent. in five years. But this is too large a subject for the fag end of an article. To India's present rulers—and we yield to none in our admiration for Lord Irwin's truly Christian spirit in all he does—we would appeal with the reminder that in this crisis they remember Lord Minto's words: "I do believe that in this country (India) one can do any amount of good, and accumulate a very growing influence, if one only gives evidence of some feeling of sympathy;" that the Government will remember that fine observation of Lord Morley: "I don't believe it is for the good of prestige to back up every official whatever he does, right or wrong," and Morley's other conviction that "excess of severity is not the path to order; on the contrary it is the path to the bomb." In particular, with so many of India's leaders in gaol, including the prophet of Sabarmati, India's rulers will do well to remember that in the American Revolution of 1776 the talk of George III and Lord North was, "We must preserve the authority of the British Crown and Parliament; we wont parley with rebels." "No," said wise men like Burke, "conciliate them." And to both sides in this great controversy we would pass on Gladstone's maxim: "it is always best to take the charitable view, especially in politics;" and that of Henry Sidgwick who was "more anxious to understand an opponent's argument than to refute it;" and, finally, Oliver Cromwell's remonstrance to a band of troublesome Presbyterian ministers in his day; "My brethren, in the name of Christ I beseech you to think it possible that you may be mistaken."

## MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARREST.

### HOW MAHATMA GANDHI WAS ARRESTED.

Mr. Gandhi was arrested at dead of night in his camp at Karadi. The District Magistrate and District Police Superintendent, with a Deputy Superintendent and about 20 armed policemen, proceeded from Jalalpur to Karadi and reached there at 12-45. They proceeded straight with a flash light torch to the cot where Mr. Gandhi was fast asleep. They directed the flash light torch on Mr. Gandhi who woke up. Policemen surrounded Mr. Gandhi's cot. Mr. Gandhi asked them if they wanted him. The District Magistrate replied in the affirmative and said, "We have orders to place you under arrest." Mr. Gandhi inquired if they minded his cleaning his teeth. The District Police Superintendent said that they had no objection. While Mr. Gandhi was thus engaged in applying salt to his teeth with a brush, Mr. Gandhi's volunteers gathered round the place. Mr. Gandhi addressing the District Magistrate, asked if he would let him know the charge under which he was arrested.

#### TEXT OF WARRANT.

The District Magistrate read out the warrant which was as follows:—

"As Government views with alarm the activities of Mr. M. K. Gandhi they direct that he should be placed under restraint under Regulation 25 of 1927 and suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of Government and be immediately removed to Yeravda Central Jail."

The warrant was issued by the Government of Bombay.

Mr. Gandhi then thanked the District Magistrate and went about his morning routine. It was by this time nearing 1 a.m. and the District Magistrate requested Mr. Gandhi to speed up. Mr. Gandhi was soon ready to go. He handed over the letter which he had written to the Viceroy and some other letters to one of his volunteers and took his two bags, takli and a few slivers.

#### "SHE IS A BRAVE LADY."

Before he departed he called Pandit Khare, his volunteer, and asked him to recite his beloved hymn "Vaishnav is he who knows the calamities of others." Then all his volunteers one by one bowed to Mr. Gandhi and bade him affectionate farewell. One volunteer asked Mr. Gandhi if he had a special message for Mrs. Gandhi. "What message?" retorted Mr. Gandhi; "she is a brave lady."

By this time it was ten minutes past 1 o'clock and Mr. Gandhi was lodged in a motor lorry which was accompanied by policemen. He was taken by car and placed in one of the carriages of the Gujrat Mail between Navsari and Vedecha stations and was taken towards Bombay.

In an atmosphere of rural peace and serenity Mr. Gandhi, was detrained from the Gujrat Mail at a wayside cross-road, 300 yards from the station of Borivili, on the outskirts of Bombay, at 6-40 a.m. on Monday.

Mr. Gandhi had occupied a special compartment immediately in the rear of the engine in which he was accompanied by an I. M. S. Officer and police.

On alighting from his compartment he was escorted to a high-powered grey car with bright pink blinds, which had been stopped about thirty yards from the train, and was placed in the car, which contained a police officer from Poona. The car was immediately started and driven to Yeravda Jail, Poona.

The transfer occupied a space of three minutes and no sooner had Mr. Gandhi alighted than the train continued its uninterrupted journey to Bombay.

There was not a soul on the scene of the incident, with the exception of a few newspaper men; but the incident was eagerly witnessed by a large number of passengers, the majority of whom were clad in khadi. They did not raise a whisper.

There was not a police constable or officer on duty in the vicinity of the station or the road from early morning, and the simple procedure was carried out in a thoroughly organised manner.

#### ARRIVAL AT YERAVDA PRISON.

Quietly and unexpectedly three motor cars drove up to Yeravda Jail on Monday shortly after 10-30 with Mr. Gandhi in one of them under the charge of Deputy Superintendent Condon of the Poona Police who had taken the prisoner over from the Gujrat Mail at Borivli early in the morning. The journey to Poona was uneventful. Lt.-Col. A. N. Thomas had gone to Surat medically to examine Mr. Gandhi before the journey as the Government were anxious regarding the recent reports of Mr. Gandhi's health and whether he was fit to undertake the long journey to Poona. Lt.-Col. Thomas found Mr. Gandhi in excellent health. On arriving at Yeravda Mr. Gandhi expressed himself as delighted with the arrangements made for his comfort and convenience and said that the journey had been most pleasant. The party were met at Yeravda by Inspector-General of Prisons, Major Doyle, who took charge of Mr. Gandhi. It is interesting to note that it was Deputy Superintendent Condon who arrested Mr. Gandhi in Ahmedabad in 1922 when he was City Inspector of Police there.

It is understood that under section 2 of the Regulation under which Mr. Gandhi has been arrested the Government will immediately make an announcement sanctioning a grant of Rs. 100 per month for Mr. Gandhi's personal upkeep.

#### MRS. GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO COUNTRY.

When the news of Mahatmaji's arrest was broken to Mrs. Gandhi who was camping with her lady

volunteers at Jalalpore, she said "What of that, I am not at all surprised." In all exclusive message to the Free Press, Mrs. Gandbi said: "Gandhiji has gone. Now all must come out and join the battle. Those Government servants, who have not yet resigned, should do so immediately. The country should take up the three-fold programme of wearing Khaddar, spinning and eradicating the drink evils. They must have nothing to do with the Government now." To the women of India she said that they must join as volunteers for liquor and foreign cloth shops. She hoped that all the women of India would wear and spin khaddar.

#### GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE.

The following communique was issued by the Government of Bombay :

Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was arrested on the 5th May and has been placed in the Central Prison at Yeravda.

The campaign of civil disobedience, of which Mr. Gandhi has been the chief instigator and leader, has resulted in widespread defiance of law and order and in grave disturbances of the public peace in every part of India. Professedly non-violent, it has inevitably, like every similar movement in the past, led to acts of violence, which have as the days pass become more frequent. While Mr. Gandhi has continued to deplore these outbreaks of violence, his protests against the conduct of his unruly followers have become weaker and weaker, and it is evident that he is no longer able to control them.

It is naturally in Gujarat, where his personal influence is greatest and through which he marched from Ahmedabad to Dandi, that the effects of his campaign have been most felt. In this area, but chiefly in certain Talukas of the Kaira and Surat districts, he and his followers have instituted a severe form of social boycott, accompanied by threats of expulsion from caste, by insult and contumely, and even by deprivation of food and water, whereby they have induced a very considerable number of the patels (village headmen) to resign, thus causing serious inconvenience to the administration. Even private persons who have remained loyal to Government have been exposed to this boycott, not excluding the members of the depressed classes, of whose interests Mr. Gandhi used to claim to be the protector. At the later stages, finding that neither the breach of the salt laws nor the picketing of liquor shops and the boycott of foreign cloth were producing the results he desired, Mr. Gandhi has on several occasions incited the cultivators to withhold payment of land revenue, and still more recently he has declared that he intends to march on the salt works at Dharasna or Chharwada and to take possession of the salt collected at those places, which is the property not of Government but of the salt manufacturers. Such a raid could not, whatever protestations may be made, be conducted without the use of force and would inevitably be resisted by force by the agrarias (salt makers) and the police.

The Government of Bombay have, ever since Mr. Gandhi left his ashram at Ahmedabad, pursued a policy of the utmost toleration. They have been content to risk the accusation of weakness in the firm conviction that the attack on the salt laws, if violence were excluded from the methods by which it was conducted, must before long come to a peaceful ending. Events have shown that the laws of nature are inexorable and that the history of the earlier non-co-operation movement, with its accompaniments of blood and fire, would repeat itself, if Mr. Gandhi's campaign were allowed to continue unchecked.

In these circumstances, the Government of Bombay, in full consultation with the Government of India, have come to the conclusion that it is no longer possible to allow Mr. Gandhi to remain at large without grave danger to the tranquillity of India. They have further decided that it is desirable, having regard to all the circumstances, that he should be dealt with under Regulation XXV of 1827 and placed under restraint during the pleasure of Government.

Every provision will be made for his health and comfort during his detention.

#### MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE.

When Gandhiji was arrested he had no time to give any message, as the Police officers were asking him to hurry up. When sometime back there was rumour about his impending arrest Gandhiji had prepared a message. His message which he then dictated was as follows:—

At last the long expected hour seems to have come. My companions ask for a message after having awakened me from my sleep and, therefore, I am dictating this message without any desire at all to do so. I have given many such messages, but, if they have not been acted upon in the past, what purpose will be served by this message.

But I can see from news received upto midnight that my message is being acted upon by people. Men and women of Gujarat have awakened. I have seen myself men and women launching civil disobedience in Aat and Bhimrad fearlessly. Although thousands had collected I had not seen any signs of mischief or impoliteness. People have observed peace, even though Government officers have transgressed all bounds, and I consider that people have understood my message. If this struggle so auspiciously begun is continued till the end, then there will be Swaraj and India will be considered to have given an object lesson to the whole world.

Swaraj which is obtained without sacrifice could not last and let people be prepared to make the greatest sacrifice they are capable of. Real sacrifice is suffering one-self, that is to die without killing others. Let India observe this mantra.

India's self-respect and her all is symbolised in a handful of salt. Let that grip be broken but let it not be opened. If Government is a civilised one,

let them arrest those who possess contraband salt. It is barbarous to snatch salt away from Satyagrahis and to insult India. We could only bear that insult after allowing our hands to be broken open. The *satyagrahi* even though in great pain must not insult any body or get angry but keep calm and dignified. They must answer impoliteness by suffering in the name of God.

Let not my companions or the people at large be perturbed over my arrest, for it is not I, but God who is guiding this movement. He ever dwells in the hearts of all and He will vouchsafe to us the right guidance if only we have faith in him. Our path has already been chalked out for us. Let every village fetch or manufacture contraband salt, sisters should picket liquor shops, opium dens and foreign cloth dealers' shops. Young and old in every home should ply the *takli* and spin and get woven heaps of yarn every day. Foreign cloth should be burnt. Hindus should eschew untouchability. Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, and Christians should all achieve heart unity. Let the majority rest content with what remains after the minorities have been satisfied. Let students leave Government schools and colleges, and Government servants resign their service and devote themselves to service of the people, and we shall find that Purna Swaraj will come knocking at our doors.

#### MR. GANDHI'S SECOND LETTER TO THE VICEROY.

The following is the full text of Mr. Gandhi's second letter to H. E. the Viceroy, drafted just on the eve of his arrest:—

Dear Friend,

God willing, it is my intention on.....  
.....to set out for Dharasana and reach there with my companions and demand possession of the salt works. The public have been told that Dharasana is private property. This is mere camouflage. It is as effectively under Government control as the Viceroy's House. Not a pinch of salt can be removed without the previous sanction of the authorities.

#### PREVENTION OF DHARASANA RAID

It is possible for you to prevent this 'raid' as it has been playfully and mischievously called, in three ways:—

- (1) By removing the Salt Tax.
- (2) By arresting me and my party, unless the country can, as I hope it will, replace everyone taken away.
- (3) By sheer goondaism, unless every head broken is replaced, as I hope it will be.

It is not without hesitation that the step has been decided upon. I had hoped the Government will fight the civil resisters in a civilised manner. I could have had nothing to say if, in dealing with the civil resisters, the Government had satisfied itself with applying the ordinary process of law. Instead, whilst known leaders have been dealt with more or less according to legal formality, the rank and file have been often savagely and in some cases, even indecently, assaulted,

#### REPORTS FROM PROVINCES.

Had these been isolated cases, they might have been overlooked, but accounts have come to me from Bengal, Bihar, Utkal, the United Provinces, Delhi and Bombay, confirming the experiences of Gujarat, of which I have ample evidence at my disposal. In Karachi, Peshawar and Madras firing would appear to have been unprovoked and unnecessary. Bones have been broken and private parts have been squeezed for the purpose of making volunteers give up to the Government valueless, to the volunteers precious, salt. At Mathura, the Assistant Magistrate is said to have snatched the national flag from a ten-year-old boy. The crowd, that demanded the restoration of the flag thus illegally seized, is reported to have been mercilessly beaten back. That flag was subsequently restored, betrayed by a guilty conscience. In Bengal there seems to have been only a few prosecutions and assaults about salt, but unthinkable cruelties are said to have been practised in the act of snatching the flags from the volunteers.

Paddy fields are reported to have been burnt, eatables forcibly taken and the vegetable markets in Gujarat to have been raided, because the dealers would not sell vegetables to officials. These acts have taken place in front of crowds who, for the sake of the Congress mandate, have submitted without retaliating. I ask you to believe the accounts given by men pledged to truth. Repudiation, even by high officials, has, as in the Bardoli case, often proved false.

#### SAMPLES FROM GOVT. NOTICES.

Officials, I regret to have to say, have not hesitated to publish falsehoods even during the last five weeks. I take the following samples from the Government notices issued from the Collectors' offices in Gujarat:—

(1) Adults use five pounds of salt per year. Therefore, they pay three annas per year as tax. If the Government removed the monopoly, the people will have to pay higher prices and in addition make good to the Government the loss sustained by the removal of the monopoly. The salt you take from the seashore is not eatable. Therefore, the Government destroys it.

(2) Mr. Gandhi says the Government has destroyed hand-spinning in this country, whereas everybody knows this is not true, because throughout the country there is not a village where hand-spinning of cotton is not going on. Moreover, in every province cotton spinners are shown superior methods and are provided with better instruments at less price and are thus helped by the Government.

(3) Out of every Rs. 5 of debt that the Government has incurred, Rs. 4 has been beneficially spent.

#### SALT AND SPINNING WHEEL.

I have taken these three sets of statements from three different leaflets. I wanted to suggest that every one of these statements is demonstrably false. The daily consumption of salt by an adult is three times the amount stated

and therefore the poll tax, that the Tax undoubtedly is, is at least nine annas per head per year and this tax is levied from man, woman, child and domestic cattle, irrespective of age and health. It is a wicked falsehood to say that every village has a spinning wheel and that the spinning movement is in any shape of form encouraged or supported by the Government. Financiers can better dispose of the falsehood that four out of every five rupees of the public debt is used for the benefit of the people. But these falsehoods are mere samples of what people know is going on in every day contact with the Government.

Now, for instances of official inactivities. Liquor dealers have assaulted pickets admitted by officials to have been peaceful and sold liquor in contravention of regulations. Officials have taken no notice either of the assaults or of illegal sales of liquor. As to assaults though they are known to everybody, they may take refuge under the plea that they have received no complaints.

#### PRESS ORDINANCE.

##### "A VEILED FORM OF MARTIAL LAW."

And now you have sprung upon the country the Press Ordinance surpassing any hitherto known in India. You have found a short cut through law's delay in the matter of the trial of Bhagat Singh and others by doing away with the ordinary procedure. Is it any wonder if I call these official activities and inactivities a veiled form of martial law. Yet this is only the fifth week of the struggle.

Before the reign of terrorism that has just begun overwhelms India, I feel I must take a bolder step and if possible divert your wrath in a cleaner, if more drastic, channel. You may not know the things that I have described. You may not even now believe in them. I can but invite your serious attention to them. Anyway I feel that it would be cowardly on my part not to invite you to disclose to the full the leonine paws of authority so that people who are suffering tortures and destruction of their property may not feel that I, who had perhaps been the chief party in inspiring them to action that has brought to light the Government in its true colours, had left any stone unturned to work the Satyagraha programme as fully as it was possible under the given circumstances. For according to the science of Satyagraha, the greater the repression and lawlessness on the part of authorities, the greater should be the suffering courted by the victims.

#### QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY.

Success is the result of suffering of the extreme character, voluntarily undergone. I know the dangers attendant upon the method adopted by me. But the country is not likely to mistake my meaning. I say what I mean and think and I have been saying for the last 15 years in India and outside for 20 years more and repeat now that the only way to conquer violence is through non-violence, pure and

undefiled. I have said also that every violent act, word and even thought interferes with the progress of non-violent action. If in spite of such repeated warnings, people will resort to violence, I must disown responsibility save such as inevitably attaches to a human being for the acts of every other human being.

#### "ABOLISH THE SALT ACT."

But the question of responsibility apart, I dare not postpone action on any cause whatsoever, if non-violence is a force seers of the world have claimed it to be, and if I am not to belie my own extensive experience of its working, but I would fain avoid a further step. I would therefore ask you to remove the tax which so many of your illustrious countrymen have condemned in unmeasured terms and which, as you could not have failed to observe, has evoked universal protest and resentment expressed in civil disobedience.

You may condemn civil disobedience as much as you like. Will you prefer violent revolt to civil disobedience? If you say, as you have said that civil disobedience must end in violence, history will pronounce the verdict that British Government, not bearing, because not understanding non-violence, goaded human nature to violence which it could understand and deal with. But in spite of goading, I shall hope God will give the people of India wisdom and strength to withstand every temptation and provocation to violence. If therefore, you cannot see your way to remove the Salt Act and remove the prohibition of private salt making I must reluctantly commence the march adumbrated in the opening paragraph of my letter.

I am,

Your sincere friend,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

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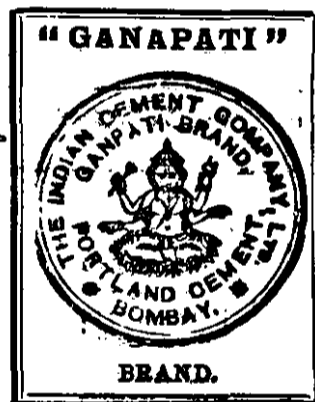
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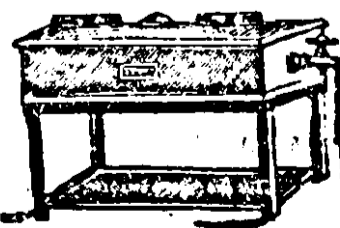


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An English weekly

Edited by

**DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA**

Machilipatnam, (Andhra)

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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1930

No. 37

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Press Conference:**—Representatives of Indian Journalism, Printing and allied Trades, met at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall on Thursday. Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Editor of the *Hindu*, presided. The address which he delivered was a searching criticism of the policy and provisions of the Press Ordinance promulgated by the Viceroy. On Thursday morning the papers published a message stating that the Working Committee of the National Congress at its meeting held at Allahabad on the previous day passed a resolution requiring all nationalist newspapers to close down as a protest against the Ordinance. It was felt generally among the newspapermen who had come to Bombay that this was an untimely interference on the part of the Working Committee in a matter which the Press Conference had been specially called to decide. The President in his printed address emphasised that whatever political duties and political discipline may be imposed on political leaders or workers, newspapers as such, cannot, without serious risk to their liberty and their usefulness as independent organs of public opinion, accept either the direction or the discipline of party organisations or political programmes, whatever individual journalists as individuals may decide for themselves. As regards the Ordinance, he was of the opinion that it was "our duty to fight the danger that this Ordinance threatens the Press with in every way by carrying on our work undeterred by its terrors up to the stage at which it is made impossible for us to do so with self-respect." "I do not think" he said, "we should play into the hands of Government by ceasing publication the moment the Government start to attack us. If newspapers should cease publication immediately on the demand for security and if other Nationalist newspapers who are in sympathy with it should also cease publication at the first touch, it would be an act of surrender which would enable the Government to claim not only that the charges of objectionable writing of the newspapers concerned have been justified, but also that the steps taken by them to prevent them have proved effective." In accordance with this suggestion, the Conference passed the following resolution:

"This Conference is of opinion that it should be open to newspapers and presses which have been or are hereafter called upon to furnish security, to do so; provided that newspapers and presses which are members of this Conference should not furnish further security if their first security is forfeited, and that the Committee of Action, hereafter appointed, should thereafter take such steps as may be possible to ensure joint action of all members of the Conference and other newspapers and presses which may agree with a view to assert the rights of the press."

**Women Satyagrahis:**—Till this week, women satyagrahis have not been arrested, but this policy is now being abandoned. Mrs. Lakshmi-pathy, one of the pioneer workers in the women's cause in Southern India, has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment by the Magistrate at Vedaraniam which is the place selected for breaking the salt law in that part of the country. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, another well-known social worker, Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council, and author of more than one piece of social legislation, has resigned her office and her seat on the Council as a protest against Mahatma Gandhi's internment. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the famous poetess and politician, with fifty volunteers, has been surrounded by the Police near Dharasana where she was leading a raid on the salt depot in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's programme. Mrs. Kamaladevi Ghatopadhyaya, one of the prominent satyagrahis in Bombay was arrested yesterday morning, and a few hours later, was tried and sentenced to nine months and two weeks' imprisonment.

**Dr. Besant Malignant:**—One of the inexplicable features of Dr. Besant's career, is the malignance displayed by her to Indian religious and social reformers who refused to throw in their lot with the Theosophical Society. We have a faint recollection of Swami Vivekananda's exposure of her attempt to prejudice America against him when he went to attend the Congress of Religions at Chicago. Towards Mahatma Gandhi she has displayed the same implacable spirit as surprising as it is displeasing in one who professes to be a spiritual Teacher. Her latest about Mahatmaji is unsurpassed for its cruel malignance, and of course, it is all the hallucination of an embittered spirit. She writes in *New India*:—Mr. Gandhi has gained his object and has been arrested and interned. He states that he is very comfortable. One may perhaps venture to express a hope that the Government will cancel all the long sentences of simple and of rigorous imprisonment to which the unfortunate lads who have followed him have been condemned by the lower

judicial officers. It is not just that the leader should be made comfortable, while the followers—clearly the less culpable—have to endure all the rigors of the law. I have not the smallest wish to diminish his comforts, though I regard him as the most mischievous man in India, since he undermines respect for law, the foundation of civilized society. But he is sincere, however wrong-headed, and is ready to suffer for that which he believes to be true. Mahatmaji requires very little to make him comfortable and his normal requirements are hardly more than what his humblest adherents get in jail. Dr. Besant knows this or ought to know. There is something clearly lacking in an octogenarian, with pretensions to direct communion with invisible Helpers of the World, who writes with a pen so dipped in gall.

**A Belated Correction:**—Full five days after Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, the Director of Information with the Government of Bombay has issued the actual text of the warrant in view, he says, of the incorrect versions of it which have appeared in the Press, reported on the day after the arrest that the District Magistrate read out the warrant which was as follows:—

"As Government views with alarm the activities of Mr. M. K. Gandhi they direct that he should be placed under restraint under Regulation 25 of 1827 and suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of Government and be immediately removed to Yeravda Central Jail." The warrant was issued by the Government of Bombay. Mirabai, Miss Slade, writing in *Young India*, repeats substantially the same version. The official version now issued runs thus:—

"Whereas the Governor in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has, under the powers vested in him by Regulation XXV of 1827, resolved that Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi shall be placed under restraint in the Yeravda Central Prison during the pleasure of Government, you are hereby directed to secure the said Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and arrange to forward him as soon as possible to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison."

The important difference between the earlier and the later versions is that the "alarm" expressed in the former is absent from the latter. We had commented on this unusual language of the warrant in our leading article on Mahatmaji's arrest.

**The Patiala Enquiry.**—In the *Reformer* of April 19, we published a communique issued by the Maharaja of Patiala in which His Highness said that his Government proposed to take at an early date such steps as they may be advised to take for the vindication of the personal honour of the ruler of the State and the reputation of his Government. There were two courses which it was open to his Highness to take. One was to prosecute the authors of the Report entitled "Indictment of Patiala" under the Princes' Protection Act. The second was to ask for the appointment of a commission to investigate the serious charges made against him in the Report. From the correspondence which we publish today, it appears that the Maharaja did not choose either of these alternatives but applied, instead, to the Government of India to order an enquiry by the Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States. Government have accepted this suggestion and ordered the Agent to conduct an

enquiry *in camera* into the charges made in the pamphlet. We must say that this is not by any means the most satisfactory arrangement that could be devised. The Enquiry Committee which produced the Report can hardly be expected to feel the same confidence in an enquiry by a Political Officer who has practically been nominated by the Maharaja, as his Highness himself. An independent Commission with a high judicial officer as President and a representative of the Princely order and a public man of eminence and integrity as members, would be the most appropriate tribunal. The Political Agent, we daresay, will bring a perfectly impartial mind to his delicate task, but the thing is that not only should justice be done, but it should be done in a way which would approve itself as equitable to disinterested observers.

**All-Parties Committee:**—The Patro Committee of the All-Parties Conference held its sittings at the Taj Mahal Hotel on Thursday afternoon when, besides Sir A. P. Patro, the Chairman and other members of the Committee who attended the sitting on the previous day, there were present Colonel H. A. J. Gidney, Mr. Mahomed Ali and Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan of Allahabad. The proceedings were held *in camera* and lasted about two hours. The Chairman interviewed by press representatives, declared, "Sorry we are all sworn to secrecy. The Committee will meet again at 11 a.m. on Friday, when a statement will be issued to the press." A representative of *The Times of India* was, however, able to gather that the Committee has for all practical purposes been adjourned, without any settlement being reached on the Hindu-Moslem question or on the minorities problem till the end of June and until after the publication of the Simon Commission's report. The proceedings were at certain stages marked by lively passages-at-arms between certain Hindu and Mahomedan members. The latter averred that any agreement reached by the Committee on Mr. Jinnah's memorandum would be acceptable to 90 per cent. of their community, although Mr. Jinnah, the author of the memorandum, and Sir Mahomed Shafi, the influential Punjab leader, were not present at the meeting. A comic situation arose when one of the Mahomedan members, who was believed to represent Mr. Jinnah declared that he represented himself and no other. The absence of Pandit Modan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Moorje strengthened the hands of some of the Hindu members present at the meeting who demanded a postponement of the conference to a future date. This was eventually agreed to in the interests of "peace" and with a view to placating the wishes of some of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha who had addressed letters to the Chairman regretting their inability to attend and asking for a postponement. This demand for a long postponement is also traceable to the desire of extremists of both Hindu and Muslim sections to await the publication of the Simon Commission's report and shape their claims in accordance with the Commission's recommendations. The only purpose for which the Committee is reassembled on Friday, it is understood, is to consider a statement to be issued to the press reviewing the work done by the Committee since its inauguration in February last.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 17, 1930.

## ANOTHER VICEROY'S STATEMENT.

We publish elsewhere the fresh statement which Lord Irwin issued the on eve of the Conference of all Parties (except the Congress) held in Bombay commencing from Wednesday. The Liberal leader Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is reported to have had an interview with the Viceroy a few days previously, and it may be presumed that the statement is the outcome of his intervention. That being the case, we are surprised at a gap in the first part of the statement in which the Viceroy reviews past events. After recalling his statement of November 1, Lord Irwin refers to his meeting Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru on December 18, "when they made it plain that they were not prepared to participate in the Conference except upon new conditions which had found no place in my announcement." It is much to be wished that his Excellency had mentioned what these "new conditions" were. Mahatma Gandhi in the interview an account of which we published on the 6th March, maintained that these conditions were those embodied in the Delhi manifesto issued by the All-Parties Conference on the Viceroy's statement soon after it was issued in November, to which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other Liberal leaders were signatories. This manifesto was published in England and India and was referred to in Parliament by, among others, Mr. Lloyd George who asked whether the Viceroy agreed with the interpretation placed on his announcement by the signatories. This was many days before his interview with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru. It may be that his Excellency means that that was the first time when the conditions were brought personally to his notice and they were, therefore, "new conditions". But to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who signed the Delhi manifesto, they were not new, and even the Viceroy was, though perhaps not officially, cognisant of the terms of that manifesto.

Another important omission in his Excellency's statement is that, while referring to his own speech before the Legislative Assembly on January 15, he does not mention that that the now famous simile between the goal and the journey which was understood by Indians of all Parties as whittling down his announcement of November. That speech had a most unfortunate effect coming as it did soon after Earl Russell's truculent speech at a Labour meeting. It was explained that the Under Secretary of State for India was speaking under the burden of a canine bereavement in his household and that, therefore, he said more than he meant in his speech. But

the Viceroy's address at the Assembly was in the same strain and we cannot help thinking that, when Lord Irwin speaks of his regret that any body of Indian opinion rejected the offer of His Majesty's Government, his Excellency should in common fairness have conveyed at least a hint that his own speech had partially contributed to the rejection. To put the whole blame of the rejection on Mahatma Gandhi, under the circumstances seems to us to be hardly right. The gist of the Viceroy's argument is that the present difficulties are due to "circumstances and the action of others", and Government, has been powerless to guide events. We are sorry that Lord Irwin persists in including the armed raid in Chittagong, which Mr. Wedgwood Benn said was the outcome of the anarchic movement, among the violences arising out of the civil disobedience movement. Of the other places mentioned, the non-official version is markedly different from the official one which puts the whole blame on the satyagrahis. The absence of any expression in the Viceroy's statement of reprobation of the excesses of Police violence of which there have been numerous complaints, is much to be regretted. We have already stated our opinion that the Press Ordinance is an uncalled for and inopportune measure and Lord Irwin's reaffirmation that it was a necessary measure, does not carry the question any further. The announcement that the Round Table Conference will be held on October 20 has not roused enthusiasm. The special reason given for this date, namely, that it will enable Indian representatives to establish touch with the Dominion representatives to the Imperial Conference, is by no means of happy augury. The Dominions are not entitled to have a voice in deciding the question of India's future polity. That they are, was a mischievous suggestion made by Mr. Lloyd George. The Dominions were not consulted about the grant of self-government to South Africa or the creation of the Irish Free State and they have no more right to be consulted about India. We apprehend in this suggestion an attempt to shift the responsibility for the decision about Indian self-government from Britain to the Dominions. India must refuse to accept this position.

Lord Irwin, striking a personal note, refers to his love of India as a pledge and guarantee that he will do his utmost for the advancement of the country. Here his Excellency has laid his finger on the weak point of British rule in India. There is too much Law and too little Love in it. If Lord Irwin can do anything to redress this disproportion by replacing the Law of Fear by the Law of Love, he will do a great service not only to India and England but to the whole world,

### BUDDHA AND GANDHI.\*

The life and teachings of Gautama Buddha are of much practical interest at the present time. All the great religious teachers proclaim the same truths. But in the manner of their presentation, each Teacher so adapts his teaching as to strengthen the weak points and support the strong points in the character of his people. The Sakyamuni was an Indian and his manner of teaching, therefore, makes a special appeal to the people of this country; and although Buddhism as such ceased to be professed by a considerable section in this country, its essentials have become incorporated into post-Buddhist Hinduism. The foremost of these was *Ahimsa*, what is now popularly translated as non-violence. The Buddha taught that violence can be countered only by non-violence. Violence cannot be put down by violence. The attempt to do so would breed more violence. But it can be overcome by non-violence. The great Hindu reformation called Buddhism was carried without perfect non-violence, unlike the Protestant Reformation in Europe. When our European friends assert that non-violence must lead to violence they are speaking from their own experience and expressing their own mentality. In England or Germany or France, very probably non-violence must lead to violence. But I fully believe that India can conduct to a completely successful issue a revolution entirely non-violent and bloodless, if she is left to manage it without disturbing suggestions from people who either are alien to or have lost or forfeited their own national tradition. Mahatma Gandhi's faith in the possibility of a non-violent revolution is perfectly sound so far as India is concerned. The practical difficulties arise from the hard fact that India is no longer, as in the days of the Sakyamuni, working out her destiny according to her own national genius, but is exposed to cross-currents from the aggressive, physical-force aspect of western civilisation which is most in evidence in India. The elimination of these cross-currents is necessary to give free-play to the principle of non-violence in Indian progress.

The Sakyamuni was not a politician but we get a hint of his ideas as to his ideas of good Government from an episode narrated in the accounts of his ministry. There were two neighbouring states, one a monarchy and the other a republic. The former wished to swallow up the latter, and the King sent his Chief Minister to the Buddha to ascertain the latter's opinion as to the feasibility of the project. Monarchs everywhere try to enlist good men in bad causes. The Sakyamuni did not rebuke the Minister for coming to him on such an errand. If he had done so, neither the King nor the Minister would have sought his advice again, and the Buddha's policy was never to break personal contacts in the hope that some time or other they may be turned to good account. So he casually asked the Minister

whether the State which he wanted to invade had assemblies which were consulted in carrying on the administration. The Minister said it had. Then the Buddha advised the Minister that a State which was governed by consultation in assemblies, cannot be conquered by another which was managed in a different way. The Minister took the message to his master and the predatory project was abandoned at least for the time being.

In social matters likewise Gautama Buddha has left us indications of his method. There were untouchables in those days as there are now. Buddha did not start a special movement to raise their status nor did he indulge in violent denunciations of Hinduism for that or any other custom. His method of reform was quietly to ignore the evil and follow the better way. He was entering his own capital city as a religious mendicant after his enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. The streets were thronged with people and among them stood at a great distance in fear and trembling a sweeper with his basket and broom hoping to get a distant *darshan* of the great Teacher. The Buddha's eyes lighted on this abject figure he called the sweeper as he was passing by. He paused for a moment and then and there enlisted to his company of bhikshus. No one dared to breathe a protest. That sweeper became one of the great saints of Buddhism. In the Gandhi movement the same principle is being followed. In his Ashram and in the numerous *Satyagraha* camps absolutely no distinction is made between Hindu or Mussulman, high caste or low caste. All are on the same footing, all take their turns in the routine work of the kitchen and the out-door activities and this, as a matter of course. Another point of resemblance between the two movements, is the enthusiasm with which women and children have taken to it. Buddha did not at first admit women to his order, but later under pressure from his own relatives, he did so. The Sisters played a great part in the history of Buddhism.

### THE PRESENT SITUATION IN INDIA.

(By MR. S. V. VENKATADASAPPIER.)

About a month ago, Mr. Gandhi startled the world by proposing to the entire Indian people a campaign of defying the unjust laws of the land, with a view to educating his countrymen in the steps to be taken to throw off the foreign yoke which the country has been patiently bearing for the last 150 years. He appealed to the nation to unite together in this mission, in the certainty that Divine Providence will supply the means to remedy the destruction, moral and spiritual, on the part of the rulers.

A few days later, many thinking Indians championed the same cause by breaking the Salt Act, as Mr. Gandhi suggested, but a slight change of date. The Salt Law, it should be remembered, brings to the British Government a good revenue which they do not deserve; this, on the other hand, sucks the blood of the poor. Salt, as water and air

\*A short summary of the presidential address of Mr. K. Natarajan on Lord Buddha's 2554th "thrice sacred" anniversary celebration on the 12th instant.

is supplied by nature in abundance, and has to serve a beggar and a queen.

Persons conversant with the events in India during the last three weeks know how remarkably true to the creed of non-violence Mr. Gandhi and his followers have been and how clearly the 'Christian' Government have exhibited their spirit towards these Satyagrahis. Offenders against the law have been persecuted in spite of the fact that they were good people of religious principles, and one can well believe, knowing what has happened in the country, we should not be surprised to hear that many who have been so penalised have been brought into conflict with the Government on account of their conscientious convictions. It is not the facts that matter but the use which we make of them. I do hope that the national movement will not allow itself, on the plea of righteous indignation, to be used to stir up hate as a remedy for hate, not be led back to the dark ages and the tragic history of the Crusades.

Mahatma Gandhi is not a man to be lightly scorned; he is an honest thinker and exercises the largest influence in our time on all those who believe in God and appreciate the value of religion. Now this great personality has been removed from public life with the result that it has given the Indian people an opportunity, as never before, to show to the world how, even under most trying circumstances, they can remain without injuring moral character. Now what has happened to such an Apostle of Peace? Our 'civilised' Government acted unwisely and arrested him at midnight while he was fast asleep!

We daily hear of brutal force being used on Satyagrahis who are pledged to non-violence. The requisite patience and forbearance can be secured in the country only if really saintly persons are available to lead the masses of India. Now the Government have deliberately taken the Apostle of Peace from his public life probably with a view to create a sensation at the critical moment to justify their course of action. In order to maintain 'Law and order', they have sacrificed 'Peace and Goodwill' which alone can help the masses to respect the laws. We have been indignantly criticised for condoning a breach of the laws of the land. But the national movement, when it comes to compromising principles has, in loyalty to God, to do its duty by adhering to the laws of Providence, tampering under its foot all unjust laws. Any repression of free thought and speech, and liberty of conscience, is utterly in variance with the Divine laws.

I am distressed to find that many of the Missionaries in India are silent at this critical moment, when the teachings of their Lord are put to ridicule on the one side and are being practised on the other. The people of India have been following Christ's method and example, partly because they are sure it would work and partly because they have enough courage to take the risk. Of course, if Jesus were right in saying, "hate should be exchanged by Love," then

His way, so often called impracticable, is, and will ultimately be seen to be the only practicable policy.

Missionaries who call themselves by His name, and who commend His fair name to others in 'un-Christian' lands, and claim to have His courageous vision, have a great responsibility in the present situation in India. Jesus's teachings about the 'brotherhood of man' has never been tried, at least fully, but the present situation in India contains a splendid opportunity of being a solution to their problems more than all the politics of lesser men. The Christian Church cannot but rejoice in the very nature of the struggle now going on in India and cannot but pray for the Satyagrahis who represent that the way of Christ is the true way of progress. If they take Christ at His word, they (the Missionaries) should either teach the Mission of Jesus to those that are away from Light or be prepared to be taught by their 'heathen' brethren in India. There cannot be a halfway house between the two courses of action.

#### THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF CHRISTIANS IN INDIA.

(By MR. V. BINMAN, CHINDWARA.)

India has reached a stage of which there is no precedent in her history. The new wine is bursting the old bottles. The wave of nationalism is very strong and is calling forth an enthusiasm and a spirit of sacrifice and willingness to suffer which in itself is a great gain.

What is the attitude of Christians in India whether foreign or indigenous to this movement? I have no authority to speak on behalf of the Christian community in India. What I wish to do is only to say what seems to me the truly Christian attitude under these circumstances. As lovers of India we Christians surely cannot fail to be deeply moved by the great desire for independence which has taken hold of so many of India's noble sons and daughters. The non-violence scheme appeals very strongly to us, and many of us think that if the movement can preserve this principle throughout it will demonstrate before the whole world that the Sermon on the Mount is applicable to nations as well as to individuals which certainly is what Christ meant.

But as Christians we cannot oppose the authorities of the country or deliberately break its laws, nor teach others to do so. Without judging those who do it, evidently deeply convinced of their fighting a good fight, we must keep apart. The only valid reason, according to our opinion, for a Christian to break the laws of the country, is that he is sometimes placed in circumstances where he has no other choice than breaking either human or divine law. Then the true Christian says:—"We ought to obey God rather than man," and he holds to it in the face of persecution even unto death.

In what way then can we Christians do our bit for the country we love, whether as real sons and daughters of India or as adopted ones?

First of all we can offer earnest prayers that *what is best for India* may come out of the present crisis. At the same time we can endeavour to lay, each in



his place, a good foundation for the new form of Government which may be built up. And I think most of us are doing this in different ways all the time. Then I think we should all join the movement against liquor. The present surely is a splendid chance of promoting not only temperance, for which we are working, but also progress towards the goal of prohibition. If any country is ready for such legislation, *India* is with its large majority of Hindus and Mohammedans, all *one* in this respect, and the third large section of the population, the depressed classes, desperately in need of prohibition for their uplift. We Christians can and should by all legitimate means support the propaganda against the liquor traffic. We can do one thing more: promote spinning and weaving and the wearing of indigenous cloth. This is sound economy. *India* needs to abstain from cheap foreign products which rob the people of their old cottage industries. Let us encourage everything which can make the rural population able to produce with their own labour what they need, and thus become independent. In all these things we heartily agree with Mr. Gandhi. My earnest prayer is that *India* may have the privilege of demonstrating to the world the fact that non-violence is not only right and brave and admirable but also effective.

I find myself admiring the attitude of both sides in this struggle which reminds me of the great courteousness with which the judge and Mr. Gandhi treated each other when he was arrested and tried and sentenced.

#### SHRI BASAWESHWAR JAYANTI.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

This year Shri Basaweshwar Jayanti in Bombay was celebrated in four different places with great pomp. The Bombay Lingayat Merchants' Association celebrated the Basaweshwar Jayanti in Mr. Sakre's Hall, Kalbadevi Road, at 8 A.M., on Friday, the 9th instant. Mr. Jirge of Sholapur spoke about the prophet Basaweshwara and his teachings. He said that Basaweshwara was a social reformer and he removed caste system by giving Lingadharana Diksha. He gave importance to merits and not to birth. He removed untouchability by giving Lingadharan. In short he was the greatest social reformer that the world had ever seen. The Lingayats of Nal Bazar had organised a palkhi procession which started from Round Temple and went through the various streets of city. All the Lingayats who are scattered over the city took part in the procession. In the evening, a meeting was held under the presidency of Vedratna Prof. Swami Virupaksh Wadeyar in Nageshbuwan near Round Temple. Swamiji delivered a learned lecture on Lingayat religion and its fundamental principles. The Swamiji spoke for two hours quoting authorities of Vedas and Shastras, that Lingayat religion is strictly a Vedic religion and it dates from time

immemorial. It is one of the most democratic religions of the world. It recognises no caste system and makes no distinction between the sexes. It regards all who wear Ling as one and are entitled to equal rights. Ashtavarana and Shatathala are its basic principles. Swamiji at last dealt with the teachings of Basaweshwara and how he spread his religion. After this there was a meeting at Mr. Takle's garden, Khetwadi and one more meeting at Dadar, Hari Building. So was celebrated the Basaweshwar Jayanti by the Carnatic and Maharashtra Veershaivas.

#### PATIALA INQUIRY ANNOUNCED.

The Government of India in a communique announce the appointment of Mr. Fitzpatrick, A. G. G., Punjab States, to hold an 'in camera' inquiry into the charges contained in a recent publication "Indictment of Patiala."

The communique runs:—

The following letter from the Maharaja of Patiala dated 6th May, 1930, has been received by the Viceroy:—

"Your Excellency is no doubt aware that for some time past a certain section of the press has carried a persistent agitation against me, casting grave reflection on my character and honour as a ruler and a man.

"If I refrained from taking any action against such newspapers it was partly because I felt that the wild character of the accusations against me, couched as they always were, in not only intemperate but vulgar language, and inspired as they were by powerful and unscrupulous enemies carried their own refutation in eyes of all responsible persons. The position has, however, materially changed since the publication of a pamphlet called "Indictment of Patiala" over the signature of certain gentlemen, who met at a committee under the auspices of the Indian States Peoples Conference and conducted an inquiry at Lahore and elsewhere in British India wholly 'ex parte' and practically endorsed comments that had already appeared against me in certain newspapers.

"My Government issued a communique in this connection, a copy of which I enclose herewith. I have reasons to believe that emboldened by my long suffering silence they have widely circulated this pamphlet both in India and in England. I can therefore, no longer ignore these accusations and I owe it to myself that I must voluntarily ask for a thorough, searching and independent inquiry into the allegations against me, formulated in twelve counts contained in that pamphlet.

#### VINDICATION OF HONOUR.

"From the moment that this pamphlet was brought to my notice I have been most anxious to vindicate my honour and to take such steps as I may be advised to take for the refutation of those charges. I lost no time in ordering the collection of

all documentary evidence and its being placed in the hands of my legal advisers. The examination, however, by my legal advisers of voluminous documentary evidence placed before them has naturally taken some time. I am now in a position to make a definite request to you in writing that you may be pleased to order an inquiry into the twelve counts contained in the pamphlet known as 'Indictment of Patiala' and to call upon my traducers to establish the charges they have made against me and to give me an opportunity of meeting those charges.

"Speaking for myself and my Government, we shall be only too willing to give every possible assistance to the officer conducting the inquiry to enable him to arrive at the truth of the matter. Should Your Excellency in view of all the circumstances of the case and the urgency of the matter decide to entrust the inquiry to the Hon. the Agent to the Governor General, Punjab States, I shall agree to such a course if I am allowed to be represented by counsel of my choice. I have no doubt that the other party will also be similarly allowed to be represented by counsel of their choice.

#### "TARGETS OF ATTACK."

"It is obvious that if a certain number of persons combine together to besmirch the reputation of a ruler of an Indian State in the hope that their action will always be followed by an inquiry, the position of Indian Rulers will become absolutely intolerable. As it is, Indian Princes have recently become the targets of attack in a certain section of the press in British India and their peculiar political and constitutional position places them at a disadvantage in coping with this evil. I am taking this step only because I feel that neither as the ruler of this State nor as an official representative of my order, can I afford any longer to sit silent against the campaign of calumny, which under powerful influence has been gathering in volume and virulence of late."

His Excellency has accordingly entrusted the Hon. Mr. J. A. O. Fitzpatrick, Bar-at-Law, A. G. G. Punjab States with the making of a full inquiry into all the charges contained in the recent publication "Indictment of Patiala." He will conduct the inquiry *in camera* at such place and time as may be appointed by him and will have full power to fix the times of hearing, to adjourn the hearing, to adjust and arrange methods of procedure, to settle the course which the inquiry shall take, to call for, to receive or reject evidence, documentary or other, to hear counsel and such persons on behalf of the parties as he may think fit and generally to guide the whole of the proceedings of the inquiry as from time to time shall appear to him proper for the purpose thereof. In accordance with this decision those concerned will be notified by the A. G. G. in Punjab States of the time and place of inquiry and should submit any representation direct to him.

## ALLEGATIONS AGAINST PATIALA.

### LAHORE WOMEN DEMAND ENQUIRY.

Under the auspices of the Lahore Women's Conference, a public meeting of women was held at the S. P. S. K. Hall on the 7th instant to urge an enquiry in connection with the Patiala report. Mrs. Bhola Nath presided. The following resolution was passed:—"This public meeting of Lahore women resolves that the allegations made against the Maharaja of Patiala in the report, "Indictment of Patiala," published by the All-India States Peoples' Conference are most serious and alarming. In the opinion of this meeting the report has established a *prima facie* case that the life and honour of women is not safe in Patiala State. It, therefore demands immediate enquiry by the Paramount Power into the conduct of the Maharaja and the charges made against him.

### ENDING AN AUTOCRACY.

Mrs. Brij Lal Nehru, in proposing the resolution, said that the report could be dealt with from many points of view but they were concerned with it only so far as it affected the honour and safety of women and the welfare of children. In ancient days the only means of suppressing an autocracy was by the sword; the modern method was that of agitation through the platform and the press. But both these methods were denied to the State's peoples. Therefore it was upto the women of British India to voice the complaints which their weaker and oppressed sisters were unable to make. Mrs. Nehru described from the report instances of unimaginable tortures inflicted upon women in the Patiala State and strongly urged an inquiry into all these allegations. Kumari Lajawati seconded the resolution. After Mrs. Shivalal and Mrs. Parwati Devi had supported it, the resolution was carried.

**The Ismail College, Andheri:—**The Ismail College, Andheri, will open from June next. As already announced, only the First Year and Intermediate Arts Classes will be opened to begin with, the Intermediate Science and Junior B.A. Classes being added in 1931-32 and the Senior B.A. Class in 1932-33. The College will provide for the teaching of the Pass and Honours courses in English, Persian, Urdu, Arabic and Sanskrit and also the Pass courses in History and Economics and in Mathematics and the Inter Science course in Groups A and B. The College will be open to all communities, preference being given to Muhammadan students who may apply for admission. Tuition fees will be Rs. 75 per term.

**Mrs. Reddi Resigns From Council:—**Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Deputy President of the Madras Legislature, has resigned the membership of the Legislature. In her letter to the Governor submitting her resignation she says:—"I am obliged to take this step as a mark of respect for that great soul, Mahatma Gandhi, who has been arrested and imprisoned by the Government. I feel it my bounden duty to express to your Excellency on this occasion that his life has been a source of inspiration to me in all my activities."

### THE VICEROY'S APPEAL.

Lord Irwin has issued an appeal, in which he announces the date proposed for the London Round Table Conference. The appeal is technically called a statement and it runs as follows:—

“At this juncture of India's history I desire to recall the attention of her people to the main fact out of which the present situation has developed.

“On November 1, last I made an announcement on behalf of His Majesty's Government that in their judgment it was implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated was the attainment of Dominion Status. I further stated that when the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee had submitted their reports and these had been published and when His Majesty's Government had been able, in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the material then available, they would propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them separately or together, as circumstances might demand, for the purpose of conference and discussion in regard both to the British-Indian and the All-Indian problems.

#### CONFERENCE WITH GANDHI.

“On December 23, when I met Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru they made it plain that they were not prepared to participate in the Conference except upon new conditions which had found no place in my announcement; and consequent upon this the Congress, at Lahore, under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi, proclaimed its creed to be that of complete independence.

“It is a matter for great regret that any body of Indian opinion should have rejected the offer of His Majesty's Government. As I have said on a previous occasion, those who have rejected have spurned an opportunity unprecedented in India's history and have rejected a unique chance of playing a constructive part in the evolution of India's future. In order to defeat the proposal of His Majesty's Government they have sought to proceed not by constitutional means, as might have been expected to appeal to reasonable men, but have deliberately embarked upon a course of civil disobedience fraught with dangers to which it is impossible to suppose its authors can any longer be blind.

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN.

“In pursuance of the Congress resolution, Mr. Gandhi sent me on March 2, last a letter, which has been given wide publicity, announcing his intention to institute his campaign of civil disobedience on March 11 by proceeding to disregard the provisions of the salt laws. He explained his decision on the ground that the party of violence was gaining strength, that he had unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence to be expressed through civil disobedience and that it would therefore be sinful on his part to wait longer. He

concluded by admitting the knowledge that in embarking on non-violence he would be running what might fairly be termed a mad risk. In the reply which I caused to be sent to his letter my regret was expressed that he contemplated a course of action which was clearly bound to involve a violation of law and a danger to public peace.

“In my last address to the Legislative Assembly on January 15, I was at pains to make clear the inevitable consequences of the adoption of unconstitutional and unlawful methods to bring about political changes to which Mr. Gandhi and his followers stood committed. I further made it plain that, while it remained my firm desire, as it was that of His Majesty's Government, to do everything possible for conciliation in order that Great Britain and India might collaborate together in finding a solution of our present difficulties, it was no less incumbent upon myself and my Government to discharge our responsibility for the effective maintenance of law's authority and for the preservation of peace and order. The events of the past three weeks have been a melancholy fulfilment of the anticipation expressed in my reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter.

#### PROMULGATION ORDINANCES.

“From quarters as far distant as Peshawar and Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, Chittagong and Karachi, Delhi and Sholapur have come ominous tales of mob violence, of armed murderous raids and of general defiance of lawful authority. With regret, but inevitably, my Government have compelled, in facing this growing menace to the well-being and security of the Indian public, to arm themselves and the Provincial Governments with such further weapons as we judged necessary and expedient to restore, in the eyes of the world, the good name of India for sanity and respect for constituted authority. Driven, as I and my Government have been, by force of circumstances and by the action of others to take these steps—and I hope that wiser counsels may soon prevail which may render unnecessary the continuance of measures designed to meet the emergency—I desire to make it plain that,

Our purpose remains unchanged and that neither my Government nor His Majesty's Government will be deflected by these unhappy events from our firm determination to abide by the policy I was privileged, to announce on behalf of His Majesty's Government on November 1 last.

“Steps are being actively taken to arrange for the assembling in London of the representatives at the Conference there contemplated on or about October 20 next.

Though this date is later than, in some respects, I could have wished, it will offer the advantage to the delegates from India of establishing personal relations with representatives of the Dominions who will then be present in London in connection with the Imperial Conference which has already been arranged to meet at the end of September. The actual opening of the Indian Conference would

follow immediately the conclusion of the Imperial Conference.

#### LOVE FOR INDIA.

"If I may sound a more personal note, I would say that those who know my mind best will realise how great is the store which I set upon the outcome of this policy; but constructive work such as that which we are eager to begin is only prejudiced and obstructed. I would accordingly appeal to all persons throughout India calmly and dispassionately to consider these facts for themselves.

"I recognise that at the present time there is a widespread desire throughout India to see real political advance and I have learnt to love India too well to relax my efforts to assist what I hold to be the natural and true development of her political life.

"Such development depends upon the solution of the real problems among which there is none more important than that which affects the future position of the minorities. So far as this is concerned, it is evident that no settlement can be considered satisfactory which does not carry the consent of, and give a sense of security to, the important minority communities who will have to live under the new constitution.

"But so long as those responsible for the civil disobedience movement refuse to recognise the realities and proceed as if all that was necessary was to break the law, regardless of consequences such action must entail, so long will they be postponing the very things which they profess to desire for India and which others, who do not share their reluctance to see facts as they are, might by this time have gone far to achieve.

"No more severe condemnation has ever been passed upon any persons than that in which it was said of some that they entered not in themselves and them that were entering in they hindered."

May 12, 1930

(Sd.) IRWIN.

#### ARYA MARRIAGE VALIDATION.

The Managing Committee of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj has submitted the following views on the Arya Marriage Validation Bill and the Hindu Widows' Rights of Inheritance Bill:—

The Prarthana Samaj sympathises with the object of the Arya Marriage Validation Act in attempting to remove the barrier of cast or religion in contracting marriage. But it finds that the bill, such as it is, is very perfunctory and vague. In the first place the definition of an Arya Samajist in clause 2 (b) and (c) is too general and vague. Besides under the definition a man by becoming a member of an Arya Samaj can make so many other persons Arya Samajists whether they wish it or not. A marriage law should be precise to avoid unfortunate consequences. Further if the Arya Samajists wish to do away with restrictions of caste and religion they should be anxious not to abuse this liberty. It

should therefore be provided that the marriages should not be bigamous. It is painful to find that people of advanced views like the Arya Samajists should allow bigamy in their community. And if this bill is to be passed, it should provide that marriages under the bill must not be bigamous. The bill contemplates marriages between persons of different faiths. That requires some provision as to the degrees of consanguinity within which marriages must not be performed. The author of the bill presupposes that the Hindu law would be applicable to these marriages and would govern the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, as well as all other matters in which the question of what law to govern them would arise. But that would not necessarily be the case as a clause contemplates marriages between an Arya Samajist and a person belonging to a different religion. The Samaj believes that the age of the parties to the marriage will be governed by the Child Marriage Restraint Act No. XIX of 1929. All the above difficulties would be obviated if the bill is made a part of the Special Marriage Act of 1872 as the Gour Act was done, and the parties to the marriage required to make a declaration before the Registrar that they are Arya Samajists and the provisions of Section 2 of the Act as to sanguinity, monogamy, age, and the necessity of the consent of the father or guardian when either party is below 21 years made applicable to the marriages under the present bill. Further it should be provided that marriages under the bill shall be monogamous, that is, not only that a party to a marriage must not have a wife or husband living at the time of marriage, but the parties married under the bill shall not during the life time of his wife or her husband contract any other marriage. The Prarthana Samaj is further of opinion that the Indian Divorce Act be made applicable to such marriages. It is further necessary that there should be a provision in the bill as to the law by which the succession to the property of the parties marrying under the bill is to be governed. The Samaj thinks that law should be the Indian Succession Act, especially as the bill contemplates marriage between an Arya Samajist and a person belonging to a different faith and even an Arya Samajist may be a convert from a non-Hindu-faith. If the Arya Samajists do not wish that the disabilities involved in the Gour Act should not apply to them they should not be forced on them. In short the Prarthana Samaj thinks that the bill should be made a part of the Special Marriage Act, 1872, excluding the provisions of the Gour Act, except Section 24 which makes the Indian Succession Act applicable and requiring only a declaration that "I am an Arya Samajist."

#### HINDU WIDOWS' RIGHTS OF INHERITANCE BILL.

The Prarthana Samaj is in full sympathy with the object of the Hindu Widows' Right of Inheritance Bill. But it finds that the Bill as at present drafted

is not clear at least on one point, viz., whether the widow gets the right to the share or property under the Bill where there is no male issue or whether, where there is male issue, takes her husband's share or property to the complete exclusion of the male issue. In the latter case the Bill is objectionable and would be unjust to the male issue. The Samaj is of opinion that even in the latter case the widow should get a share in her husband's property to the extent of one-third as under Indian Succession Act, leaving the two-thirds to the male issue. But it appears from all the papers submitted that the author of the Bill means to give the husband's share or property to the widow where there is no male issue. In the latter case there is no objection to the widow taking the whole of her husband's share or property, though the Samaj would very much like that the daughter should also be given a share in her father's share or property and should inherit the property jointly with the widow. The Prarthana Samaj would even like to go further and would like to see that the widow, son and daughter jointly inherit the share in the joint family or property of the deceased as under the Indian Succession Act. But it does not think that the Hindu Society is at present ready to accept that ideal. Under the circumstances, the Samaj welcomes the advance which the Bill proposes in the recognition of the widow's right.

2. The Bill further does not expressly provide for not the uncommon case where the intestate, though a member of the joint family, leaves also separate property of his own.

3. Section 4 of the Bill seems superfluous, though there is no objection to its retention.

4. On the whole, the Bill has the appearance of being hastily drawn up, and it is hoped that it will be redrafted so as to leave no doubt as to its provisions.

#### THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

Carl von Prosch writes in *The World's Youth*: In other countries people are far too much inclined to regard German youth as a unified whole. Not quite half the young people in Germany are organized in youth associations, of which there are about a hundred. Our remarks therefore will only deal with a minority, and even here we must be on our guard against generalisations. If we include in the term youth all those between 14 and 25, we have to distinguish between two generations,—the young people who came under the influence of the so-called Youth Movement, and the youth of to-day. The latter have often puzzled us of recent years. The Youth Movement has not yet, it is true, become altogether a movement of cultural revolution amongst adults, but it is no longer typical of to-day. What then is the situation amongst German youths at the present time?

A psychological analysis of the situation is not easy; there is always a danger of hasty generalisations. The best way to set about it, in this

instance, is by a comparison with the "Youth Movement", which is only becoming known in other countries now that it is already beginning to be a thing of the past in the country of its origin, although its name is still often falsely applied to groups which stand for something quite different.

#### YOUTH MOVEMENT.

The Youth Movement was part of a cultural revolution. From the beginning it was in opposition to and too often in open conflict with the "old." It wished to create its own forms of life on its own responsibility and with complete freedom and sincerity. It was marked by a definite revolt against a civilisation consisting largely of externals, and against the age of technical achievement, often described as "Americanisation". A "return to nature" in Rousseau's sense, protest and revolt, free intercourse between boys and girls, romanticism, the revival of old folk-songs and dances, simplicity combined with harmonious form in externals, a wealth of ideas and ideals,—these are the essential characteristics of the Youth Movement. It did really succeed in promoting an epoch of Youth as we had before an epoch of the child. In public opinion, in science and politics attention is paid to youth. Many books have been written on the subject, and special committees have been set up, local, provincial and national, in order to give the Youth Associations an opportunity of voicing their interests. A network of youth shelters large and small, covers the country from the Alps to the North Sea and the Baltic. Cheap fares on the railways, reduced rates of entry to all sorts of cultural institutions, such as theatres and museums, special courses for young people at the People's Universities, etc. testify to the results achieved.

#### NEW OUTLOOK.

The youth of to-day, conscious of these successes sees itself confronted with fresh tasks. A new feature of its outlook is that it is once more ready to accept the leadership of adults. It no longer adopts a hostile attitude towards the "old". It no longer demands a self-willed individualism; it is however less rich in ideas. It is much less romantic.

A sterner and harder tendency now prevails. An energetic leader has a great power of attraction. Youth is tired of problems, and wants clear and definite orders. It joyfully accepts strict discipline. It may be definitely said that both Communists, and Fascists and other political movements now find it easier to win large masses of young people. Perhaps we too are in process of producing "the political man."

#### FUTURE PROGRAMME.

Christian youth associations of both confessions must of course take account of this tendency. Many attempts have been made, slowly but not less surely, to adopt Scout methods both as regards costume and camps and in connection with the whole programme of work. The question of leaders is of very

special urgency at the present time. The most perfect methods, as evolved by the central organisation, cannot replace the right type of leader, for whom youth is calling to-day as never before. Gifts and training, experience and character are of decisive importance here. This means too, that all mere uniformity and mechanical routine must be avoided, although the present psychological tendencies would often seem to make naturally for these, and although the leader who is lacking in the true qualities of leadership will often welcome them. The leader must have full freedom to create special forms of work in harmony with local conditions. A missionary enterprise such as that of the Y.M.C.A. cannot address itself to picked and exceptional youth.

Our model is and must always remain Jesus himself, His own unique and always personal method of approach to each individual.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Ahmedabad Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee :—**The Secretary, Publicity Bureau, Gujerat Prantik Samiti, Ahmedabad, sends a report of the week's activities in Gujerat. We give below an extract from the report :—  
The Ahmedabad Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee contemplates the opening of a number of Spinning Wheel classes in various localities here. The first beginning was made on the 25th April when Shreemati Motiben Ranchhodlal Amritlal performed the opening ceremony of a Rentia class in Sir Ohinubhai's Mansion in Desai's Pole. After a number of National Songs were sung by the Sevika corps Shreemati Saraladevi Ambalal in the absence of Shreemati Shardabehn Mehta explained how the want of Khaddar as well as swadeshi necessitated the opening of such classes every where and she requested Shreemati Motiben to do so. Lady Sulochana Ohinubhai and Shreemati Mahalaxmi also spoke to the same effect after which Shreemati Motiben declared the class formally open. About thirty Spinning wheels are working at present.

**Reform Among Nambudiris :—**News comes from Kidangur in Travancore to the effect that at a conference of Nambudiri reformers held there a number of Nambudiri youths have resolved to give up wearing sacred thread. Most of the Nambudiris who attended the meeting removed their threads. The meeting which was presided over by Mr. O. N. Narayanad Nambudiri was also attended by a large number of Antharjanams (Nambudiri women). Srimathi K. Draupadi Antharjanam, a Nambudiri lady addressed the gathering advocating the abolition of the purdah system and urging that the Nambudiri women should be given liberal western education. There were also other speakers who pleaded for the removal of all restrictions with regard to the marriage of Nambudiri women by junior members of Nambudiri Tarawads, foreign travel etc.

**Library At India House :—**For some time past the question of providing a Library at the new India House, London, which would be a self-contained centre of information about India, has been engaging the attention of the High Commissioner for India. Considerable space is being provided for the display of publications, and the accommodation includes a spacious reading room and facilities for study and reference by students and other persons interested in Indian matters. The High Commissioner is anxious that the collection of works in

the Library should be commensurate with the space and nature of the accommodation that is being provided, and fully in keeping with the importance and functions of India House. His main aim is to provide in the new building a library that will be readily accessible to all interested in Indian economic questions and in current Indian art, literature, etc. A beginning has already been made by the formation in his office of a collection of many official publications of the Government of India and of local Governments and of non official publications purchased from time to time from among works published in England, India and elsewhere, as they come to notice. The High Commissioner feels, however, anxious that the collection in the Library at India House of books published in India more especially on the subjects mentioned above should be as representative as possible and he would therefore be very glad to receive presentation copies of such books from their authors. Copies should be sent to the Secretary to the High Commissioner for India, General Department, India House, Aldwych, London, W. O. 2.

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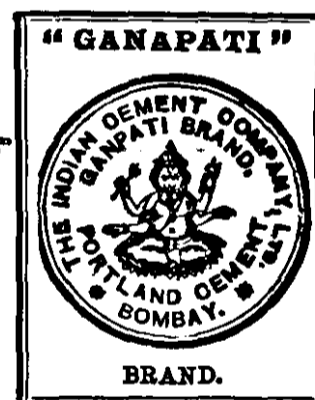
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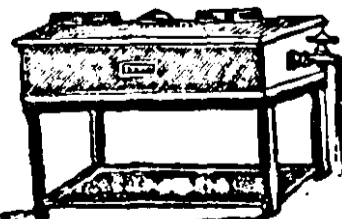
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1930

No. 38

"Be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Mahatma Gandhi in Yerawda Jail.**—*Young India* of this week prints extracts from the first letter received from Mahatma Gandhi in the Sabarmati Ashram last Sunday. He is allowed to receive letters concerning the Ashram every week, and also a weekly letter. He is a political prisoner and all but the most necessary restrictions about visitors and correspondence are inappropriate in his case. Mahatmaji is at present devoting much of his time to spinning on the *takli*, as he finds that he has no speed at all on it. On the first day he spent seven hours in spinning and felt exhausted at the end, though he had reached only 160 rounds. They have given him a man to clean vessels. There are letters to Mrs. Gandhi and his son, Devidas, to whom Mahatmaji says: "I do not know where you are. But there is God above to take care of us, so let us not worry about one another." Devidas is serving a term of imprisonment in Delhi for a salt offence. Mahatmaji does not forget the little ones at the Ashram. To them, he writes a special letter which runs:

"Little Birds,

"Ordinary birds cannot fly without wings. With wings, of course, all can fly. But if you, without wings, will learn how to fly, then all your troubles will indeed be at an end. And I will teach you.

"See, I have no wings, yet I come flying to you every day in thought. Look, here is little Vimala, here is Hari and here is Dharmakumar. And you also can come flying to me in thought.

"There is no need of a teacher for those who know how to think. The teacher may guide us, but he cannot give us the power of thinking. That is latent in us. Those who are wise get wise thoughts.

"Tell me who, amongst you, are not praying properly in Prabhuphai's evening prayer.

"Send me a letter signed by all, and those who do not know how to sign may make a cross.

'Yerawda Palace,'

BAPU'S Blessings."

'Silence day.'

**The *Daily Herald* Interview:**—The *Indian Daily Mail* published on Wednesday an interview which Mr. George Slocombe, the special correspondent in India of the *Daily Herald* of London, had with Mahatma Gandhi in Yerawda

Jail. The gist of the interview was that Mahatmaji would be willing to negotiate with British Government on the basis of Dominion Status which has the substance of independence. This is nothing new to us. In an article headed "A Visit to Mahatma Gandhi" published in the *Reformer* of the 5th April, this writer observed: "As regards Dominion Status itself, Mahatma Gandhi, I gathered, could now only view it in terms of independence. That is to say, how much of the substance of independence, it contained." Mr. Slocombe also says that the second condition was "satisfaction to be granted to Mr. Gandhi's demands for the repeal of the Salt Tax, the prohibition of liquor and the ban of foreign cloth." This, too, is no new thing. Mahatmaji, in fact, said at one of his meetings in Surat District, that he was prepared to go down on his knees if the Viceroy should take action for the repeal of the salt-tax. We have again and again urged that the eleven points of Mahatma Gandhi constituted an alternative offer, and that Government should take advantage of it to re-open negotiations. Mahatmaji knows that the Viceroy cannot settle these points by a mere fiat, and he would be satisfied if his Excellency "initiate" these reforms by taking steps to have them properly formulated and introduced in the appropriate ways for progressive consideration. The fact is, Mahatmaji is the Indian leader with whom Government can most easily negotiate as he has no axe of his own to grind, and solely concerned for the good of the masses. If Government had acted on his offer, the country would have been saved all the suffering and humiliation it has had to go through in the last two months. However, better late than never.

**The Congress Working Committee Resolutions:**—The Congress Working Committee met last week at Allahabad to review the situation as it has developed since its last meeting and to revise its programme in the light of developments. The outstanding facts which have happened in the interval, are first, the imprisonment of nearly all the seasoned leaders and followers of the satyagraha movement including the President of the Congress; the internment of Mahatma Gandhi; and the issue of the Viceroy's Press Ordinance. The cumulative effect of these events is to lessen considerably for the time being the fighting strength of the satyagraha campaign. Another, is the occurrence of violent popular outbreaks as the result either of blind fury or of grave provocation in several places. In view of these facts, the Congress Committee would have done well if it had decided upon a slowing down rather than intensification of its programme, in order to gain

time to recoup its losses and to allow friendly neutrals the opportunity of intervening with proposals for a peaceful settlement. We do not mean to say that the events referred to above, have added morally or even materially to the strength of Government who by imprisoning one actual satyagrahi have raised five potential satyagrahis, and in the case of Mahatmaji many thousands of them. The position is one of stalemate and the Congress Committee would have done what every prudent General would do if it had recognised the fact and resolved upon marking time. It may be that its formidable list of resolutions are subject to reservations and qualifications which it has not been thought expedient to publish, but even so, a frank recognition of the need for revising the programme would have shown at any rate that the members have not allowed themselves to be guided solely by the desire to show a bold front to Government.

#### Sholapur Under Martial Law:—

Sholapur is a thriving industrial city and has some of the best cotton mills in the country. It has been under martial law since the 12th instant. Non-official Indian opinion is almost unanimous in holding that the introduction of martial law was not called for, while the justification for it is set forth in a Bombay Government Press Note. With regard to this Press Note, we must say that it differs from most other official statements on recent disturbances in its calm and detached narration of facts. The common mistake of Publicity officers of over-stating one side of the case, is carefully avoided. Particularly noteworthy is the categorical contradiction of the atrocities attributed to the Sholapur mob. In the normal run of official statements, exaggerations of this kind are seldom corrected. Another noteworthy feature of the Press Note is that a line is drawn between the roughs of the city and Congressmen and that the mob excesses are not sought to be fathered upon the *Satyagrahis*. The main charge brought against the latter is that "Congress volunteers were making a pretence of running the administration of the city." When the civil administration shows signs of collapse, it is the obvious duty of private citizens in their own interests to do what they can to maintain order, and the action of Congress volunteers was no more than this. That it should be brought up as an accusation against them, is strange. Our impression on reading the official statement, is that Government themselves are by no means satisfied that the situation could not have been controlled without declaring martial law. The Bombay Government has a tradition of self-sufficiency and it could not have been pleasant to it to have to confess to the Government of India that the civil administration had collapsed and that martial law might be proclaimed in a part of its territories.

**Triumph of Satyagraha:—**The women of Dacca have solved the question of temple entry of untouchables in their own decisive way which, we trust, will be followed in other parts of the country. A Press message of the 18th instant from Dacca reported that the Munshiganj Kali temple "satyagraha," which was being continued for over nine months, had a happy termination on the previous day. About 200 high caste women, in order to save the lives of the hunger-striking "satyagrahis," removed the barriers to the temple

with saws, axes and hammers—they being helped in this by members of the Young Men's Association—and thus threw the doors of the temple open to all classes of Hindus. About 2,000 people witnessed the incident. The women and all the Hindus present made offerings to the deity. The oppositionists kept aloof and offered no obstruction.

**The Christian Attitude to Civil Disobedience:—**We have published several letters bearing on this question. The general trend of missionary opinion appears to be that civil disobedience is contrary to the teachings of Christ. Only one of our correspondents, the Rev. W. M. Ryburn, whose letter was published in the *Reformer* of May 10, maintained that "the doctrine that laws must be obeyed because they are made by the State, and must be remedied by constitutional means, though generally accepted by Christians, is not a Christian doctrine but a pagan one, which was taken up by the Christian Church very early in its history," when the church became the ally of the State. "It is not," added Mr. Ryburn "according to the mind of Christ. On the merely political plane also, no Englishman or American can object to law-breaking. The liberties of England were built up on the armed resistance of a portion of the nation to arbitrarily imposed law. The American nation was founded on armed opposition by a minority to what was regarded as unjustly imposed laws. Mahatma Gandhi has brought the matter closer to the teaching of Jesus by cutting out the armed part, and making it a non-violent revolution." The Metropolitan of India is a saintly man of a deeply religious character, and his opinion, of course, will carry great weight with the generality of Christians in countries situated like India! Mr. Kumarappa, whose comments on the Bishop's letter we publish to-day, has dealt at length with the Bishop's standpoint.

**Need for Divine Guidance:—**The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury has issued a request for prayers for Divine guidance for the Viceroy and all having responsibilities of rule and public influence in India for restraining violence, the allaying of fears, the restoration and the maintenance of goodwill and the union of East and West; and suggested Sunday the 25th May for the purpose. The Society of Friends has made a similar appeal. His Grace's request should meet with response not only from the Anglican Church but from all religious communities and individuals. The Satyagraha movement is based on truth and non-violence whereas Governments all over the world—India is no exception—still regard a considerable latitude in regard to both, indispensable for them. Divine guidance alone can wean them from this illusion. True religion can never flourish until Governments rely on moral influence and not on machine guns and aerial bombs espionage to do the work of ruling.

**Conversion and Untouchability:—**Conversion to other religions as a means of getting rid of the stigma of untouchability, is not recognised in Travancore. A recent Government resolution confirms the order of the District Magistrate of Padmanabhapuram prohibiting "the Pardvas professing the Roman Catholic religion and the other non-Hindu and non-caste Hindu residents of the village of Cape Comorin from using for any purpose whatsoever the Kanyakumari Teppakulam."

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 24, 1930.

THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN  
HINDU SOCIETY.

We have before us two addresses, one delivered at the second Self Respect Conference held at Erode in Southern India by Mr. Shanmukham Chetty; and the other, delivered at the seventh All-India Depressed Classes Conference held at Amraoti in the Central Provinces, by Mr. R. S. Nekaljay. The Self-Respect Conference, broadly speaking, is a movement of non-Brahmin Caste Hindus against the social and religious superiority of Brahmins; while the Depressed Classes Conference voices the revolt of these classes against Brahmins as well as non-Brahmin Caste Hindus. Mr. Shanmukham in his address wisely kept in the background the sectional origin of the Self-Respect Conference and represented it as identical with the social reform movement with the difference that, while the latter originated with the higher strata of Society, the Self-Respect movement is an off shoot of the Non-Brahmin movement, is, as the *Guardian* of Calcutta says, the spear-head of that movement. There is another difference which may be noted here. The social reform movement from its origin has concentrated largely on questions affecting women, while the Self-Respect movement is especially concerned with the caste system. Social Reformers did not altogether ignore caste, but they seldom went much beyond advocating the fusion of sub-castes. The Self-Respect Conference, on the other hand, stands for the abolition of caste. In fact, according to Mr. Shanmukham, the Self-Respect Conference makes the giving up of Caste the test of a true Nationalist. The selection of Mr. M. R. Jayakar to preside over the Erode Conference, as well as Mr. Shanmukham's address, are signs of the gratifying change which is coming over the non-Brahmin movement. Mr. Jayakar is a Sanskrit classical and Vedantic scholar and an influential leader of the Hindu renaissance movement. His address which we publish to-day is a characteristically thoughtful attempt to bring the Self-Respect Conference in line with the larger Hinduism of the present day. While approving the designation of the Conference, Mr. Jayakar stressed throughout his address the importance of cultivating respect for the higher rather than for the lower Self in the spirit of the Bhagavad Gita. "Let a man uplift himself by the Self. Let him not drag himself down. For the Self alone is the friend of the self. And the self alone is the enemy of the Self."

Mr. Nekaljay's indictment is against caste Hindus—Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike, and also Mahomedans who are recognised as political allies by the non-Brahmin movement. In fact, it is the chief count in his indictment that caste Hindus have bartered the just claims of the depressed classes in order to make friends with Mussalmans. Mr. Nekaljay warns the depressed classes against conversion to Islam, but he suggests that the Catholic monastic orders should be introduced into India to establish agricultural communities of the depressed classes. This is not far from favouring the conversion to Roman Catholicism of these classes. The example of France which Mr. Nekaljay cites in support of his proposal, is altogether misleading, as it was the French Revolution and not Catholic monasticism which established the system of peasant proprietors in that country. The conversion of the depressed classes to Christianity will not solve their problem any more than their conversion to Islam. There are depressed classes in both religions, while merely as regards racial equality, Islam, by general admission, is far ahead of Christianity. The contrast is most glaring in Africa where the Negro Christian is not allowed to worship in the same church as the White Christian. Mr. Nekaljay's indictment of caste Hindus is unanswerable—though he does less than justice to Mahatma Gandhi and the Hindu Maha Sabha for their efforts to create public opinion against untouchability—and we cordially support the education and franchise proposals which he puts forward for securing for these classes of our people equal opportunities and rights with the rest. Our faith in the franchise is somewhat less than that of Mr. Nekaljay. We do not believe in the magical powers of the ballot box. Still, however, adequate representation in the Legislature will certainly place them in a position of influence with the other members, and we would strongly recommend that the claims put forward by men like Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Nekaljay should receive the most sympathetic consideration and support of all other representatives at the Round Table Conference as well as of Government.

As for social and religious disabilities, we can assure Mr. Nekaljay that there is already a radical change in caste Hindu opinion as the result mainly of Mahatma Gandhi's precepts and practice, and we are sure that in ten years' time at the most, these disabilities will be things of the past. There are pessimists in and outside Hindu society who regard these movements as portending disintegration. We believe, on the contrary, that they are proof that the Hindu social organism is becoming imbued with a political principle which has so long been absent from it. Hindu

society has adapted itself from time to time to new ideas, and this is exactly what it is doing now. The most hopeful sign of the times is that Hindu women who were opposed to social reforms, are now coming forward to accelerate them. The part played by them in throwing open the Dacca temple, to which we refer in our Notes, shows that they are keen on carrying out this reform also.

#### "INDIANISATION" AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Experience conclusively shows that we have been pursuing two diametrically opposed objectives in politics. So long as Indian politicians were content to press for the fulfilment of the terms of Queen Victoria's Proclamation promising equal status with her British-born subjects in the administration, the larger employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the Public Services was a proper demand. With the demand of Swaraj, whether it means Dominion status or Independence, Indianisation has little affinity. On the contrary, *Indianisation is a direct obstacle to the attainment of Swaraj*. This is so evident that it is a surprise to us that our political leaders have not yet fully realised its inevitability. The Congress Party, when it decided to enter the Legislature, laid on itself a self-denying ordinance not to accept office. It must be admitted in the light of facts that in doing this it was guided by a true political instinct. Our British rulers have always held that what educated Indians really want is not self-government but high offices. Lord Morley, after his conversations with Gokhale, of all men, wrote to Lord Minto that what Indians want a million times more than political power was to be admitted to high offices. Gokhale was not an office-seeker and he could have said nothing to Lord Morley to lend colour to this view. It is the inveterate prejudice against educated Indians from which Morley was no more free than other British statesmen before and after him, which led him to form this poor estimate. The decision of the Congress Party cut at the root of this time-honoured doctrine, and made it impossible for any Viceroy or Secretary of State to urge that particular charge against Indian politicians. It is a great service which the Congress party did to release Indian politics from the odium of office-hunting which had clung to it.

Even the Swarajists, however, though they themselves have declined to take office, have joined in the general cry for the Indianisation of the services. With what result? So far as Indianisation has progressed it has strengthened the anti-national and weakened the national forces. Few of the Indians who have risen to

high office as the direct result of this demand for Indianisation, remember that fact. It flatters their self-esteem to think that they have climbed by their own strength, and it has been their endeavour to approve themselves to their fellow British officials and superiors and subordinates, as being as little Indian in outlook as themselves. Take even the Ministers who are supposed to be amenable to public opinion. They have become willing stalking horses from behind whom their colleagues of the Reserved side and their Secretaries drawn from the Imperial services, perpetrate measures which they would not have ventured to do when they were solely responsible for the administration and had not this cover to shelter them from public criticism. Things are being done now with the acquiescence of Ministers and of Indian high officials which would not have been done when the Government was predominantly European in its personnel. Indianisation without Self-Government is a miserable hallucination. It has only provided, as might have been expected, instruments for the existing system, who as Indians are to a considerable extent immune from criticism. The late Sir Hormusjee Wadia, who was a robust Liberal called attention to this untoward result nine years ago. Speaking at the Malaviya Conference in 1922 Sir Hormusji, while strongly condemning the non-cooperation movement, expressed his keen disappointment at the failure of Ministers and Indian Members of Council to stand up against the repression which was being practised in the name of law and order. He said:

"We moderates accepted what was given to us (in the Reform Act) in an honest spirit, thinking it was a first step which would enable us to see that it was followed by other steps with greater swiftness by our own efforts. But to-day I regret I stand here before you, to make one painful admission. The recent measures of Government have caused us deep searching of the heart and mind. We had been thinking about the new era, since the passing of the Reform Act with high hope, but we feel that we have been dreaming a dream; and there is deep disappointment. After the events that took place on the 17th November, what do we find? That in the year 1921, Lord Reading and his Government could do without check and restraint all over India what Lord Onelmsford did in 1919 about the Punjab. We have three Indian Members in the Viceroy's Executive Council. They and Lord Reading seem to have given *carte blanche* to the Provincial administrations everywhere to adopt and enforce any and every restrictive or coercive measure they chose. Then we have our Ministers in the Local Governments. Have the Local Governments consulted the Ministers? It may be—I dare say, it was, the case that they were not consulted according to the constitution. But if they were not consulted, why do they remain as Ministers? Why do they remain

mute, inactive, helpless and leave us, their own countrymen, without lead or guidance at such a crisis? I say that the Moderates must feel a deep searching of the heart and mind as to whether these new reforms have been true reforms."

These words are as applicable today as they were eight years ago, if not more. We have Indian Ministers and Members of Council, and a much larger proportion of Indians in the higher services, now, but the policy of meeting public discontent by repression rather than by conciliation, continues. The Press Ordinance, the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, the imprisonment of hundreds of patriotic young men, the numerous complaints of Police high-handedness,—none of these things seem to affect the self-complacency of these men while they are carrying anguish into every household in the land. If they were not holding these offices, they would have certainly been in the ranks of those who are fighting against these things. The folly of pressing forward with Indianisation before full self-government is reached, must never again be committed.

**Maharaja of Bikaner on Reforms:—**An important speech was delivered by His Highness the Maharaja at a dinner on May 12 in which His Highness referred to current political topics. There was already enough of trouble, said His Highness, and he had no desire to say anything that might be considered controversial; and just as the Indian States desired to be free from outside interference in their internal affairs, he did not wish to touch upon any matter which was purely the domestic concern of British India. It was, however, the duty of everyone who was in a position to remove misunderstandings or clear the position, to contribute his own little quota in the services of the Motherland, the Empire and the King-Emperor. As regards his services to India, he referred to a recent grossly unfair attack on him, and recalled previous occasions in public and often in confidential, official discussions and Conferences, when it had been his privilege to have urged the claims of British India to a generous measure of constitutional advance, and particularly referred to his speeches and action during the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference of 1917, as also when he was in England in 1918-19 at the time of the Peace Conference, which were at the time misunderstood by some die-hards both in England and in India. Subsequent events had not only justified all that he said and did, but to all impartial and unprejudiced minds they had proved that he was neither disloyal to the King-Emperor or the British connection, as some suspicious and reactionary persons thought, nor disloyal or unpatriotic as regards his Mother Country and his brethren of British India. His Highness declared that he had consistently and unflinchingly followed the dictates of his conscience and done the utmost that lay in his power to serve India and her sons. "And that is a line of policy" said His Highness "which I shall follow equally strictly in regard to the discussions and negotiations at the forthcoming Round Table Conference in England and, please God to the last day of my life."

#### SELF-RESPECT AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The following is the full text of the presidential address delivered by Mr. M. R. Jayakar, M. L. A., on the 10th May 1930 at Erode at the Second Self-Respect Conference:—

This is the first time, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the good fortune of coming to Southern India. I would have enjoyed it many years ago, when I had very nearly joined the tour which the great Swarajist leader, the late Mr. C. B. Das, undertook in your Province. But at the last minute a difficulty arose, and I could not come. Since that time, I had been looking forward to the opportunity of being able to make a close acquaintance with your Province. I may at once mention that my admiration for your Province had grown for many years. As a lawyer I know, and you can take it from me, that no Province has distinguished itself so well in all that constitutes judicial excellence as the Madras Presidency has done. (Hear, hear). My first contact of admiration with your Presidency came through my knowledge of the work of the excellent Judges who have sat on your High Court Bench, commencing with the glorious name of Sir Muthuswamy Iyer, whose tradition of impartiality and integrity has been carried on from generation to generation up to the present times.

My second contact of admiration came from the study of the ancient religions and philosophy of India. I may mention that, in that domain of knowledge, many a progressive movement has emanated from your Province.

With these preconceived views I was waiting for an opportunity to be in your midst, and when my friend Mr. Shanmukham Chettiar made the kind offer that I should preside at your function, I readily accepted it. My slight hesitation was due to the hot weather of this place, but that difficulty, too, by a merciful Providence has been removed. I have felt since I came here as if I was on the heights of Bhor Ghat. I came here solely with the view of studying what your great movement was like. I do not mind frankly telling you that some kind friend from the South sent me an anonymous letter in advance to Bombay, warning me that I was lending my support to an atheistic movement, a godless movement, an anti-Brahman movement, and perhaps the worst of all accusations, an anti-political movement. I am fairly old in public life now and therefore when I read this letter, my curiosity was more aroused. I said to myself that a movement about which a hostile critic thinks it necessary by letter to warn me 900 miles away must be really worth studying. We do not trouble to write letters about a movement which does not cause any stir or commotion, and the very fact that this gentleman wrote me a letter about your movement is a valuable testimony that your movement is having its effect on public feeling. It confirmed my curiosity. I am very



glad indeed that I came. I have seen for myself what I could never gather from newspaper reports, because after all, newspapers can give you at best a lifeless picture of what can become a reality only with personal contact. I therefore came, and since my arrival in Madras yesterday I have had some opportunity of studying your movement with the aid of the President of the Madras Corporation, my esteemed friend, the Hon'ble Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.

You are going on to initiate and spread a movement which, to my mind, has a just and solid foundation. (Hear, hear). I will tell you frankly my reasons for saying so. As Mr. Shanmukham Chettiar said in his thoughtful address, there have been previous social reform movements in India. Social reform is nothing new to Southern India. As a student, I remembered the name which is even now honoured and venerated throughout Southern India, that of Mr. Veeresalingam Pantulu, who was one of the pioneers of social reform. I had grown familiar with this name through my friend Mr. K. Natarajan, himself a great pioneer of Social Reform, hailing from your Province. But though Social Reform is not new to Southern India, your present movement has a distinctive basis. The one thing which I was able to observe and which ought to be preserved as the key-note of your movement is that it has been initiated by common and ordinary men, men belonging to the rank and file of workers, without the participation of what may be called outstanding personalities, lifted high over the generality of their fellowmen by social or official distinction. I can recall the case of the Depressed Classes Mission in Bombay of which I happen to be the President at the present moment. It was started mostly by high caste men. It has been carried on during the period of 20 years or more by high class Hindus. To-day it is undergoing a wonderful change, the secret of which your movement has taken note of, viz., that the high class Hindus are being gradually replaced by members of the Depressed Classes themselves. This feature is the main strength of your movement which you must ever preserve; keep it on as a movement initiated by the common people themselves for their own betterment without anything of the higher classes dominating it in a spirit of condescension or patronage.

I am not frightened by the charge brought against you of 'Atheism' as was mentioned by previous speakers. Atheism indicates a spirit of inquiry and challenge, and if the habit is established among young minds that, in matters of religion and may I go further and say that in matters of politics too, no doctrine is to be accepted except after close scrutiny, careful inquiry, you would have done great good to the country. If it is this habit that is called in the language of religious orthodoxy "heresy" or "atheism," I am not frightened by that charge. The one need of the country to-day,

especially among the young, is the spirit of enquiry. Your movement, as I understand from those who spoke before me and from the literature which Mr. Shanmukham Chettiar sent me in advance, stands for a spirit of enquiry and challenge. It may be that, in the course of the exercise of the habit of such enquiry and challenge, you attack religious observances. It is like a scientist who, in the course of his enquiry, puts an object under the microscope to find out what are its false and true components. I want the truth to be realised by you all that it is only a false religion which cannot stand close enquiry, research or challenge. (Hear, hear). My conception of religion is this that it states truths of nature. A true religion does not talk in the air. It mentions facts in nature, the only difference being that some of these facts have not yet become amenable to the perception of science, but which are gradually, and in increasing proportion, coming into the domain of science. But the wonder is that the men who are doing their best to give a scientific foundation to religion are the very men who are labelled as irreligious heretics. Who could have thought 15 or 20 years ago that the Vedantic's description of 'Brahman' as having eyes, ears, hands, feet, perception and sensation everywhere would be satisfied in what science calls 'ether.' You make an etheric stir here, and you get at once a response in Australia. You make a commotion in ether here, and it immediately causes a similar commotion in the North of Scandinavia. The scientist's experiments carried out 'heretically' establish the truths of religion and philosophy. Therefore, my suggestion is 'do not be frightened by the orthodox attack of 'heresy' or 'Religion in danger.' Was not Copernicus confronted with this very cry many centuries ago? When a new Planet was found or a new theory of the world's origin was enunciated, the religious Pundits of Europe said that religion was in danger. When the geologists said that the earth was millions and millions of years old and Huxley propounded that man was evolved from lower forms, the same cry went up. Therefore, it is to the glory of your movement that you are being attacked by this familiar cry 'religion in danger.' What you stand for I am in complete sympathy with, and to work my sympathy I have come here. You want to attack the main and central curse of Hindu society, namely, caste. I am myself aware, in a small measure, of the cruelty, humiliation and iniquities which are practised under the guise of that word. I say therefore that you have begun your attack in the right direction. (Hear, hear). I am quite certain you all realise that, in carrying on the attack, there need not be any hatred at all. Your attack is on the system, and not on individuals. You must proceed to meet all the opposition that comes in your way.

(To be continued).

CHRISTIANITY AND CIVIL  
DISOBEDIENCE.

The Editor,

*The Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I have been in communication with the Rt. Rev. Dr. F. Westcott, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and the Metropolitan for India, on the subject of 'Non-Violence.' I addressed him in his private capacity but he has chosen to write to me in his official form which makes his reply an *ex cathedra* pronouncement on Civil Disobedience and as such would be of universal interest at the present time coming from one of the most exalted offices of the Christian Church.

Although there might be room for honest difference of opinion as to the opportune moment when Civil Disobedience should be employed, to say that Civil Disobedience itself is not warranted by the teaching or example of Jesus Christ is a flat denial of the authenticity of the Gospel story itself. I am sure most Christians will strictly follow the simple but clear New Testament teaching humbly pointed out in my reply.

I shall be glad if you can spare the space to publish this correspondence.

Thanking you,

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

J. C. KUMARAPPA.

Ahmedabad, }  
3rd May 1930. }

We are sorry we are unable to find space for the whole correspondence. The following are excerpts from Mr. Kumarappa's reply to the Bishop:—I fail to understand how you could stand aside calmly watching without a word of protest while such brutalities and tortures are being used. This attitude of callousness tantamounts to a denial of our Lord more culpable than that of Peter's; and the only hope is that it may be followed by repentance and more ardent services as in the case of the rugged Apostle.

My letter does not even refer to the present political situation but only to the application of the principle of Non-Violence in settling all manner of disputes. You have chosen to ignore this altogether. Perhaps you do not wish to follow Christ to the extent of non-violence. You will forgive me if I say that most of our Missionaries and other leaders of the Christian Church seem to be Britishers first and Christians afterwards if convenient. They are themselves products of a civilisation based on violence and so are not able to fully appreciate and interpret Christ's clear teaching on this subject. May God forgive them for the mischief they are doing, perhaps with the best of intentions, in this land which holds even plant life sacred. As an individual I should have hesitated to approach the throne of the Metropolitan for India, a Prince among the Prelates of the Church,

in this fashion had it not been for the authority of the New Testament; and on this ground I would crave indulgence for anything that would have otherwise appeared presumptuous in this letter.

You refer to the multitude seeking to make Jesus king and you add "that He might lead them to assert their national independence and secure their freedom from Roman Rule. This He absolutely refused to do regarding it as a temptation of the devil to be resisted." May I refer you to the actual context and passage, John VI. 14 and 15, which follows on the description of the miracle of feeding of the five thousand men. "Then those men when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did say, This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world. When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him and make him a king he departed again into a mountain himself alone." The prophet they were expecting was the Messiah and the common conception was that He would be a temporal king and the context suggests clearly that these men were impelled by purely selfish motives—feeding the body. These people wholly misunderstood His mission and his kingdom which was not to be of this world and hence he departed. There is no mention or even room to infer all you say about national independence and freedom from Roman rule and much less anything about Jesus regarding it as a temptation to be resisted. There is no idea of temptation here at all.

Then later on you proceed to say, "Our Lord exhorted His disciples to obey the Scribes and Pharisees. He said 'whatsoever they bid that do and observe.'" In other words you allocate to the bureaucracy in India the same place in the political order that the Scribes and Pharisees of old held in the Jewish organisation. I am absolutely one with you in this, but I resent your partial quotation calculated to misinterpret Jesus. You omit the first part of His injunction and fail even to refer to the later parts of the Chapter. Matt. XXIII verse 2 says, "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat" and then comes the 3rd verse "All therefore whatsoever they bid that do and observe." That is in so far as the Scribes and Pharisees are the custodians of Mosaic Law, which to the Jew was God-made law, or what we may term a higher moral law. He wants them to obey this. But he never enjoins them to blind obedience as you will find right through the rest of the chapter one of the strongest condemnations of the Scribes and Pharisees usurping the place rightfully due to the Mosaic or God-given law and prostituting it to suit their own selfish ends and "devouring widows' houses." Most of the verses in this chapter begin with such biting words as "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites," "Woe unto you, ye blind guides; Ye fools and blind," and ends up with "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell." (and I say Amen to the bureaucrats of India). He has again and again exhorted them to "Beware of the Scribes and Pharisees." He never advocated blind

obedience such as what you imply. He enjoined them to follow the God given Law. In Mat. V repeatedly you have verses beginning with "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time.....But I say unto you etc." and in verse 20 "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees ye shall in no case enter the kingdom of heaven." Surely if they were to follow meekly the Scribes and Pharisees they cannot excel them. He inculcated the pursuit of a higher moral law and said, 'Fear not them that kill the body but are not able to kill the soul but rather fear him' which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. This is enough as far as His precept goes but let us see what His practice was. Did He Himself obey the Scribes and Pharisees in all things even where their laws were immoral and anti-social? I need only refer you to the first few verses of Mark. III where you will find a record of His Civil Disobedience against the Law of the Sabbath when he considers its operation anti-social. After spiritedly condemning it and the Scribes and Pharisees He defiantly broke it by healing the man with a withered hand. His action so enraged the then custodians of 'Law and Order' that the Pharisees "straightway took counsel with Herodians against Him, how they might destroy Him." 'Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath.' Wherever the man-made law has proved to be immoral, as in the case of the Salt Tax, and anti-social, as in the case of the Excise policy, the righting process will lead to a disturbance of the peace. "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I come not to send peace but a sword." This is a solemn statement from the Prince of Peace. Do we not hear an echo of this last verse in Gandhiji's desire to present the Government of India with a string of broken heads? It is not the physical injury that matters but the fact that a broken head represents the zeal to do away with an immoral law. We hear a great deal of criticism on this much misunderstood statement of Gandhiji.

You appear to have terribly confused ideas of "Law of Nature" and man-made laws and attribute the same potency and virtue to both alike. Law in science is but the observed uniform order of sequence—and hence the 'fixity' you talk about until a variation from this uniformity is noticed, then even this 'fixity' has to be modified. Therefore, even in natural law there is nothing that is 'absolutely reliable' as you so innocently imagine. Man-made laws are only rules laid down for the regulation of society and as no man is infallible—I am not sure what you think of the Pope—some of these regulations may be totally immoral or anti-social. Then what is our duty towards these? The example of Christ urges us to rise to that which is our highest light irrespective of consequences.

You accuse the people of taking advantage of the services of the Government. Are these services offered gratis? The way you speak of it one would

imagine you were under that impression. Do you not realise even at this late hour that the very blood is squeezed out of the Indian peasant by way of taxes? Even if I grant, for argument sake, that the service we get is desirable, is there no idea of adequacy of payment? I am sure you will be the last one to justify the late war on the score that it called forth some heroism occasionally. Surely the price was too heavy to pay. This is one of the basis of contention of the Satyagrahis. According to you it would seem that the Government exists that they, the people might obey it. Man is made for the Sabbath theory. A most pernicious way to look at the relationship. You cannot get anywhere with such ideas. Instead of the Government bending to the will of the people the bureaucracy says 'we will crush them down to accept our mandates.' The Indian citizen—indeed if he can be called a citizen and not a slave—is made for maintaining a Government and finally the British trade.

To summarise the present movement in India, the Satyagrahis feel the anti-social nature of the whole system, Salt Tax, Liquor sales etc. and realising that at present man is made to be taxed they are breaking such laws as are immoral (which question you conveniently refuse to discuss) not fearing them that can destroy the body by torture, machine guns and other accessories of 'civilisation' and the Pharisees—the bureaucrats—are taking counsel with Herodians—Whitehall as to how they may destroy the greatest apostle of Christ to India not the kind that says 'Lord Lord' but one that doeth the will of the Father, the same that Jesus owns to be His brother, sister and mother.

Yours fraternally,  
J. O. KUMARAPPA.

#### INDIAN METHODIST BISHOP.

Sir,

The announcement of the Central Conference of the Methodist Churches for all India to be held at Cawnpore from the 27th December for ten days to elect an Indian Bishop, makes me to understand that the Indian Methodist employees have now at least realized the necessity of an Indian Bishop among themselves. There was a great cry among them.....We want our own Bishop. The Home Mission in America also consented to their proposal. But as a matter of fact, the Home Mission does not recognize or consider any of the Indian Methodist employees of their mission, capable of holding the office of a Bishop, and this is why, the cry was of Indians only. I feel sure that an Indian Bishop will be elected this year at the said Conference. I will be too pleased to hear the good tidings. But one thing I am extremely surprised to hear that the Indian Methodist Bishop, will be an Indian Missionary Bishop of his own area. What I am given to understand by an Indian Missionary Bishop, is that he will be a Bishop for the sake of name only. As long as he

will be in India or in his own area, he will be called a Bishop, but in America or outside of his own area, he will be regarded as an ordinary member. He will not be able to exercise the authority of a Bishop there, like Messrs B. T. Badley, Robinson and Fisher.

Will any Methodist employee illuminate this why? In other denominations, an Indian Bishop is not only a Bishop in India, but also in Home Mission and they are elected from there, i. e. Catholics and Anglicans. Is it because Americans at Home do not wish to recognise an Indian as their Bishop? Does not Methodism boast of equal rights to all her workers?

Chanpulla, Bareilly. } Yours etc.  
8th May 1930. } S. W. HOWARD.

#### THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I trust you will kindly find space for the following few lines in your widely circulated journal:—

The Viceroy has issued a statement on the present political situation of the country and it is only natural that leaders of all parties should proceed to express their views on it. It is clear that Lord Irwin is devoting his whole heart to the solution of the Indian question and deserves all praise for it. But unfortunately the statement referred to does nothing to ease the situation beyond announcing the date of the Round Table Conference.

But it is surprising that the Viceroy should pointedly refer in the statement of the problem of minorities as if that problem is entirely ignored by others. Would it not, however, be pertinent to ask whether Government themselves have so far done anything to help in the solution of that question? Or are the people to understand that Government have nothing to do with it? Rightly or wrongly there is a widespread belief among all sections of the Indian people that instead of helping in the settlement of that question, some of the Government officers themselves try to widen the gulf by favouring one community to-day and another to-morrow at the expense of others. Instances in support of this statement could easily be cited from the history of recent acts. I venture therefore to think that it would be the height of statesmanship at the present critical moment to assure the people of India of immediate grant of Dominion Status. This kind of assurance would undoubtedly draw the people together and enable them to find the solution by adjusting their own differences. Does the Viceroy think that this would be an impossible task in India? Have not the Indian States solved the problem for themselves? Look at the two premier States, for instance so far as the question under reference is concerned—I mean, Hyderabad and Kashmere. The significance of the thing lies in the fact that whereas in Hyderabad the Hindus are in the majority and the Ruler is a

Mahomedan, in Kashmere the Mahomedans are in the majority and the Ruler is a Hindu. Now, how often in a year or even ten years do Hindus and Mahomedans in these two states fight with one another or cut each others' throats? And why should such communal troubles occur again and again in British India? The moral is quite plain. The present statement of the Viceroy practically means nothing and an announcement of the kind indicated above will most certainly effect an almost dramatic change in the situation as with a magician's wand.

Poona, } Yours truly,  
15th May 1930. } S. N. K.

#### PROTEST AGAINST POLICE METHODS.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mr. Kumarappa's challenge to Christian workers and missionaries in your issue of April 26th is one that I find it impossible to ignore. When I know that a wrong is being done and keep silent about it, I am likely to acquire an uncomfortable consciousness of participation in that wrong. I may be a minority of only one. But I wish, while acknowledging the right of the Government to arrest those who break the law of the land, to record my protest against the use by the police of bullying and cruel methods.

Bangalore, } Yours faithfully,  
May 7, 1930. } RUTH E. ROBINSON.

#### CATHOLICISM, A WORLD MOVEMENT.

"During my visit to Rome," Mr. Chesterton relates in his *Weekly*, "I was suddenly visited by a negro, a small yellow Japanese and a tall and genial Englishman, all wearing black gowns with red sashes, who took me away to lunch at what is called the College of Propaganda." The sight of the Propaganda students from all parts of the world eating and talking together suggested to him a striking comparison between Internationalism and Catholicism:

"The new era of universal peace and international brotherhood, being organised by Shylock for the convenience of his present commercial control, does in practice exactly correspond to the description of such brotherhood given by Shylock in Shakespeare: "We will walk with you, talk with you, buy with you, sell with you, and so following; but we will not eat with you, drink with you, or pray with you." Modern international friendship is, on its earnest and serious side, entirely a matter of buying and selling. On its more social and spiritual side, it is a matter of talking. Ministers and Ambassadors always hold themselves ready, at any moment, to make speeches about their love for Bolshevists in Russia, or for brigands in Calabria, or for cannibals in the Cannibal Islands. But, save for the formalities of a few public dinners, the ultimate test propounded by Shylock remains true. Men who absolutely refuse to pray together

do not commonly and casually eat and drink together.

"When, therefore, I saw several black Africans and several ex-savages from remote tropical islands, eating, drinking and saying grace with Englishmen and Americans and all sorts of Europeans in the College of the Propaganda, I realised once more the presence of the only really practical thing in the world. I had the sense of something that really does what all the rest of the world talks about. Mr. Hoover may stand up and make the most beautiful speeches about the brotherhood of all human beings, and the fellowship of peace that should be more precious to us than any narrow national attachment. But Mr. Hoover cannot induce a single one of his subjects or fellow citizens, from anywhere within a hundred miles of Dixie, to walk into the same waiting-room with a coloured man, still less to eat with him in the same restaurant. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald may talk in his most soothing notes, of the broader charity that should be extended equally to all men, but especially to Prussians and American plutocrats, to lay the foundations of a lasting peace. But Mr. MacDonald cannot induce some of his own countrymen to regard the poor Glasgow Irish with that respect which princes and plutocrats may receive. Lord Cecil or Sir Austen Chamberlain would no doubt say in all sincerity that the League of Nations should extend its beneficent principle beyond Europe and bring about brotherhood among all races and civilisations; but Lord Cecil could not induce his own sisters and consins and aunts, if he happens to have any in the Anglo-Indian aristocracy to regard an ordinary brown Hindoo as the equal of an English lady or gentleman. It is all right in the matter of trading; for we went to India to trade; and it is all right in the matter of talking, for it is as easy to talk about India as about Utopia. But when we come down to the human fundamentals of eating, drinking and praying, the Hindoo is a man who eats rice and has no table manners; and an abyss as deep as all the ages yawns between us and his ancient and mysterious religion.

"Here, in the great house of Propaganda, in the home of the Catholic Missions, these differences and difficulties are resolved with an astonishing ease; because things are reversed and put in their right order; and praying comes first, along with eating and drinking; and only after that talking, and only long after that trading. The thing that unites them is the thing that must come first with all of them; and the things that divide them at the most second or third. I do not suppose that all the individuals have got rid of all the irritations; but I do know that they are all met upon a general admission that they may make a beginning of getting rid of them. But the American Republic, with all its heroic origin, was not in fact a thing designed to make white and black men equals. The British Empire, with all the good humour that mixed with its adventure, was not in fact a thing

designed to make Anglo-Indians and Indians brothers or fellow-citizens. Those who founded and defented these great societies thought of the subject peoples quite differently; and as things entirely different. But the Catholic Church was not merely founded by, or for, English gentlemen or hundred per cent. American regular guys. It was founded by the sort of man these men would call a nobody; and it was founded for every-body."

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Mr. K. T. Paul:**—The *Dynesodys* understands that Mr. K. T. Paul, O.B.E., General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association for many years past, has resigned his post as from July 1st this year, and that he has taken this step with a view to playing his part in Indian politics. Mr. Ballia Rama succeeds Mr. Paul in the General Secretaryship of the Young Men's Christian Association.

**Earthquake At Pegu:**—Swami Sambuddhananda of the Ramakrishna Mission Khar writes:—"The people are fully aware what a great havoc has been played upon by the terrible Earthquake at Pegu the other day. Thousands of people have lost their lives and property and thousands are quite homeless. Hundreds of families are still under debris. Their suffering beggars description. We have just now received a wire from our Ramakrishna Mission branch centre, Rangoon. The Mission Centre has already despatched a batch of workers, both monastic and lay, to the afflicted area to render immediate relief to the helpless and needy. A detailed report we shall publish as soon as we hear from our relief workers on the spot. It is needless to say that a big fund will be required to meet the present situation. The generous citizens of Bombay never fail to send out their quota of help on all such occasions. We hope, our appeal for funds will not go unresponded. Any help sent to the Secy, Ramakrishna Ashram Khar, Bombay will be most thankfully received and acknowledged."

**Society of Friends and Indian Situation.**—The Society of Friends has issued a message calling on all its members in the United Kingdom and India to participate in a ministry of Reconciliation and Healing. The message asks for prayers "for Lord Irwin that he may be able to maintain a spirit of forbearance and conciliation which have already done so much to prevent bitterness and hatred, for Mr. Wedgwood Benn, that he may help to strengthen every influence making for goodwill in both our lands, and for Mr. Gandhi that in his struggle for the freedom of his people he may be true to his own high principles of non-violence and truth." The message concludes: "From this suffering travail of the soul in India we hope and believe will yet come a new birth of freedom which shall bring blessing to both our lands. The message has been sent by air mail to Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi.

**Milk Substitute For Beer:**—Milk is to take the place of beer as the daily beverage of German railway employees. The federal railway administration is placing milk markets along the right of way in direct competition to the beer saloons. A special train is to be sent out to show the workers the injurious effects of alcoholic drink and the benefits of abstinence.

**Indian Students in London.**—The Indian Students' Central Association, London formed recently as an organisation originated and managed entirely by the Indian students with the object of assisting students from India in forming a social centre held on the 2nd inst. its first social gathering in the new premises of their club started in connection with the association at Beaufort Gardens, South Kensington, in honour of Lord Beauchamp, Chancellor of the London University. Lord Beauchamp congratulated the students on their successful launching of the enterprise and hoped that his visit would be an annual one. He expressed his desire to obtain more intimate knowledge of the Indian students' life and difficulties and hoped that the association would help him in that connection. Speeches welcoming Lord Beauchamp were made by Mr. Vajid Mahmood, the president, and Mr. A. P. Sinha, the vice-president of the association.

**Freedom of Press.**—A *Reuter's* message dated 2nd May states:—The "Manchester Guardian" in a leader says: It is impossible to regard without anxiety the interference with the freedom of the press and ordinary legal procedure, but we can trust that Lord Irwin will not deprive the accused of fair and reasonable facilities of defence. There never was a time when India had less reason to distrust Britain. Quite apart from the fact that Lord Irwin is Viceroy with Labour in power, the whole trend of forces that work in the modern world and in India makes it plain that Britain for her own safety must satisfactorily readjust her relations with India. There is plenty of shrewdness in the average Indian and we do not think he will count it worth his while to fight today, when he is unprepared, a risky battle for a prize which tomorrow he will be strong enough to take almost without effort.

**Protestants And Catholics:**—The idea that Protestantism stands for liberty and Catholicism for persecution has been so sedulously cultivated by Protestant writers and enforced by official historians that to all but Catholics it must come as a shock to see how in Ireland, for example, it is the exact contrary which has been realised, writes the *Examiner*. The Catholic Free State has been more than fair to the Protestants of the South while the Ulster Government has never ceased to persecute its relatively much larger Catholic minority. The latest example of the Ulster method is the new Education Bill, which deprives of all future building grants those voluntary schools which refuse (as the Catholic schools have refused) to submit to the control of a partly non-Catholic committee. The debate on the second reading also provided an example of Ulster manners, the Education Minister treating the Catholic Bishops' protests as "nonsense." But to his surprise, even Protestant members spoke against the Bill and in defence of Catholic "nonsense." We have another example of Protestant 'tolerance' in the matter of the proposed site for the new Catholic Cathedral at Liverpool. Our readers have been informed how previous negotiations were blocked by Protestant opposition, and now we learn that a protest has been organised and signed by 40,000 people against the sale of the site to the Catholics. The "Reverend" gentleman who is leading this movement is reported as saying, "I would rather have a poisonous germ factory than a Roman Catholic Cathedral on this piece of public land."

**Mrs. Lakshmi pathi:**—A correspondent writes:—Mrs Lakshmi pathi was born in 1891 of a very high family. She is the grand-daughter of Raja T. Rama Rao and sister of Major H. S. Rajan, I.M.S., who is now at Lahore. She is a graduate of the Madras Senate and a member of the Obingleput District Board. She has travelled extensively in Europe and attended the International Women's Congress at Paris. She was also the Secretary of the International Fellowship for nearly ten years. She was elected member of the All-India Congress Committee of the Tamil Naidu Provincial Congress Committee. She was at first invited to lead the ladies of the Andhra Province, but she found that the movement in Tamil Naidu required her presence more than that in the Andhra country. As the President of the League of Youth she was an inspiration to them. By her imprisonment she has thrown a great responsibility on the youth and educated womanhood to work for her ideals.

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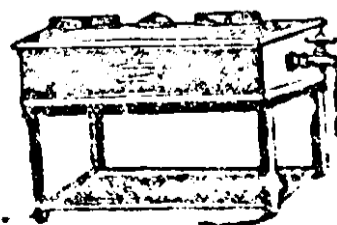
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1930

No. 39

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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<p>Women Satyagrahis in Prison. A Welcome Suggestion. The Nizam's Appeal. An Amazing Defence. Patil's Enquiry. A Pathan, A Sergeant and A Dog. Treatment of Political Prisoners. Where is the Menace? Mr. Bean on the Indian Situation.</p>	<p>The Press Ordinance. Carte Blanche to Police. In this Christian? The Gandhi Movement and Indian Christians. Political Situation. Self-Respect and Social Reform. Mahatma Gandhi's Arrest. Deutsche Rundschau. News of the Week.</p>
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### NOTES.

**Women Satyagrahis in Prison:**—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the foremost of India's women leaders, has been sentenced to nine months imprisonment. She was the third woman to go to jail, Mrs. Lakshmipathy and Mrs. Chattopadhyaya having preceded her by a few days. Other women leaders who have followed in their wake are, Mrs. Kamaladevi of Andhra, Mrs. Durgabai of Madras, Mrs. Satyavati Devi of Delhi, and Mrs. Mitter of Lucknow. The leadership of women is the most important feature of the satyagraha movement, and Government appear to have decided that it is not possible to leave them alone if the movement is to be effectively combatted. We think, however, that the imprisonment of women has given new life and strength to the movement. Government is being gradually drawn into infringing the limits which it had set to itself in this country. This is inevitable but nonetheless serious because it is inevitable.

**A Welcome Suggestion:**—Principal Mackenzie's letter which we publish today shows a way out of the present political deadlock. He is not, as he says, a politician, but the situation transcends merely political considerations, and he comes forward as a lover of peace and goodwill among men to suggest a method of ending the tension and of harmonising the British and the Indian points of view. If we understand him aright the conference which he suggests will be not so much a Political as a Goodwill conference. Given goodwill, political difficulties can be solved, and it is the absence of goodwill which makes every step on either side a fresh ground for suspicion and misunderstanding to the other. The initiative in calling such a conference may well be taken by Christian missionaries who, whether they approve or disapprove of civil disobedience, can appreciate the deep import of non-violence which Mahatma Gandhi is trying to weave into the texture of Indian nationalism. The situation has passed beyond politicians, and should be approached from a higher plane.

**The Nizam's Appeal:**—His Exalted Highness the Nizam has issued a public manifesto which we print elsewhere. The Nizam is known

to be a kind-hearted ruler and he has been caused, as he says, much distress and anxiety by the course of events in the country. He feels that he would be failing, in his duty if at a time when a crisis is impending in the Government of India as a whole, he remained silent. He appeals to his countrymen to join together to find a solution of India's difficulties in a form of Government for the future that will command the support of all reasonable men of every creed and every party. We are often told that there should be no interference on the part of British India in the internal affairs of Indian States or of the latter in that of British India. That such a water-tight division is impracticable is well illustrated by the Nizam's manifesto. His Exalted Highness has already announced that he will be represented at the Round Table Conference and if rumour is correct the Conference will have in Sir Akbar Hydari a representative of outstanding character and all-India reputation to speak for the premier Indian State. But, as the Nizam rightly says, the Conference can be a success only if all the creeds and parties co-operate in the presentation of their respective cases in an atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill. His Exalted Highness is right in saying that every one should set himself against any attempt to destroy the foundations of order, which, of course, are justice, equity and a sympathetic understanding of the grievances and aspirations of the people. Authority constituted on such a basis, is its own best safeguard against attempts to undermine it. Obedience to authority is no arbitrary superstition; it rests on the understanding that authority has no object other than the good of those subject to it.

**An Amazing Defence:**—The Viceroy's observations, in his reply to Mr. Hridayanath Kunzru's letter of resignation, on the latter's complaints of excessive violence on the part of the Police in different parts of the country, will be read with incredulous amazement by people who are in a better position to know the facts first-hand than his Excellency. Lord Irwin not only denies that there has been any violence anywhere in excess of the requirements of the occasions on which they were used, but suggests that the Police would not have been to blame even if they had used more violence than they actually did on these occasions. If innocent people have been the victims on any such occasion, it cannot be helped. And, finally, he says the responsibility for any such occurrences must primarily rest with those who have launched the campaign of civil disobedience. It is not easy to follow this line of reasoning. These persons have deliberately

adopted civil disobedience and are prepared to suffer the penalty ordained by law for their offence. This is the first time that we have seen the responsible head of a great Government declaring that a person who breaks a law for conscientious reasons is liable at the discretion of the police to a severer punishment than the law provides for those who break it from self-interested motives, and that innocent people also should expect to suffer for his offence. Lord Irwin has the reputation of being a religious-minded man and a man of prayer, and we wonder that he should have caused such a letter to be written by his Private Secretary. We reproduce the *Associated Press* version of the letter in another column.

**Patiala Enquiry:**—The members of the non-official committee which made an enquiry into the allegations against the Maharaja of Patiala and his Highness's administration and published their report entitled "Indictment of Patiala," have declined to appear before the Political Agent for the Punjab States whom, at the Maharaja's request, the Government of India ordered to investigate the matter. This is not surprising. What is surprising is that Government should have expected the members who, in the public interest, had put themselves to the trouble of undertaking an unpleasant task, to accept a hole and corner enquiry by an officer, trained to view things in their political rather than in their judicial aspect. In their position we are bound to say we should have done exactly as they have done. So far as the Maharaja is concerned, the refusal of the members of the committee to participate in the political officer's enquiry, leaves the question where it is; while as regards the Government of India, the only inference possible is that they do not think the allegations sufficiently serious to require other than a sort of Departmental enquiry. Very few persons who have seen the Report will agree with that opinion.

**A Pathan, A Sergeant and A Dog:**—On Monday night there was a sudden uproar in Bhandy Bazar in Bombay when the Police fired on the crowd. The trouble continued on Tuesday when there was more firing, several persons being killed and wounded. The popular version of the origin of the disturbance was stated as follows in the *Evening News of India* on Tuesday: "It is said that Sergeant Ferneyough was standing at the foot of his quarters at Bhandy Bazar with his dog when the animal nibbled a loaf of bread of a Pathan mendicant who was taking his food on the pavement. The Pathan kicked the dog away whereupon the Sergeant is alleged to have hit him on the face causing him to bleed. The injured man walked away quiet, but some Mahomedans who noticed the incident began abusing the Sergeant and a crowd instantly collected." The official version issued by the Director of Information the same evening, runs thus:—"An European Police sergeant saw a Muhammadan cruelly beating a dog with a loaded stick near the Sandhurst Road East Police Quarters. He remonstrated with the Muhammadan and eventually struck him with his fist. The Muhammadan went away but soon came back with a number of his associates who assaulted the sergeant. The sergeant managed to get away in a motor car to

the Dongri Police Station. In the meantime his assailants began to stone the police quarters and created the disturbance which led to the firing." There is no reason given in the official statement why the Mahomedan beat the dog, whereas the other version gives a good one, namely, that the dog ran away with his bread. The Director of Information seems to think that it is natural for a Mahomedan to beat a dog and for the Sergeant to beat the man for beating the dog.

**Treatment Of Political Prisoners:**—Rules regarding the treatment of political prisoners were recently introduced. The official world in this country is disposed to regard political offences as on the same level as crimes involving moral turpitude, and it has not readily acquiesced in the policy of giving special treatment to political prisoners. The rules, therefore, are liable to be whittled down in practice. There have been protests against discrimination among political prisoners in some jails, the A or superior class prisoners insisting on having the same food as the C or ordinary class to which some of their friends and co-workers were relegated. The "A" class corresponds to the first-class misdemeanants in England, who are not regarded as criminals, and it is really inconceivable why for the same offence one man should be treated differently from another man. There are some small matters also in respect of which the authorities are less liberal than they might be. One of these, is permission to sleep outside the cell. The weather now-a-days is very oppressive indoors even in well-ventilated houses. It must be much more so in the cells. The request to sleep outside in the verandahs has in some cases been refused, though none of the satyagrahi prisoners are likely to attempt an escape.

**Where is the Menace?**—The Catholic *Examiner* writes that the apprehension of some Catholics that the advent of Swaraj may be injurious to their interests is justified "when even so moderate a paper as the *Indian Social Reformer* can write menacingly." Our contemporary quotes the following as the "menacing" sentence from an editorial note in this journal: "It is highly important that the attitude of Christian missions to Indian nationalism should be studied and understood from the standpoint of the several missionary organizations, as upon it must depend the attitude of nationalism to these missions." The Rev. J. F. Edwards also was rather exercised about the significance of this sentence, in a communication which we published in the *Reformer* of the 10th instant. We do not see anything "menacing" in the sentence. Turkey, China and other nations which have attained political freedom, have had to define their attitude to foreign missions, and India will have to do the same, and naturally her attitude will be determined by the attitude of the missions themselves. We are sure that neither the *Examiner* nor Mr. Edwards claims that it should be otherwise. The golden rule applies to missions as to individuals. The Jewish, Christian, and Parsee communities in India have enjoyed freedom and protection for many centuries before the British appeared on the scene, which shows that the Indian people have not been addicted in the past to the policy of antagonism to other religious communities.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, MAY 31, 1930.

MR. BENN ON THE INDIAN SITUATION.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, made a lengthy speech on the state of affairs in India in the House of Commons on Monday. At the outset he made a reference to the Indian administration as a Governmental machine which, though it was true it may have been designed by British hands, was Indian not only as regards some positions of high control, but, of course, almost exclusively in the subordinate branches. Mr. Benn meant this as a compliment but the compliment carries with it an implication which is not true. It is not true that, because the subordinate staff and even a part of the higher offices are recruited from Indians, the character, policies and outlook of the administration are Indian. The subordinates, as Mr. Benn well knows, have no voice in determining policy. They are literally "hands" as he rightly called them, and they have to do the bidding of their European superiors. Even when some of these superiors happen to be Indians, things are not much better, because these too have Englishmen for their superiors whose orders have to be carried out. In the last issue of the *Reformer*, we pointed out how the Indianisation of the services without responsibility at the top, has produced results the reverse of what it was intended and expected to produce. Mr. Benn's reference to the Indian personnel of the administration only confirms our view that Indianisation without materially improving the responsiveness of the administration to popular needs, serves only to divert attention from the real source of responsibility for the present state of things. There have been and are Indian officials who do not forget that they are Indians owing a duty to their countrymen, but these men suffer from an uneasy feeling that they are not true to their salt. We invite Mr. Benn's attention to the observations which we reproduce in our news columns of a Deputy Collector in Gujarat who, after twenty-five years' service, resigned his office. Self-government alone will make the Indian official realise that the salt which he is eating is not British but Indian, and that is the paramount reason for having Swaraj at the earliest moment.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn had maintained on a previous occasion that India had already "Dominion Status in action" in important particulars, the most important of which is the so-called "fiscal convention." He explained in his speech this "convention" again and illustrated its working in the case of the increase in the cotton import duties made this year. The "convention" is that when the Government of India was in agreement with the

Indian Legislature on a matter of tariff, the Secretary of State should refrain from exercising his veto. In this case, the Government of India and the Legislature were agreed that the cotton duties should be raised partly for revenue reasons and partly to protect the Indian mill industry, and Mr. Benn pointed out that in accordance with the "convention" he did not over-rule the proposal notwithstanding the parlous condition of the Lancashire industry. But he omitted to mention the important fact that a preferential duty was tacked on in favour of British goods by the Government of India against the nearly unanimous opposition of non-official Indian members. Some of the latter, it is true, finally voted for the duty but they made it clear that they did so because otherwise the general increase too would have been dropped, as Government declared they would not go on with the Tariff Amendment Bill without the preferential extra duty. This, as Mr. Jinnah, while voting for the Bill, said in the Assembly, reduced the "convention" to a farce. Why was Mr. Wedgwood Benn silent about this when he enlarged upon the fiscal freedom of India? The Labour Government is opposed to preferential tariff and the Legislative Assembly too was opposed to the extra duty. Yet, the British Government accepted from its subordinate Government of India against the opposition of the Indian people a gift which, in the circumstances, is to all intents and purposes an imposition. Not only did the Secretary of State make no reference to this discreditable episode but all the other members who spoke in the debate—supporters and critics—faithfully followed his example. Evidently, this is another "convention," namely, that when the Indian Government in disagreement with the Legislature, makes a gift to the British manufacturer, no member of Parliament should say anything about it, even by way of acknowledgment. In the face of this fact, Mr. Benn's severe warning to those British politicians who avow that India is a market to be exploited on behalf of British interests, was a little overdone.

Mr. Benn disarmed by anticipation, criticism of his statement on the political situation by his frank reply to an interruption, "I can only give the Committee (the speech was made to the House in Committee) the information which is supplied to me." The Secretary of State was repeating the story about Congressmen misrepresenting the purpose of the Sarda Act to Frontier Mahomedans in order to create trouble, when Mr. Fenner Brockway asked if he had seen the very strong denial of that report by the Indian National Congress. It was in answer to this that Mr. Benn pleaded that he could only give the information supplied to him. And yet when Mr. Fenner Brockway in the

course of his speech proceeded to read the Congress version of the Peshawar happenings, Mr. Benn objected that "it was serious to read such a statement in Parliament and asked if Mr. Brockway thought it true." The latter very properly replied that he did not know but he thought Parliament and the country should know an Indian account in addition to the British official view. Why should Mr. Benn cast doubt on the veracity of the Congress statement, while he himself, as Mr. Beckett later said, cannot vouch for the accuracy of the official statement? While on the subject of Peshawar, we must express regret for writing of the outbreak there as due to the incompetence of Sir Norman Bolton. It appears that Sir Norman Bolton and his officers were confident that they could deal with the situation without military assistance, and it was the suppression of the civil authority by the military which led to his leaving his charge in disgust.

We have been so far critical, but we are not insensible to the merits of Mr. Wedgwood Benn's speech as a contribution to the Indian problem. He made it perfectly clear that he realizes that it is no factitious agitation with which British rule is faced but a genuine upheaval of national sentiment, and that force, except as a temporary and tentative device has no place in the solution of the problem. He even went so far as to say that the satyagraha movement has done good in that it has helped both sides to grasp the realities of the situation. He might not approve of martial law even as a temporary expedient but he has to work with and through the Viceroy and if the latter had made mistakes, these have to be got corrected by the Viceroy himself. Mr. Benn emphasised that Lord Irwin and he were completely in agreement. Lord Morley said the same of Lord Minto when the former was Secretary of State and the latter Viceroy, but we know from his "Recollections" that their public agreement did not preclude and, indeed, was often facilitated and secured by many strong remonstrances in private having for their object to remind the Viceroy that though he was the head of the Indian bureaucracy, he was the servant of the British democracy. If Mr. Wedgwood Benn ever publishes his "Recollections," we may find that his private correspondence with Lord Irwin is not less marked by friendly appeals to have regard for his position as Secretary of State in a Labour Government pledged to grant full self-government to India. That things are moving forward and not backward, is further shown by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's speech in which he rather went out of his way to explain that Dominion Status contained "the essentials of independence"—Mahatma Gandhi's "substance of independence" was perhaps not out of his mind—and Mr. Baldwin's speech in which he referred to Dominion status as

the "predestined goal of India." No doubt, both hedged in their view with many conditions, but none the less has the idea now a definite place in practical politics. Read in the light of these events, the sum and substance of Mr. Benn's speech seems to be that if the Viceroy makes—as he expects him to do—definite proposals for securing a favourable atmosphere for the Round Table Conference, he will welcome them and will not lose a moment in according them his warm approval and sanction. The one thing he will not do is to seem to take the matter out of Lord Irwin's hands.

#### THE PRESS ORDINANCE.

The reasons given for the promulgation of the Press Ordinance are not well-founded and there are practical difficulties in the way of its equitable administration. The Viceroy has said that the repeal of the Press Act eight years ago, has had a baneful effect upon the Press. These are not his Excellency's very words, but they fairly convey their substance. The Indian Press, since the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, has been interesting itself largely in social problems,—such as the removal of untouchability, promotion of Hindu-Moslem unity, raising of the marriage age, suppression of brothels and prostitution, and prohibition of drink traffic. Politics had ceased to possess an unhealthy predominance in public discussions. The vigilance with which the conduct of officials and details of administration used to be followed in the Indian Press, had relaxed on account of the growth of the feeling that the attainment of self-government is the only permanent remedy for them. The Simon Commission, therefore, had the largest share of Press criticism, and the British Government and the Viceroy have recognised the essential justice of the criticism, by themselves proposing a Round Table Conference which virtually supersedes the Commission by making its report material for discussion along with other materials to be placed before the Conference. In the Bardoli affair likewise, Government had, with great reluctance, to admit the correctness of the Press criticisms and to revise its decision. The fact is that the Indian Press is not produced by journalists out of their own heads. It works now in much closer touch with national organisations and workers, and hence it has increased in power and sense of responsibility. The primary responsibility of the Indian Press is and ought to be to the people of India and not to Government. Indeed, we can discharge our secondary responsibility to Government only by discharging freely and faithfully our responsibility to the people. The greatest objection to the Press Ordinance is that it prevents the Press from doing its duty to the people except so far as it is permitted by the Executive Government for the time being.

Mr. Natarajan's speech at the All-Indian Journalists Conference held in Bombay on the 15th May 1930.

A lawyer or a doctor has his rights defined, but a journalist who is often a man of not inferior education and has generally a much wider outlook, is required under the Ordinance to think not of what he should write or publish in the public interests, but of what impression his writings may produce on a person looking at everything from between bureaucratic blinkers. This is an unwarranted interference with the journalist's professional rights. Confidence begets confidence and suspicion, suspicion. If Government treats the Indian Press as its natural enemy, it should thank itself if the Indian Press reciprocates the sentiment. And as the Indian Press is closely in contact with the great movements of national life, the attitude of Government to it and of it to Government must have a direct effect on the relations between Government and Indian nationalism.

This very Ordinance contains proof of the complete misconception of the functions of the Indian Press in which it has been framed. The Ordinance penalises not only writings favouring revolutionary violence but also, what is called, civil disobedience. It is not necessary to discuss here whether civil disobedience is constitutional or not. Gokhale held that the non-payment of taxes was at one extreme of the constitutional method, and that is perhaps the most crucial form of civil disobedience. There is a serious practical difficulty arising out of this inclusion of civil disobedience in the Ordinance. Lord Irwin's ideas of Mahatma Gandhi's movement are, it is obvious, deeply biased. However that may be, the practical difficulty is this. Mahatma Gandhi's movement, as Indians see it, is very much more and bigger than civil disobedience which, in fact, seems at times to be a superfluity. If tomorrow Mahatmaji decides to drop civil disobedience, the movement will lose nothing of its immense potentialities as a comprehensive and natural solvent of nearly all our social problems. The problems of Hindu-Moslem unity, of the removal of untouchability, of women's equal place in public life, of the elimination of the abuses of caste, the inculcation of simplicity of life, and of dignity of labour, the amelioration of the crushing poverty of the masses, all these and more are fostered as integral parts of the Gandhi programme. The Viceroy naturally knows little of this large aspect and sees only the small part of it relating to civil disobedience. An Indian journalist, on the other hand, views the movement as a whole, and judging of it as a whole he cannot but regard it as a great blessing. The Gandhi movement as a whole must command the respect, admiration and adhesion of all to whom the Indian problem is a predominantly social and religious, and only superficially a political one. There is the danger that approval and advocacy of the Gandhi movement may be perverted by a frog in the Secretariat well to be approval of civil disobedience calling for the setting in motion of the Ordinance steam-roller. As we know, the very name of Gandhi is anathema to most officials.

The consequences of such a mistake will be incalculable. Except an insignificant proportion who

see in Gandhi a standing rebuke to their own self-indulgent ways, Indians hold Mahatmaji in the greatest reverence whether or not they follow his precepts in all respects. Every Indian journalist, therefore, is bound to write of Mahatmaji's activities and write appreciatively of them, and if the Ordinance is to be applied to such writings, all Indian newspapers will have to close down except one or two which for reasons of their own have adopted the policy of running down Gandhiji.

The only way in which this contingency can be avoided is for Government to appreciate the solid social achievements of Mahatmaji's movement, to release Gandhiji and the Satyagraha prisoners and initiate action in respect of the eleven points of Gandhiji for ameliorating the economic pressure of the present system of administration on the masses. Mahatmaji does not expect the Viceroy to carry out these reforms by a stroke of the pen: all that he asks is that action should be initiated to deal with them. This offer which was evidently intended to be an alternative to the Independence goal has so far remained without response. Mahatmaji attaches much less importance to constitutional forms than to the actual, working effect of administration on the masses. The minority question which bulks so largely in the eyes of Government and politicians is at bottom an economic question, and measures having for their object the elevation of the economic condition of the masses, will provide the natural solution for the minority question also. The solution of the present difficulties is to be found in a conciliatory policy and not in repressive laws, and if and when Lord Irwin's Government turn their attention in this direction, they will find the Indian Press standing solidly behind them. If the Round table conference is called after taking these preliminary steps there is every chance of its being able to achieve its end.

#### CARTE BLANCHE TO POLICE.

The following Press Note was issued by the Director of Information, Bombay, on Monday:

"It appears that large numbers of sightseers assemble at Wadala at the times of the raids on the Salt Depot by the Congress Volunteers, and that these persons are responsible for the greater part of the disturbances which ensue.

"The volunteers conduct themselves in a more or less orderly fashion and are subject to a certain discipline whereas, in past raids, the sightseers have lost control of themselves and have rushed the salt pans at many points, stealing any salt on which they can lay their hands. Not only that, the violence, the stone throwing and the use of sticks which has occurred, has been almost entirely the work of sightseers.

"It has therefore become necessary to issue a warning that the police will be fully justified in using whatever force may be necessary to repel such so-called sightseers and that in future they



will do so. All peaceful citizens should consequently refrain from going anywhere near Wadala while these raids continue."

The present writer was one of the sight-seers at the Wadala raid last Sunday. He saw nothing except a large crowd of "White Caps" and Police, foot and mounted, scattered about the basin in which the salt fields lie. Once a group came rushing back and out of the railway level crossing, and he was told that a man was found throwing stones at a Police officer and that he had been seized by Congress Volunteers who were taking him to a Police station. There is no reference to this incident in the Press reports. It was the general talk that the stone throwing was the work of an agent provocateur to create trouble. Considering the position of Wadala, the *carte blanche* to the Police to use force against sight-seers is very dangerous. Two railway stations stand at either end of the hollow in which lie the salt heaps basking peacefully in the sun. Hardly a hundred yards beyond are blocks of houses. It is, therefore, practically impossible to keep out sight-seers, and it is to be feared that the Press Note may be interpreted as conferring unlimited freedom to assault people on raid days round about Wadala. The Press Note omits to state under what law or laws this right is claimed or conferred. The public are entitled to protest against such arbitrary prohibitions having no better basis for them than the misconduct of a few sight-seers on one of the raid days. The Police, of course, are entitled to use force against persons who assault them or otherwise interfere with their legitimate duties. But they are not justified in assaulting peaceful citizens whom curiosity and desire for first-hand information attracts to these scenes.

#### IS THIS CHRISTIAN ?

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the Bombay Presidency the *Indian Social Reformer* is the only paper which makes persistent efforts to interpret the ideals and work of the various Christian Missions in India. I therefore feel that you will be in a position to inform the public through your paper how it is that even in times of great unrest and suffering when there are a number of wounded, mainly from among the Indians, as a result of Police and Military charges, assaults and firing or even mob violence, nobody from the League of Mercy, Red Cross Organisation, and the many missionary bodies appears on the spot to render any assistance to the wounded? I cannot believe that they withhold assistance out of feelings of racial prejudice! Nor will I attribute their ignoring the call of duty to the fact that the wounded are civil resisters and law breakers? Even when a war is waged the Red Cross Organisations render assistance to the wounded from the enemy's camp! Are our satyagrahis and others, even worse than Britain's enemies in a regular war? I write this in the hope that some persons connected with these bodies will be able to throw light on the question and I shall revert to this after knowing what they have to say.

Bombay,  
28th May 1930. }

Yours etc,  
DHIRAJLAL CHHAGANLAL.

#### THE GANDHI MOVEMENT AND INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Indian Christians are universally regarded as denationalised, unpatriotic and pro-British. This is largely true. We labour under the false conception that British rule encourages Christian propaganda and that the Church gains material benefit under the Empire. Such ideas could not be entertained by any thoughtful Indian Christian for one moment. There is no greater stumbling block to the spread of Christianity than the presence of the "sahibs" who offend devout Hindoos by their utter indifference to religion and often actually oppose missionary work. It is notorious that the sahibs care nothing for Indian Christians. They will never employ Christian servants if they can be avoided and show their scorn for the westernized Indian Christians by saying that the latter represent nothing but the anomaly of their own social position.

Christians can no longer remain neutral in political matters. The community is no longer in its infancy. The political arena offers an opportunity to Christian politicians that is without parallel in the history of the world.

Gandhiji's movement is Christian through and through. The *Bombay Chronicle* said, "The spirit of Christ has come upon the little poor saint of India." Gandhiji has recalled to Christians the parts of Christ's teaching which they have long forgotten. Every one of us will be a better Christian by joining his movement, more disciplined, more prayerful, more self-sacrificing. Christ committed to the Christians the precious heritage of non-violence, while the political weapon of non-co-operation is a legitimate deduction from His teaching. It rests therefore with the Christians to spread the gospel of non-violent, non-co-operation throughout the land. In England those who refused during the Great War to join the armies of force were regarded as cowards and traitors. In India those who refuse to join the army of non-violence will by future generations, be regarded in the same light. If the Indian Church wishes to gain its true nobility as a worthy representative of Him who was the slave of no man, and yet servant of all, let her throw herself heart and soul into the bloodless crusade. Let her not be put to shame by the Hindu heroes of Gujaraht. Let her members learn something of the poverty of Jesus Christ in the prison cells. Let them show forth in actual conduct the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. Let them have in every church the Roll of Honour of those who are imprisoned for their country's sake. Let the national flag fly from every tower. Let them strike out of their prayer-books prayers for the Imperial Government. Let them change their boots for sandals and their trousers for loin cloths, their topies for Gandhi caps. Let them come down to the level of Jesus Christ

who awaits His proud, richly dressed, well-fed disciples in the valley of humility. Let the Indian Christian Church beware lest He says unto them, "You shall see Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj entering into the Kingdom of God and you yourselves thrust out."

I wish to propose therefore that a league of Christian Indian Patriots be formed to bind themselves together to work for the freedom and the uplift of their country under the patronage of Mahatma Gandhi and the President of the Congress. This is no attempt at a separate organization from the Congress but simply an attempt to mobilize the forces of young Christianity in India and place them at the disposal of our leaders to use them any way they choose. The Indian Christian patriots will be willing to work with members of all communities. All inquiries should be addressed to Brother Shamrao, who will call a public meeting at an early date.

Christ Seva Sangha, Poona. } Yours etc.,  
24th May 1930. } BROTHER SHAMRAO,

#### POLITICAL SITUATION.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have read with interest and appreciation the article on the political situation by the Rev. J. F. Edwards which appeared in your issue of the 10th May. If Christian missionaries have for the most part refrained from giving public expression to their views it is not because they are not deeply concerned in the struggle which is now going on. I have decided to write to you now not in order to pass judgment on persons or acts, but to ask the question whether there are not ways in which good-will may be restored.

I cannot believe that a continuance of the conflict can possibly lead to good. On the contrary, I believe that a fight to a finish must have disastrous results. If the Government should capitulate to the leaders of the Civil Disobedience campaign, does anyone imagine that this would be the beginning of any independence worthy of the name? I feel sure that it would not be the beginning of ordered freedom. On the other hand, if Government succeeded in suppressing the movement, does anyone imagine that the peace would be permanent? I fear it would take long to eradicate the bitterness that would remain. I am convinced that the great need at the present time is for all men of good-will to combine in an effort not merely to restore peace but to remove the underlying causes of conflict.

The proposed Round Table Conference has seemed to many so ideal a means of solving the problem of India's future constitution that they have been honestly puzzled by the refusal of the Congress party to take part in it except under conditions which it would be difficult for any Government, however strong, in a democratic state to accept. I think, however, I understand some of the reasons which have led to the making of these conditions. There is above all the fear, which is by no means

unfounded, that there will come to the Conference persons who are pledged to policies that cannot be reconciled with each other. Should this prove to be so there is the apprehension that the British Government will come off as the *tertius gaudens*. One cannot contemplate these possibilities with complacency. There can be no really useful Conference to which the members do not come with hearts free from bitterness and with a common desire for the highest good of India.

I would ask those who speak of the Round Table Conference as a fiasco, if it need be a fiasco. There must be a Conference sooner or later. Mahatma Gandhi at Lahore used words to the effect that even if there were war there must be a Conference to settle terms of peace. But has it come to that? And are Peace Conferences the most propitious gatherings for the settlement of problems like those that confront India to-day? I cannot believe it.

Is there not a better way? If it were found possible to call a truce to this conflict—and I think it is possible—might the process of reconciliation not begin with a Round Table Conference of representatives of the most important parties and interests in India? There are in every party men who love India more than party, and I am optimist enough to believe that there is the possibility of the attainment of unity among themselves if they will bend themselves to the task. I believe with Mr. Edwards that no British Government will reject proposals in which India is substantially united. And I believe that if the leaders of Indian opinion discover at such a Conference that on essentials they are at one, the Round Table Conference which the Secretary of State has called may have a significance transcending every other event in the political history of India.

If the Civil Disobedience campaign has as its object not the coercion of the present Government to alter this and that law of its making but the attainment of complete freedom for the representatives of the people of India to make and unmake laws, then I would urge with all earnestness that even now the way of peaceful negotiation should be considered. I see no hope in the continuance of conflict. I see infinite possibilities in restored confidence.

Simla Hills, } I am etc.,  
26th May 1930. } JOHN MCKENZIE.

**An Indian Doctor in Germany.**—Under the auspices of the India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie" Prof. Dr. Ukil of Calcutta, delivered a lecture on the 28th April last on the "Immunity of the Indians from Lung-tuberculosis" which was largely attended by notable German medical men including Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Kerschesteiner and Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Diendonno. The address of the renowned Indian scholar awakened deep interest in the minds of the German specialists who have worked in the same field. On the following day Professor Ukil visited some of the modern hospitals in Munich and attended several invitations from the University circle. The Deutsche Akademie organised a small tea party in honour of Professor Ukil at which, among others, the renowned historian Professor Scheel of the University of Kiel was present.

## SELF-RESPECT AND SOCIAL REFORM.

(BY MR. M. R. JAYAKAR.)

*(Continued from the last issue.)*

You know that Karna, the true hero of the Mahabharata, said on an eventful occasion.—“My birth was in the hand of Fate, but valour is in my hands.” Yours is a similar sentiment. If you should want to adopt a Sanskrit motto, I would recommend this little Sanskrit couplet. Make it clear from all your platforms that what you want is that men should be judged not by the accident of their birth, but by their own achievements; that men should have freedom and equality of opportunities so that merit might not be oppressed. Remember that, when a nation comes to a stage when its old civilisation becomes petrified and is incapable of further growth, caste institutions thrive and prosper.

You know the story of a great Acharya. He reached an age when most of his works were written and his ascetic and intellectual eminence was great. Then he had a dream that his next lesson in human sentiment should be learnt in another place. He was asked to go to Benares and learn it there, at the hands of a Chandala of all other persons. He went to Benares and was going through the street one morning when he found a Chandala coming in the opposite direction. The Chandala touched him. He was a Chandala of the lowest grade and carried a bowl of water. The Acharya was angry with the Chandala for touching him and protested at the sacrilege. The Chandala replied;—“Look at the reflection of the sun in my dirty bowl of water and look at the same reflection in the pure Ganges. Is there any difference between the two? Does not the same sun shine through both?” The Acharya then learnt his first lesson in humanity, viz. that the dignity of human life did not depend on the vehicle through which the human soul found expression.

Your quarrel to-day is with false Hinduism. State your case boldly if you conceive this to be your mission, then say boldly that you want to expand Hinduism so that once more it becomes the religion of the poor and the lowly as it was at one time. One thing which struck me in your movement is that I see Roman Catholic gentlemen and Mahomedans also in it. You are solving the communal problem in a method which religious Panchayats and Congress politicians can never do. You say that the priest comes between man and God. Is not that the difficulty with Mahomedans also? A great Mahomedan saint had stated against the Mullahs that they, by their highpitched calls to prayer, drew attention to themselves more than to God.

Therefore, your mission is on a high pedestal of a non-communal character. I want you to understand the dignity of your movement. It should not be a narrow and anti-Brahman movement. Do not make it so. Nor make it a movement for the leaves and

fishes of office. Your main quarrel—and I want you to understand its dignity—is with the essentials of orthodoxy in whatever religion it exists. I can assure you that there are many men in Hinduism who will admit your claim the moment it becomes powerful. Your worst enemy to-day is orthodoxy lying entrenched behind an apathetic government, apathetic to social regeneration. I am giving my experiences in the Legislative Assembly which Mr. Shanmukham Chettiar will confirm. Today the Government in their apathy will not push forward social reform when it is undertaken by us. Take the Sarda Bill. Three years ago a responsible member of the Government got up in the Assembly and said:—“We cannot allow this Bill to go through. We must circulate it for opinion” which meant untold delay. The Government say:—“We are unpopular in political matters. Why should we add to our unpopularity by going against the orthodox?” Therefore you have to agitate not only against orthodoxy, but against a supine Government. The Government here, like all bureaucracies, is afraid of the spirit of enquiry and challenge. The tendency of all bureaucracies, whether religious or political, is that they dislike the spirit of enquiry and reform. That being the position of the Government, you must strengthen the hands of the reformers. Fortunately you are not members of the privileged classes. You are the sweat of the soil. Yours is a mass movement, in the true sense. I know there are a great many difficulties in your way. You are creating terror in the minds of orthodox circles. I am very glad that you believe like me in social legislation being one of the functions of the State. The proper theory in this matter was stated in ever true terms by that great parent of reform, Mr. Ranade. He held the view that a foreign Government can justify itself only by linking itself with the enlightened sense of the community and that a civilised Government must combine in itself the united wisdom, just and beneficence of the entire community. Very wise words indeed. Therefore you have got to tell this Government from all platforms that it must convert itself into an enlightened Government in the sense that it becomes the custodian of the national sense of fair play, equality and beneficence.

I have got three or four Bills pending in the Assembly. One Bill deals with the difficulties of the Depressed Classes. Satyagraha was done in some temples in Bombay. The trustees of other temples consisting of Solicitors and businessmen told me that what stood in their way was a decision of the Privy Council holding that, if it was the custom of a temple from time immemorial that it should be open only to the higher castes, then no trustees had a right to vary it. If he did so, he became guilty of a breach of trust. The trustees had no power to throw open that institution to the depressed classes. As a trustee his duty is merely to follow and carry out the immemorial custom, and if he attempts to interfere with it, he is liable to be removed from his office for breach of duty. The result of this ruling is that

however liberal minded a trustee may be, he can do nothing. When I saw that decision, I felt that it was a genuine difficulty. Therefore I gave notice of a Bill. That Bill in effect says that, notwithstanding any rule of the Hindu law or custom prevailing in the country, any custom which declares that any Hindu by reason of his caste or community is untouchable or is incapable of exercising the public rights which are open to other communities, is invalid, and cannot be recognised notwithstanding any sanction it may have in religion or custom. I have given notice of this Bill. Government as usual will say:—"Let it go for circulation." That means some years. I am not sure whether I will be alive or in the Legislative Assembly when the Bill comes back.

Another Bill of mine permits marriage irrespective of caste. One Englishman frankly asked me whether it was my intention in introducing the Bill that Britishers should go out of this country soon. In saying this he realized what orthodoxy did not do.

Therefore, one of the duties and perhaps the principal duty which you will have to set before yourselves is to create public opinion so that such important pieces of social legislation obtain the support of the masses. I can see that you may not get the support of the educated because unfortunately the result of education in this country has been towards intellectual and cultural affluence. I am sure your experience is the same. The masses, if rightly approached, will give support for such measures sooner than educated men. Your efforts may give rise to hatred in some quarters. But ignore it. Do not waste your words on it. Go straight your way. Your work lies with poor and illiterate men. It is the work, somewhat laborious, of altering the mentality of the ordinary man. You are concerned with all these groups who live in villages. You must go to them and teach them right notions of life. I know it is very difficult work, but it is worth undertaking.

**Relief At Pegu:—**The Secy, Ramakrishna Mission Khar, writes:—"All are informed of the relief activities of the Ramakrishna Mission at Pegu, which was a victim to a terrible Earth-quake just a few weeks ago destituting thousands of souls of their life and property. We have received another wire from Rangoon which informs us that our relief party has already begun supplying (1) Corn and Clothes (2) Medicines and (3) Shelter (Building huts) to the homeless and helpless. We acknowledge receipt of the following amounts. Bombay Merchants and Mucodums' Association Rs. 1000, A. Zarathustree, Ahmedabad, Rs. 101, Mr. D. K. Sheshadri, Rs. 25, Pro. R. M. Joshi, Rs. 10. Total Rs. 1,136. We appeal once more to the generous public to send us their quota of help to alleviate the distress of the suffering thousands. Any contribution in cash or kind will be most thankfully received by the Secy, Ramakrishna Mission, Khar, Bombay."

**An Indian Candidate For Parliament:—**Mr. Saklatwala has been adopted as the Communist candidate for Settleston Division of Glasgow in the Parliamentary bye-election due to the death of Mr. John Wheatley, the "left wing" Labourite.

#### MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARREST.

We take the following from the despatch of Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, special representative of the *Daily Telegraph* of London, in India, published on the 16th inst:—

##### GAILY DECORATED CAR

Round a bend in the road, hidden from the level crossing, three cars were waiting. One of the cars, a large yellow Studebaker, looked as if it was prepared for a happy bridal party, for the body was entirely covered with bright pink and red curtains, looking as if made to conceal the nervous young couple from gaping crowds on their honeymoon.

"Yes, that is for Gandhi," exclaimed Inspector Cordon. "I shall have just a small escort in the other two, but he won't attempt to get away."

We passed slowly moving minutes over hot coffee from a Thermos flask. There was something intensely dramatic in the atmosphere while we were waiting for the train, for we all felt we were sole eye-witnesses of a scene which may become historical—this arrest of a prophet, false or true. For, false or true Gandhi is now regarded as a holy man and a saint by millions of Indians. Who knows whether, one hundred years from now, he may be worshipped as a supreme being by 300,000,000 people. We could not shake off these thoughts, and it seemed incongruous to be at a level crossing at dawn to take the prophet into custody.

The sun was now rising above the horizon and the countryside burst into life and song. Villagers came strolling by exchanging friendly greetings with us and wondering why we were there; but, fortunately never suspecting the nature of our mission. Inspector Cordon took out his watch, remarking: "The train is late." "Supposing they have not got him, after all," said Superintendent Farrant. "The station master will get the shock of his life when he sees the express." I murmured.

Then we heard a low rumbling in the distance and smoke appeared and then round the bend came the train. "Will she stop?" we kept asking one another. No doubt now; she slowed down and came to a standstill with the restaurant car opposite to the level crossing.

##### A POIGNANT MOMENT

Without a moment's delay the door opened, an attendant placed a stool on the ground. Mr. Cordon and Mr. Farrant stepped forward, and that figure now familiar to the world appeared in the doorway, naked except for his famous loin cloth and carrying his shawl over his arm.

But what a change! Exactly a month has passed since I saw Mahatma Gandhi break the salt laws at Dandi, surrounded by his faithful disciples and followed by an enormous mob of enthusiastic satyagrahis (passive resisters). Since that time he has dictated to 300,000,000 people; his writings and sayings have become world famous; and his campaign of "civil disobedience" has caused a revolution

throughout a continent resulting in violence and bloodshed the consequences of which no one can yet gauge.

This morning he looked undescribably deserted and lonely without a single friend or follower, a melancholy picture, as he stepped forward to descend to earth.

Yet the old man departed himself with remarkable dignity. Andrew Marvell's lines on the execution of Charles I came back to me:

"He nothing common did nor mean,  
Upon that memorable scene."

The police officers raised their hats; the Mahatma replied with a pleasing smile and shook them both warmly by the hand as they helped him from the train.

#### GANDHI'S FAREWELL MESSAGE

Gandhi seemed surprised when he saw my companion and myself, for both of us were known to him. He greeted us in the most friendly manner.

"Have you a farewell message you would like to give, Mr. Gandhi?" I asked.

He replied: "Shall I give it now or shall I wait?"

"You had better give it now," I replied.

He paused, seeming to be at a loss for words and somewhat dazed by events. Then he answered: "Tell the people of America to study the issues closely and to judge them on their merits."

"Have you any bitterness or ill-will towards anyone?" I asked.

"None whatsoever; I have long expected to be arrested," he replied.

"Do you think your arrest will lead to great disturbances throughout India?"

"No, I do not; in any case I can honestly say that I have taken every possible precaution to avert disturbances."

"Then you anticipate no troubles?"

The Mahatma hesitated for a moment and then replied: "I hope not; I have done my best to prevent them."

At this point the law intervened. Inspector Cordon stepped forward, saying: "Now Mr. Gandhi, if you are ready, please." Only one person accompanied Gandhi from the train, a doctor of the Indian Medical Service, who remained silent in the background. He now took his seat along side the prophet with Inspector Cordon sitting by the chauffeur.

The glorious pink curtains were drawn closely round the party, the prophet disappeared from view, and the gay bridal car set forth on its journey of 120 miles. But what an incongruous marriage, now no longer a wedding but a divorce this blending of the mystical East with the practical and material West. I looked back to see a blaze of brilliant pink whirling through the budding green of the spring. The prophet is now silent; what will the future hold in store for him and for unhappy India?

#### DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAN.

(GERMAN REVIEW).

In his article on "the present situation of the study of Sanskrit in Germany" Prof. Otto Strauss of Breslau University has given a clear idea of how German Scholars are working at the different universities in connection with Sanskrit. No other country in the world has so many scholars engaged in elucidating India's glorious past.

What have Indians done to reciprocate? How many Indian Universities have Indian Professors engaged in teaching German and encouraging research work? We know that conditions in Germany were and are different from what they were and are in India. But now that everyone recognises the importance of the German language to India it is not too much to hope that adequate arrangements will be made for teaching it. The Deutsche Gesellschaft, (German Society), has received encouraging letters from the Rectors of German Universities. The work of the D. G. is making slow but sure progress. It is proposed to make the Deutsche Rundschau (German Review) a bi-monthly journal. Indians can help by sending articles in German or English to the Editor, Prof. G. M. Jadhav, Deutsche Gesellschaft, Parel, Bombay 12. Rectors of German Universities have promised to send articles for the D. R. and it will be a very good thing if Indians will also take the same interest and send suitable articles.

The annual subscription of the D. G. is only Rs. 15 and Rs. 6 for ordinary and associate members. Every member receives a copy of the D. R. free of charge. The associate membership is especially meant for students of different Indian Universities. All further particulars about the D. G. can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary Prof. G. M. Jadhav. The new subscriptions fall due from June of every year. Associate members can pay Rs. 6 in two instalments. This arrangement is also made in order to give every facility to the associate members. Students of Indian Universities who are thinking of going to Germany should join the D. G. as they will be able to obtain all the necessary information about German Universities and conditions of life in Germany. We have every hope that Indians will send suitable articles for the D. R.

G. M. JADHAV,

Editor, Deutsche Rundschau.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Nizam's Manifesto:—The Nizam has issued the following manifesto in connection with the present unrest in India:—"In common with every true well-wisher of India, I have been caused much distress and anxiety by the course of recent events in this country. Matters have now reached a pass when I would be failing in my duty not only to my state but to India and the Empire if I remained silent any longer, more especially as I am given to understand that my co-religionists look to me for lead at a time when a crisis is impending in the governanc.

of India as a whole. At this juncture the endeavour of all, and more particularly of those in a position of responsibility and trust, should be directed to finding a solution of India's difficulties in a form of Government for future that will command the support of all reasonable men of every creed and every party as being the best calculated to ensure the enduring peace and prosperity of the country in general. To this end the Round Table Conference is being convened in London. As the faithful ally of the British Government, it is my intention to make towards its success the contribution that is due from my state and from my house. A few months ago, I gave utterance on a public occasion to the above sentiments and announced the policy that I proposed to follow, but success at the conference can only be achieved if all creeds and parties cooperate in the presentation of their respective cases in an atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill. I earnestly appeal to all, and more particularly to my co-religionists in India, to realise that their common welfare lies in orderly progress and in the provision in the future system of Government of such safeguards as will ensure to all communities and interests their rightful position in their Motherland. Let every one, therefore, set himself against any attempt to destroy the foundations of order and range himself on the side of constituted authority in the state or province wherein his lot is cast. For myself I take my stand as my ancestors took theirs on the time honoured treaties that exist between my state and the British Government. In these it has been declared that "the friends and enemies of either shall be the friends and enemies of both." To this declaration I have always adhered and God willing will ever adhere.'

**Viceroy's Letter to Pandit H. N. Kunzru:**—The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy has sent the following letter to Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru who recently resigned his membership of the Legislative Assembly:—His Excellency observes that you have published in the Press your letter of resignation from the Legislative Assembly and he wishes me to call attention to certain passages in it in which you speak of brutalities perpetrated by the Police and of resentment caused throughout the country by such conduct. His Excellency desires me to say that it has never been the policy of the Government to employ force except when compelled to do so for the preservation of order or, when circumstances have necessitated the use of force, to employ more force than is required to effect the purpose in view. On the information before him His Excellency is satisfied that this policy has been observed by the Police throughout the country during the recent disturbances. In his opinion the Police so far from acting with unnecessary rigour have shown marked self-control and restraint under conditions of utmost difficulty in dealing with many dangerous situations which they have had to face. His Excellency feels assured that if any *bonafide* complaints are made to the proper quarters they will receive careful consideration; but it must be remembered that in any serious disturbance it is almost inevitable that innocent passers-by should sometimes suffer with the guilty. Any such incidents if and when they occur must be a matter for deep and general regret, but His Excellency fears that the primary responsibility for them must rest with those who have determined to break the law and so cause a breach of the public peace."

**An Official's Confession:**—The news sheet of the Publicity Bureau of the Gujarat Prantik Sabha reports that Mr. Durlabhji Desai, the Deputy Collector of Kaira, who has resigned after putting 25 years of service, spoke as follows at a meeting held at Pritamnagar, Ahmedabad to congratulate him on his bold step. He said: "Although Nationalist from the very beginning I carried out loyally the work so long as I continued to be the member of the service. During that time I had on many an occasion gone against the dictates of my conscience, and had done things which ordinarily I would not have done. I can not forget the grief that I felt for sending 35 patriots to the Jail within a short period of two months in Kaira District whose only fault was that they were loyal to their country. Yet I have done all the things pertain-

ing to my service loyally to the last. From the very beginning, I had been feeling that I was being disloyal to my country while being loyal to the Government. This mental torture I have borne as long as I could, but when it became impossible to bear I threw off the Government service. The higher officials were willing to grant me leave or were prepared to send me off on pension. Persuasions were made to that effect but the atrocities perpetrated on innocent women at Viramgam and the Gundashahi carried out by Mr. Laher, a Police Officer in Kaira at Anand, Umreth, Dakore and at various other places left me no alternative, and it became my confirmed opinion that one can not continue to serve a Government wherein horses are run on innocent women. It is a sin with such a Government."

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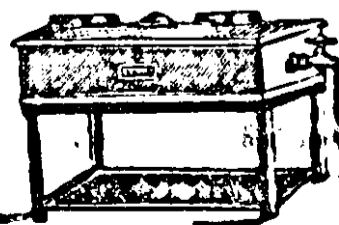
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# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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No. 40

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Solitary Confinement For Mahatma Gandhi:**—When Government decided to deal with Mahatma Gandhi under an ancient State Prisoners' Regulation and not under the Penal Code, we thought that one reason was that he could be accorded more considerate treatment than is possible under jail rules for convicted prisoners. As a fact, however, Mahatmaji, in one important respect, is being treated worse than convicts. He is being virtually kept in separate, if not solitary, confinement which is one of the severest forms of punishment, to be inflicted under special safeguards, on the worst class of prisoners. Miraben in the current *Young India* cites the rules relating to this form of punishment and pertinently observes: "So it comes to this, that though Gandhiji is given considerate treatment, special food, and has been examined by special doctors (all of which has been announced by the Government in the press) he is at the same time undergoing a punishment which is admitted, by the officials themselves, to be one of the severest and most nerve-breaking which it is in their power to award (and of this the Government has made nothing in the press). Gandhiji, owing to his extraordinary mental control, can bear this strain, but even so, continued treatment of this kind is bound to tell on his general health." For a man of Mahatmaji's temper, overflowing with love for his fellow beings no deprivation can be more painful than that of contact with them. To "bury him alive"—the phrase is Lord Lloyd's to an Australian journalist when Mahatmaji was imprisoned for sedition—is hardly compatible with the intentions which should actuate a Government which lays store by humane considerations, particularly in regard to one who is incapable of harbouring an ill thought towards his bitterest enemies.

**A Word to English Friends:**—There are many English, men and women, who are sincerely concerned about the present tension and are genuinely anxious to find a means of promoting and strengthening Indo-English relations. Such persons unfortunately are as a rule neither

officials nor politicians, and their influence, though ultimately decisive in the national life, takes a long time to permeate the layers which control policy and administration. Swami Vivekananda who before he went to England was passionately anti-British, became a warm admirer of the depth and stability and essential just-mindedness of the people after he had been a short time in that country. There are many Indians who count English people among their best friends and who are deeply distressed by the apparent inability of British public men to understand the Indian point of view. Leaving aside high political issues, there are small things by attending to which political controversy may be relieved of much bitterness. At the present time, for instance, political discussion can be made pleasant if English speakers and writers do not indulge in offensive terms in referring to Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatmaji is the greatest and most respected Indian of his time, and even those Englishmen who may not so regard him, can, out of consideration for Indian sentiments, criticise his opinions respectfully and without offence. If there are Englishmen to whom this does not appeal, they may at least remember that it is not "good form" to kick a man when he is "down." Mahatmaji is closely confined in Yerrodva Prison, and would not retaliate even if he were free, and it struck as scarcely becoming in one of his high social status and political position, for the Marquis of Zetland, better known in this country as Lord Ronaldshay, to refer to Mahatmaji's views in the House of Lords as foolish, as he is reported to have done. Such epithets hurt and they serve no useful argumentative purpose. It is useless to ask the leader-writers in the Anglo-Indian Press to be restrained in their references to Indian leaders—one newspaper referred to some of them the other day as "rascals"—but English gentlemen can and, we hope, will appreciate the object with which we write this paragraph.

**The Brahma Samaj:**—We reprint elsewhere an excerpt from a very thoughtful article on the Brahma Samaj by Dr. Hemchandra Sarkar. We are glad that the *Subodh Patrika* has given it a prominent place in its columns. Three years ago when this writer said almost the same thing as Dr. Sarkar at the Theistic Conference in Madras, it was resented in the columns of our contemporary. The gist of Dr. Sarkar's observations is summed up in a single sentence. "Rightly or wrongly," he writes, "the impression prevails that there is no room for the poor in the Brahma Samaj." Not only is there no room for

poor, but there is a remarkable lack of appreciation of movements which make the thought of the poor their central aim. Last Sunday this writer happened to attend the usual weekly Service in the Prarthana Samaj. Dr. Chitnis, the Missionary-Minister, occupied the pulpit and the satyagraha movement was the subject of his sermon. He spoke of some aspects of the movement with appreciation, but curiously enough, he said not a word for the deep concern for the poor which inspires it at every point. Dr. Sarkar says that the Brahma Samaj unlike other faiths inculcated the practice of religion in the home and society. Is this true? A very common simile in Hindu religious literature is the lotus leaf which though growing in water has a surface which is water-proof. The *Grihastha* Ashrama is extolled as the highest Ashrama. Surely, neither Jesus Christ nor the Arabian Prophet nor Gautama Buddha favoured withdrawal from the world as the highest good for the whole population!

**The Press Ordinance:**—Almost on the day when the Press Ordinance was promulgated, Mahatma Gandhi with characteristic decision instructed the manager of the Navajivan press and paper and *Young India*, to refuse to furnish security and defy the Ordinance by continuing to publish the paper, taking the consequences. Dr. Besant before leaving India announced that her instructions as regards the *New India* Press and paper were that security should be furnished as often as it was asked and the matter taken up subsequently to the High Court. The Working Committee of the National Congress next met at Allahabad and passed a resolution calling upon all Indian papers to close down as a protest against the Ordinance. Mr. Chintamani was not able to attend the All-India Journalists' Conference in Bombay but he intimated that in his opinion no security should be given and that on the first demand for it, the newspaper should stop publication. The Conference itself on the suggestion of the President, Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar, recommended that the first demand for security should be paid, but that a second demand, on the forfeiture of the first, should be met by stopping publication. The Conference view has commended itself to Indian-conducted English journals all over the country. Several Vernacular papers in the Punjab and the United Provinces have followed the Congress Working Committee's resolution. For our own part while we feel strongly that the Ordinance is a wholly unwarranted infliction on the Indian Press, we think that it is the duty of the Press, as the exponent of public opinion, to keep to its post as long as possible even in the face of adverse conditions. To quit at the first untoward event, is hardly compatible with our idea of the function of the Press. Of course, if and when an editor feels that it is impossible for him to continue to conduct his paper without sacrificing his convictions it is his duty to resign.

**Trouble in Burma:**—Following close on the earthquake which had caused considerable havoc in Pegu and Rangoon a serious riot seems to have broken out in Burma between the Burmans and the large Indian community which has settled there for trade. The situation has now quietened down and already relief work has been taken in

hand to aid the families which have been rendered homeless and destitute by the disturbance, but the news received from Burma during the last ten days was distressing. The trouble, it appears, started on a question of employment. A press communique states:—'During the recent strike of shipping coolies considerable numbers of Burmans were brought in to replace the striking Coringhees. Feeling between the striking Coringhees and the Burmans employed in their place had already manifested itself in unimportant disturbances. The decision of certain employers of coolie labour to terminate the strike by giving enhanced pay was apparently accompanied by decision to re-employ the Coringhees with the result that when yesterday (26th May) morning the temporarily employed Burman labour appeared to commence work they were summarily told that their services were not required and were turned off without any compensation. It appears the Coringhees seized the opportunity to jeer at these Burmese coolies' and shortly, this led to a riot. During the recent riots in Bombay when the utilization of Pathans as strike breakers was at the bottom of the trouble we pointed out the inadvisability of playing off one community against another in employment questions. We hope the painful lessons of the Bombay and Burma riots will not be lost on the employers of labour. It is obvious that the riot was at the outset a quarrel between strikers and blacklegs such as might have taken place anywhere else. That it was magnified into a communal riot was most unfortunate. The Indian community settled there forms a tenth of the total population and nearly all the coolie labour is drawn from it. Whilst therefore under normal conditions the best relations may exist between the two communities it is not difficult to see that the easy-going Burman may on occasions consider he has a grievance against the Indian coolie in Burma. The recent cry of 'Burma for Burmans' started by the European community in Burma and indiscreetly advocated by high officials in the Government has not tended to produce better relations between the two communities. We understand that the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Burma is collecting funds for relief work. We trust that the relief will be given to all the sufferers and will not be based on a communal basis.

**Hostel For Women, Ahmedabad:**—The hostel for women started in Ahmedabad three years ago will re-open from 15th June. Women students of all communities and studying in any educational institutions of Ahmedabad are admitted. Miss Indirabai Bhagvat, B.A. (Oxon) is superintendent of the hostel. Lady Ramanbhai, Mrs. Sharda Mehta and Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai are on the managing committee of the hostel. It is situated behind the Gujarat College hostel near Ellis Bridge. Free air, excellent surroundings, good management, best supervision and most healthy environments and atmosphere are the great advantages of this hostel. The hostel supplies a long-felt want of girl-students of Gujarat who wish to receive higher education in Ahmedabad. Further particulars may be obtained from Superintendent, Girls' Hostel, Housing Society, behind Gujarat College, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 7, 1930.

## MORE ORDINANCES.

Lord Irwin has promulgated two more Ordinances under the emergency power vested in him by the Government of India Act. One of these is intended to provide against instigation to refusal of payment of taxes and is expressly stated to have been prompted by the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee recently held at Allahabad. Our view of the decisions of the Committee was stated in an editorial paragraph in the *Reformer* of the 24th May. "The Congress Committee," we said, "would have done well if it had decided upon a slowing down rather than intensification of its programme, in order to gain time to recoup its losses and to allow friendly neutrals the opportunity of intervening with proposals for a peaceful settlement." We are, therefore, prepared to accept the Viceroy's plea that his hands in the matter of this Ordinance have been forced by the action of the Working Committee of the Congress. But if we go deeper into the question, it is clear that it is not the Working Committee's action really but the pressure of the British community in India and its representatives in England that has forced his Excellency's hands. There are two ways of meeting the situation created by the present movement. The one favoured by Indian opinion of all shades of politics, is the way of conciliation: the other, favoured by the British interests, is that of coercion. The line of demarcation between the two ways is the line which divides the dominant British minority from the struggling Indian majority. The strange part of the affair is that while the policy is dictated by British interests, the actual carrying out of this policy is expected to be done by Indians for whose protection in giving effect to a policy disapproved by their own people, the second Ordinance has been conceived and promulgated. This Ordinance is said to provide against "certain forms of intimidation." The principal of these is stated to be "picketing and other kinds of molestation and intimidation for the purpose of preventing the sale of foreign cloth or liquor." With reference to this, Lord Irwin observes in his explanatory statement :

It is no part of the duty of my Government, and certainly it is not their desire, to take steps against any legitimate movements directed to these ends. They are anxious to see the promotion of indigenous Indian industries and it is perfectly legitimate for any person in advocacy of this object to urge the use of Indian goods to the utmost extent of which Indian industry is capable. Nor have I anything

but respect for those who preach the cause of temperance. But what is not legitimate is for those who desire these ends, proper as they are in themselves, to pursue them by means amounting in effect to intimidation of individuals and to endeavour to force their views on others, not by argument but by the coercive effect of fear. When resort is had to such methods, it becomes necessary for the Government to protect the natural freedom of action of those who may wish to sell and those, who wish to buy.

We entirely agree that if violence of any kind, physical or verbal, is employed to prevent persons from buying or selling foreign cloth or liquor, it must be put down. But a friendly appeal to the higher moral and patriotic instincts of a dealer or purchaser, which is what non-violent or peaceful picketing contemplates, cannot by any stretch of language be called "intimidation" or "molestation." We have observed the Desa Sevikas picketing cloth shops in Bombay and the practice they usually follow is to beg the dealer and his customer with folded hands to deal in or buy only Swadeshi goods. If Lord Irwin undertakes a visit incognito to the cloth market in Bombay, his Excellency will be at once convinced that "intimidation" and "molestation" are words absurdly inapplicable to the procedure actually followed. In that case, it will be said, the Ordinance will not apply and there is, therefore, no room for complaint. This will be the case if Lord Irwin's personal statement constituted the Ordinance. But this is not the case. The definition of "molestation" and "intimidation" covers a much wider field. It runs as follows :—

A person is said to molest another person who with a view to cause such other person to abstain from doing or to do any act which such other person has a right to do or to abstain from doing, obstructs or uses violence to or intimidates such other person or anyone in whom such a person is interested, or loiters at or near a house where such a person, or anyone in whom such a person is interested, resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, or persistently follows him from place to place or interferes with any property, owned or used by him, or deprives him of or hinders him in the use thereof.

This is dangerously wide. In practice it will come to mean that a Police Officer will decide what is intimidation and molestation.

The other form of "molestation" and "intimidation" which the Ordinance provides against is "boycotting a public servant." This is defined as follows :

(a) A person is said to "boycott" another person who refuses to deal or do business with or to supply goods to or to let a house or land to, or to render any customary service to such person, or any person

in whom such a person is interested, or refuses to do so on the terms on which such things would be done in the ordinary course, or abstains from such professional or business relations as he would ordinarily maintain with such a person; and

(b) A "public servant" includes a public servant as defined in Section 21 of the Indian Penal Code, and a servant of a local authority and a person belonging to any class of persons which the Local Government may by notification in the local official Gazette declare to be public servants for the purposes of this chapter.

This, if anything, is even more delightfully vague than the definition of intimidation. Let us, again, give a concrete instance of which we were lately told. In a certain town in Gujarat, an officer had made himself specially odious to the people and the owner of the house in which he resided gave him notice to vacate. The officer refused, whereupon the women of the village, so we were told, gathered daily morning and evening before the house and set up a wail beating their breasts, as is customary at funerals. The house was vacated in four days. How would the Ordinance meet a case like this? What Lord Irwin and his advisers have totally failed to realise is that the present movement has permeated to all classes and that women and even children are its chief and most determined propagandists. Here is an instance within our personal experience. Some days ago, this writer went to visit a satyagraha prisoner in Thana Jail. As soon as the car stopped, a boy of about eleven years ran up to it and asked the visitor's name and that of the prisoner whom he came to visit. On enquiry, it was found that sixteen batches of such small boys from the neighbouring town took their turns every day beneath a noble peepal tree, to help visitors to satyagraha prisoners (of whom there were then forty in that Jail) and to report particulars to the nearest camp. The boy seemed to be quite well up in the jail routine, was on excellent terms with the police and the warders in the Jail and is graduating in satyagraha in the friendly environs of Thana Jail. We can give several such instances to show that Government have to deal with a movement which has reached the deep emotional layers of the people, and they will have to provide for the imprisonment of practically all except "public servants"—their wives and children are often satyagrahis—if they intend to enforce the Ordinance strictly. We would suggest that Lord Irwin should send for some of the most prominent Liberal leaders and enquire of them about the decision of opinion in their respective families. The Ordinances are unworkable as law while they are fraught with dire possibilities as means of persecution by subordinate officials in the districts.

#### A DAY AT DHARASANA.

Notwithstanding somethings that had happened previously—the arrests and imprisonments, the internment of Mahatma Gandhi and the Press Ordinance—my belief in Lord Irwin's justice and fairmindedness remained materially unshaken. I felt that his Excellency had been misinformed and that the truth had only to be made known for him to rectify errors and remedy grievances. But the letter which his Private Secretary wrote to Pundit Hirdayanath Kunzru, denying *in toto* the allegations of excessive violence on the part of the police and military in several parts of the country, went far to disturb my faith in his Excellency's impartiality. The impression was forced upon me that the Viceroy had shut his eyes and ears to the loud complaints that were pouring in on all sides. Hirdayanath Kunzru is no ordinary man. He is the Vice-President of the Servants of India Society and will no doubt be its President in due course worthily carrying on the traditions of Gokhale and Srinivasa Sastri, enriched by the magnificent social work of the present President, Mr. G. K. Devadhar. He was called last year to preside over the important session of the East African Indian Congress at Kenya and then headed a deputation on behalf of East African Indians to England and was conspicuously successful in impressing the Indian point of view on the British Cabinet. He returned from England with high hopes of the Labour Government and particularly of Mr. Wedgwood Benn's resolve to lead India to Dominion Status by the shortest and quickest road possible. I need hardly say that Kunzru was opposed to Civil Disobedience though he has the greatest respect for Mahatma Gandhi. He has been a prominent member of the Legislative Assembly and was not personally unknown to Lord Irwin. He is the last man to make allegations of misuse of authority without adequate reasons. That the Viceroy through his Private Secretary should not only dismiss his statements as unfounded but actually go out of his way to applaud the self-restraint of those concerned, came to me, and no doubt to many others who held Lord Irwin in the highest estimation, as a terrible shock. If the Viceroy, the representative of the Sovereign in this country simply refused to hear the people's grievances even when presented by such a responsible representative, there was little hope of a peaceful settlement of India's problem.

It was while in this mood that I received a message last Sunday from Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society to meet him that evening as he wanted to speak to me about the happenings at Dharasana. Soon after in the morning Mr. Parsubhai Patel called on me and narrated what he saw at Dharasana the previous day when he was present on the scene as a press representative. Mr. Patel is not a *Satyagrahi* and is, in fact, the agent of an English firm which deals largely in agricultural implements. His testimony therefore, was quite unbiased and I was glad to learn that

he had placed the information which he gave me before the English head of his own firm and, at his instance and by his courtesy, before two recognised leaders of the English community in Bombay, Sir Reginald Spence and Sir Hugh Cocke. Mr. Patel also interviewed leading journalists in Bombay and impressed them as a thoroughly reliable informant. The incident in his narration which was most shocking was that the *Satyagrahi* volunteers having been made to sit down in a group in the salt area, were ridden over by Police officers on horseback and bore the hoof marks on their persons when removed to hospital by the Congress Red Cross workers. When I went to see Amritlal Thakkar at the Servants of India Society in the evening I was delighted to see also Mr. G. K. Devadhar who happened to be in Bombay and we both agreed that we should visit the scene ourselves before making any public statement. Mr. Hussain Tyabjee, son of the late Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyabjee, one of the founders of the National Congress and an unflinching champion of popular liberties, himself lately a judge in one of the Bombay civil courts was also moved by Mr. Patel's account to undertake the visit. Mr. Devadhar left the same night with Mr. Thakkar and Mr. Hussain and I followed the next day.

We got down at Dongri Station and went on to Untadi village near Dharasana. We visited the hospital at Dharasana and at about 7.30 went on to the place from where the volunteers were starting on their march to the salt works. The volunteers were drawn up in marching order and just behind them the Red Cross men under the command of Maniben, daughter of Vallabhbhai Patel. I have known Maniben from when she was a little girl and I could scarcely recognise in the commanding figure before me the sprightly tot who romped about her uncle's house just opposite to mine at Bandra with her brother now grown into a respectable *grahastha*, Dayabhai Patel. When I saluted her I thought I detected a slight smile on her lips, but this might have been my fancy as she returned my salute gravely as became the captain of the Red Cross volunteers on duty. She called the whole party to order in an authoritative voice and gave the first verses of the national anthem, *Vande Mataram*, which was repeated by the whole troop. Waman Mukadam, ex-member of the Bombay Legislative Council, who was to lead the march, stepped out towards us and after a few words of greeting resumed his place at the head of the column. I have known Mr. Mukadam as an M. L. C. given to extremely outspoken criticisms of officialdom. He was now transformed into a hardy Mahratta soldier and looked every inch, with his trim moustache and the towel tightly bound round his face, one of the grim Mawali soldiers whom one sees striding behind Shivaji's horse in Ravi Varma's pictures of that illustrious Mahratta. I noticed he spoke Marathi with the true accent and I subsequently learnt from him that he was a Maharashtrian

settled in Godhra for more than a century and that his family still continued to use Marathi as their mother-tongue. The volunteers marched first and a few paces behind them the Red Cross band with Maniben close behind. At some distance from them Devadhar, Hussain, Parsubhai Patel and myself tried to keep pace with the marchers but they walked so fast that the volunteers were in the middle of the salt fields and Maniben and her workers midway between them and the hedge when we came up and took our position outside the low hedge which marked the boundary of the salt fields. We saw the police and the volunteers confront each other for a few minutes. Waman Mukadam was having a colloquy with one of the officers and after a few minutes the whole group was ordered to sit down. Then two or three of the officers turned towards Maniben's group and ordered it to go back. I took it to be an order for them to disperse but Maniben quietly took her party only a few paces back and continued to stand there. The officers then went to Hussain Tyabjee who was standing a little apart from us and had a five minutes' conversation with him during which he was asked to go back for his own safety. Then they came to where Devadhar and I were standing and one of them said:—"Gentlemen, we advise you to go back in your interests." Mr. Devadhar explained that we were not *satyagrahis* and that having heard complaints we had come to see for ourselves what actually took place. The officer reiterated that we should go back to the village though we found later that even the village was not outside the operations of the police at Dharasana. The officer said that any group of more than five was an unlawful assembly and they would have to disperse it. Someone inquired whether we would be allowed to stand in groups of less than five. No, he said, he would advise us to go back for our own safety. Mr. Devadhar thereupon asked whether Martial Law was declared and the officer said "No, it is the order of the District Magistrate." When Mr. Devadhar was about to say something one of the officers told us that this was not a Court of Law and there could be no argument. Of what happened subsequently a brief summary has been given in a statement which the three of us jointly have given to the Press.

I will conclude with a few impressions left on me as a result of the visit. The first outstanding impression is that which I have hinted above. The Indian woman, given fair play and opportunities is capable of rising to the most supreme occasions as much as the men. The second is the powerful welding influence of the *Satyagraha* movement effacing, for the time being at least, all distinctions of caste and creed, province and language. The third is the spontaneity and cheerfulness with which the needs of the volunteers and of the movement are supplied free by the community and particularly the mercantile community. Gujaratis, in particular, seem to regard this as a religious movement and



men, women and even children are anxious to show their pride in and devotion to it at the call of one who has made their province the brightest star on the national firmament. On each of these three points I can write at great length but space forbids. I count the day that I spent at Dharasana as a memorable day in my life. It was the King's birthday but no one gave thought at Untadi to the honours list which used to be the great attraction of the day to the prosperous community of Gujarat and Kathiawar.

K. NATARAJAN.

#### THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR.

Mr. Natarajan writes in *Young India* :—

Twenty years ago, William James published an essay entitled "The Moral Equivalent of War." Two years before that, Mr. H. G. Wells had touched on the same subject in his "First and Last Things." The central theme of both writers was that military organization and training produced certain qualities of great value to society and that unless some other means was found to produce these qualities, War will continue to exercise the fascination which it does to many minds in every country. Mr. Wells described these qualities as comprising conceptions of order and discipline, the traditions of service and devotion, physical fitness, and unstinted exertion and the sense of responsibility. James gives them as fidelity, cohesiveness, tenacity, heroism, conscience, education, inventiveness, economy and physical health and vigour. Both Wells and James believe that these virtues can be bred otherwise than by military training. James suggested the institution, instead of military conscription, of a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted "against Nature." "The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fibre of the people," he wrote. "We should get toughness without collousness, authority with as little criminal cruelty as possible, and painful work done cheerily because the duty is temporary, and threatens not, as now, to degrade the whole remainder of one's life."

Both these eminent writers forgot that monastic discipline at its best furnished in Europe and Asia not only a moral but also spiritual equivalent of war for many centuries. Something like James' conscription of the youth of the country for non-military service obtains even today in Burma where every child is sent to a monastery for a certain number of years for religious training. This may not be of the best but the principle is there and the system can be improved upon. This improvement in Asiatic countries must take the form of linking social service to religion. The Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and the Ramkrishna Mission, have approached this problem from the religious side. The Servants of India Society in

Gokhale's mind was an attempt to spiritualise politics. Mahatma Gandhi's movement is a more intensive application of the same principle on a more extended scale. The educated classes were the material out of which Gokhale sought to shape his instrument. Mahatmaji's appeal is directly to the masses. He has impressed his stamp on the satyagraha volunteers who will soon be carrying his message and his method to every nook and corner of the country. The "white caps" have in their way become as distinctive as "the black shirts" in Italy. In 1921, one heard now and then of "white caps" in an inebriated condition shouting "Mahatmaji Jai." No one hears of such things now. They have become a disciplined army without arms, prepared to suffer but not to inflict suffering, gentle, helpful, tolerant and incorruptible. Not long ago I was talking to a high Baroda official. The talk drifted to the fool relief three years ago, and he spoke of the service of the "white caps" with warm admiration. "Not a pie," he said, "was misapplied by them." As I write this, I come across a letter in the *Bombay Chronicle* in which Mr. J. A. D. Naoroji of Messrs. Tata and Sons referring to some help rendered by the volunteers to one of his firm who became entangled with a crowd, concludes that the satyagrahis are now an army and not a mob. The non-retaliating patience with which they are enduring the lathi blows and other violences which the Police in discharge of their duty have inflicted on them in Bombay and elsewhere, is well-known. India has in the satyagrahis the nucleus of the organisation which in James' scheme is to supply a moral equivalent of war. It is gratifying to note that the satyagrahi volunteers comprise young men and women of the best families inheriting a tradition of public service. No wonder that the spectacle of this army without arms facing the military and Police has aroused the interest of the whole world. Except in one respect the Government forces have the advantage over the satyagrahis. They have not only arms, but also the whole machinery of Government, including the Press Ordinance behind them. The solitary respect in which the satyagrahis have the advantage is that while every man on the side of Government must be paid to do his duty which the non-violence of the *satyagrahis* deprives of all risk, the latter have to sacrifice their incomes, their comfort, their family and be prepared to go to jail. And yet, there were never so many "white caps" seen in the country as today.

**Purdanashin Woman's Case Dismissed :—**Mr. Justice Backland dismissed with costs the suit by Sushila Bala Dassi, a purdanashin Hindu woman, claiming Rs. 10,000 damages from the Secretary of State for India for publication of her photograph in the East Indian Railway Puja Holiday Guide Book for 1927-28. His Lordship held the picture not capable of being understood in a libellous sense.

## CONVERSION AND UNTOUCHABILITY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

A note in this week's *Reformer* informs us that 'conversion to other religions as a means of getting rid of the stigma of untouchability, is not recognised in Travancore,' and instances the Travancore Government's order prohibiting all non-Hindu residents of the village of Cape Comorin, out of whom 'the Paravas professing the Roman Catholic religion' (which does not necessarily mean those who were born Hindus and in their own person converted to Roman Christianity) are singled out for particular mention, apparently unnecessarily, and all 'non-caste Hindus' (meaning evidently the Hindus of the Depressed Classes, though they also have their own castes as well as the so-called Touchable Hindus) from using for any purpose whatever the Kanyakumari Teppakulam (by which is meant, I think, the famous or infamous temple at Cape Comorin, from which Mahatma Gandhi some years ago was excluded on account of his 'Foreign travel untouchability.')

If *Teppakulam* means a temple or its precincts, there is nothing novel or remarkable in this order to justify you to draw the conclusion you have drawn from it, since the Depressed Classes do not embrace other religions in order to escape the stigma of untouchability in regard to temple-entry, as your comment implies they do. But even in this respect, viz. of temple-entry, Depressed-Classes men converted to non-Hindu faiths (and more especially their descendants) attain automatically to a higher status in our society than they could enjoy as 'Untouchable' Hindus.

It may interest you to know that both at the Parvati temple\* in Poona, the venue of the late temple-entry satyagraha, and at the Kala Ram temple at Nasik, the venue of the present, Christians and Mahomedans used, according to report, to be allowed inside up to a point where the Untouchable Hindus are not. While the very shadow and even the proximity of an Untouchable Hindu are supposed to pollute the temple-precincts, Christian and Mahomedan visitors are freely allowed inside in many a Hindu temple.

Such preferential treatment which the Touchable Hindus extend to non-Hindus over their Untouchable co-religionists, not only in regard to temples, but in all public places like dharmashalas and wells and public conveyances like boats and buses, disposes at once of the fearful prospect which a Khilafatist leader lately conjured up as he affected to wonder, how ill the Hindus would treat the

\*This is not a temple sacred to Parvati, the consort of Shiva, as most non-Marathi people including the *Reformer* editor have thought, but it is so-called (*Parvati* पार्वती, not *Parvati* पार्वती) from the hillock or *parvata* on which it stands. It is no doubt a Shivaite temple, sacred to Devadeveshvar ('Lord of the God of Gods.') There are other minor temples on the same hill.

Muslim minority under Swaraj when they were treating the minority of Untouchables within their own fold so ill. For the fact is that the Muslims and Christians have always received far better treatment from the Hindus even under Hindu rule than the Untouchable Hindus have ever received from their Touchable co-religionists.

You remember the satyagraha at Vaikam in the Hindu-ruled state of Travancore in 1924 and onward. The object of it was the removal of the ban, not on the entry into a temple, as the *Reformer* has mistakenly told its readers often of late, but on the use of that part of a 'public' road where it skirted the temple precincts, while the road was open to all, non-Hindus as well as Hindus, excepting the Hindu Untouchables. What was concerned at Vaikam was first and lastly a civic right, and only remotely or not at all, a religious grievance. Yet you have chosen, unconsciously I should think, to misrepresent it as a temple-entry case. However before the satyagrahis won and the road was realigned, as I believe,—the non-Hindus were obtaining preferential treatment over the Hindu Depressed Classes in regard to the use of the road.

At Karwar in 1927 on the occasion of the Ashadhi Ekadashi day at the public temple of Vithoba, copies of a leaflet containing some Sanskrit *shlokas* from the Padma-puran, a Hindu scripture reputed to be the work of the Holy Vyasa, in favour of temple-entry by the Depressed Classes, with their translation in Marathi, were being distributed by me (then an enrolled *bhajak* or regular subscriber to the temple-funds) to the 'high-caste' worshippers visiting the temple for the festival. Then not only did some rowdies object to the distribution of the scripture verses, but at a later stage they allowed a Mahomedan police officer to enter and try to dissuade me from distributing the leaflets any more. The interference of the police had been called for by some of these rowdies, not one of whom was a *bhajak*, at the instance (as I gathered) of one of the trustees who is an educated casteman of mine, a Government servant, and a school-teacher to boot. Fancy the position: A non-Hindu entering a Hindu temple and trying to prevent the distribution of Hindu scripture verses by a *bhajak* of the temple!

In the Army and the Police, and in the menial services in Government offices, while the authorities refuse admission to Depressed Class men, taking shelter behind the plea that other members of those forces and the clerks in the offices would object to their living and moving amongst them, or to drawing water from the common wells in the barracks or office compounds etc.—a dishonest plea of unabashed political expediency riding roughshod over the principle of equality of opportunity and civic rights,—as soon as they (the D. C. men) embrace Islam or Christianity, they are freely admitted and even encouraged to do so. Lately before the D. C. Grievances Committee presided

over by Mr. Starte, I. O. S., the fact was brought out that there was only one Sub-Inspector or Fozdar of the Police from the Depressed Classes in the whole of the Bombay Presidency, and that he had thought fit to be converted to Christianity (whether Roman or other not known) many years ago.

Karwar,  
26th May 1930. }

S. D. NADKARNI.

#### ON "SOWING THE WIND."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

I saw your article criticising me only a few days ago in *Swarajya*, which had not published my original article. Although late in the day, I hope you will permit me a reply. You could still have the last word as Editor!

I am thankful to you for your kind references to my official history. But when you went on to cite from my private letters, matters which serve no public purpose except that of putting me in my place, you might perhaps have added that I contributed several articles to the *Indian Social Reformer* in the past. I recollect that when publishing one of those articles you paid me the very high compliment that it emanated from one of the most poignantly suggestive of Indian thinkers. That compliment was quite undeserved although at that time my views were nearly the same as yours. Your present criticism seems to be equally undeserved although at present my view is not yours on the subject of civil disobedience.

It is not difficult to put any person in the wrong, if relevant portions of his article are left out of consideration. In the matter of internment as political enemies of Gandhiji and his followers—you have left out considering the following words: "Simultaneously, if Government had shown itself to be unmistakably in sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the people and prepared to take immediate steps therefor," which occur immediately in front of the words that you criticise. That condition makes all the difference. I agree that medievalism and the simple life are better than harsh imperialism and luxurious living. But modernism *with sympathy* is, in my opinion better than either. I may be right, or I may be wrong, but is it fair to criticise without considering all that was said by me? Similarly the conclusion in which it was clearly stated that if the experiment of internment results in the discovery that the people are on Gandhi's side, there would have been a satisfactory test; and Government should then come to terms with him, has been completely overlooked. Although I have not had the opportunities that you have for watching the great awakening of the people, you might have perceived that I am not purblind as imagined by you from the following words, which seem to have been overlooked: "The ordinary methods of repression are not likely to

prevail when spiritual discontent is created; spiritual effects have to be met by similar weapons." It was also stated by me that if people attain the measure of self-discipline of Gandhiji and his immediate following, there is probably no need for any kind of government. It is because human nature is what it is, that the sinister aspects of civil disobedience, to which attention was pointedly drawn in my article, are being proved in daily occurrences.

The main difference between social reform and political reform is that political reform corresponds to rebuilding outer walls and social reform the houses within. No analogy is perfect, but it is not difficult for me to perceive that it is dangerous to deal with the outer walls in the same fashion as with the buildings within. There are always wild men and robbers about. What is safe for an inside building is not so for the outer wall. As regards the political framework of society, as pointed out by me already, a sharp civil war, or even mass civil disobedience lasting for a few days only, and resulting in a change of government are sounder political weapons than the process that is now going on, whose chief effect is demoralisation.

Several days before I wrote to the Press, I had sent the substance of my views including internment and spinning to Gandhiji himself and also told him that I might feel called on to publish my views. Whether in Government service, or out of it, I may claim to have attempted to nurture freedom of mind, as a valued possession. I wish to ask, even to-day, whether the cold, logical system that I had suggested, would not have been better for both sides, than what is now happening, and are not events daily testifying the truth of my statements.

I am sorry that you had not a word to say about the conclusion of my article wherein it was stated that "both the British cabinet and Mr. Gandhi have to consider at once anxiously and prayerfully whether there is no way of approach." If you agreed with me in that sentiment, you might have concluded on that note as a matter of justice to me. Daily the need for such a settlement is becoming increasingly urgent. I trust it is not the case that you imagine that what is happening daily as the result of the campaign of flouting authority and the law courts, is accumulating more good than evil for the future governance of the country. Even so, the fact that Gandhiji has given up eight out of his eleven points, and is willing to treat for the substance of independence, that is, for Dominion status, shows that he is wiser than his followers. Does it not also show that those who hold the view that no Government could accept the original demands, showed a more sober judgment than those who unreservedly blessed civil disobedience for non-compliance with demands that have since been withdrawn?

The awakening in the country is good but the sooner the present campaign is called off and

negotiations begun on a rational basis that would be acceptable to all parties, the better for the country. No amount of noise, however non-violent, could really get rid of the relevant factors such as the Indian Princes and the great Mahomedan minority.

It is really refreshing to me to be told that in your view I am thirty years behind the times, because I have been frequently blamed for holding views in advance of the times. Gandhiji himself seemed to be of that view with reference to my idea that if majority democracy in the form of representative parliamentary government is going to be established in India, it is necessary, and even essential that civil marriages between persons holding different faiths should not be penalised legally. It is not merely the abuses of caste, but the whole system of hereditary close preserves that has to disappear, if parliamentary government is to succeed, and it is because this has nowhere been admitted by nationalists that there is danger of confusion and civil war ahead.

Yours, etc.,

K. CHANDY.

Bengalore City.

[There is nothing to add to what we wrote except that we still hold Mr. Chandy in the same high regard as in the past and that our reference to his official career was intended to show that, though retired, he was still capable of much useful public activity.—Ed., *J. S. R.*]

#### MAHATMA GANDHIJI IN JAIL.

Mathuradas Tricamjee, nephew of Mahatma Gandhi who interviewed Mahatmaji on the 30th of May, writes as follows in the *Bombay Chronicle* :—

At the end of the interview 1, along with Mrs. Gandhi and Miss Miraben, had with Mahatma Gandhi on Wednesday the 21st instant, I was told in reply to my question by the Superintendent that another interview would fall due this week and that four persons could come. Miss Miraben, Mrs. Perin Captain, Mr. Reynolds and myself, therefore, visited today Yeravda Prison for interviewing Gandhiji; but we did not interview him as the Superintendent could not see his way on his own responsibility to permit Mrs. Captain to join Miraben and myself in the interview. Neither Gandhiji nor ourselves were under these circumstances, inclined to have an interview and we departed. Gandhiji has been in jail for these 25 days and yet no definite instructions are issued by the authorities even on such a matter as interview and specially regarding persons who should normally be entitled to have interviews with him.

I may here mention that the Superintendent had instructions regarding Mr. Reynolds that he should not be granted an interview.

But the more important point that I wish to mention here and which I ascertained during my previous visit is the way in which Gandhiji is kept in the prison. While there is not much to say on the point of physical comfort or as he himself put it eight years ago "creature comfort," one wonders

how according to civilized canons, which the Government professes to practise, the complete isolation that is inflicted upon him can be justified. In 1922, Gandhiji was classed as ordinary prisoner, this time he is jailed under a Regulation which classes him as a State Prisoner which means that for him there will be special rules. But the result of this is that he is denied those "human comforts" which even an ordinary criminal is allowed, viz., an ordinary prisoner has associates, he is taken out for work, he sees human faces and has occasions to talk with others. But Gandhiji is considered unfit to have such "human comfort." In 1920 he was even given companions, but this time the authorities seem to be paying little attention to this vital point. They issued a bulletin about his health soon after he was lodged at Yeravda; but they seem to ignore the adverse effects isolation is likely to produce upon his health in future. The one relieving factor is Gandhiji's tremendous power of accommodation to whatever circumstances he may find himself in.

#### BRAHMO SAMAJ AND POVERTY.

Dr. Hemchandra Sarkar writing in the *Subodh Patrika* on the present day problems of the Brahma Samaj, observes :—

Unlike the teachers of most of the ancient religions, the Brahma Samaj inculcated the practice of religion in the home and Society. It did not deprecate the world. The Indian religious teachers of old persistently decried the world. They advised the seekers of true religions to flee from home and society. Buddhism was pre-eminently a religion of the bhikshus, who would not marry or have a home. No less did Christianity cry down this world. What the Brahma Samaj says is that not only can religion be practised in the home and society, but it is there that it must be practised. This is true ideal, no doubt. The home and society, are the proper place for the practice of religion. There can be no fitter place for the cultivation of truth, righteousness and love than the human society. But at the same time this ideal is far more difficult to practise than the ancient ideal of flying away from society. It is easier to run away from home and society in a moment of enthusiasm and live a life of tranquillity in solitude. But to be in the world and to face its trials and temptations, day after day, and hour after hour, is far more difficult. The Brahma Samaj has rightly chosen this better, but more arduous path. But at the same time it has to be confessed that it has not been altogether successful in its task. It is not easy to be in the world and to be above it. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the religious teachers of the past decried the world. The Samaj has abandoned the traditional path of *nivritti* (renunciation) and adopted the path *bhoga* (enjoyment) rather lightly and without much thought. The result has not been quite satisfactory. We have been caught in the net of worldliness. The thirst for pleasure, the greed for riches, have to be met in an aggravated form by

men and women of the Brahmo Samaj. Thus the temptations of the world are stronger in the case of Brahmans than in the case of others. We find it difficult to be in the world and yet rise above it.

The Brahmo Samaj finds itself in a serious situation. Its ideal is high and noble, but to live up to that ideal is so difficult. We cannot give up the ideal. What we are required to do is to find out the way to its realisation. The home and society are the proper place for the cultivation of religion. But we must prepare ourselves for the realisation of this ideal in the social and home life we live. We must prepare ourselves to be in the world and yet be out of it. The path of enjoyment must be preceded by the path of renunciation. We have not given sufficient emphasis on renunciation (*vairagya*). The atmosphere of the Brahmo Samaj has not been sufficiently congenial to the growth of unworldliness. The founders of the historic religions of the world were poor men. Buddha, though born a prince, renounced home and sovereignty in the quest after salvation. Jesus had not a place to lay his head. Mahomed when he died, had only a torn mat and an earthen pitcher for his entire property. The founder and makers of the Brahmo Samaj—Rammohan, Debendranath and Keshabchandra were all born and brought up in the midst of opulence. Though some of the latter teachers of the Brahmo Samaj were very poor men, the general atmosphere of the Samaj has not been that of poverty and simplicity. Rightly or wrongly, the impression prevails that there is no room for the poor in Brahmo Samaj.

The message that blessed are the poor has not been taught with sufficient emphasis in the Brahmo Samaj. We are afraid to be poor. The western dread of poverty has taken possession of us. Things of the world have got precedence our spiritual blessings in our thought and imagination. Thus we have been seeking the pleasures of life and the riches of this earth too eagerly; and naturally there has grown in our midst an apathy towards religion. The remedy for this state of things lies in the emphasis we put upon the need of spiritual culture. We require amongst us a prophet who can preach by his life—"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you."

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Punjab Convention:**—Miss Helen Maya Das writes from Delhi:—The Eighth Annual Convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union met at Pathankot, May 16-19. On the evening of the 16th a meeting, composed of school boys, gentry of the town, and about twenty women gathered in the Temperance Hall (known as the Power House of Pathankot) to hear our National President, Miss M. J. Campbell, their former friend and tireless temperance worker of Pathankot. It was for her sake they had come out to hear and see Haridasi slides. Some of Dr. Mand Allen's new slides were also shown. Delegates though only twenty and officers nine

in number yet they represented nine towns, Kangra, Pathankot, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sangla Hill, Sialkot, Ferozepore and Delhi. These all reported good progress in Temperance work. Schools especially had made good use of dramas, songs, and recitations in their regular gatherings. Hirsar, Passar and Rawalpindi sent their reports, which showed their interest in the cause of Temperance. The annual dues amounted to Rs. 165 only with a membership of seven hundred and eighty. Miss E. D. Anderson of Gurdaspur, our able President, in her address "Where is thy brother?" sounded a note of personal responsibility for Temperance work for all who are followers of the Cross. Two Medal Contests were held. A Pathankot and a Gujranwala girl won the Medals. The Drama "Shanti" based on "Cinderella" and Nine Daughters of India was greatly appreciated by the whole Convention and women friends; the ladies of the town got up a women's meeting which the National President and two others addressed, the main topic being the women's part in the Prohibition movement in India. It was listened to with great interest interspersed with such remarks as "It is true. We women are to blame for not taking a firmer stand in our homes."

**Swami Vishwanand in Karachi:**—A correspondent writes from Karachi as follows:—Swami Vishwanandji, President of the Ramkrishna Mission, Bombay Branch, paid a visit to this city during the current month. The Swamiji came at the invitation of an ardent admirer of the Mission here. This is perhaps the first time after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century that a highly cultured monk of the Ramakrishna Mission blessed this part of India with his visit and as was to be expected people of all castes and communities of this cosmopolitan city took advantage of his presence to listen to the eternal and inspiring message of Hinduism from one of its enlightened exponents. Swamiji delivered a series of 9 lectures on the various phases of Hinduism and concluded his programme by a discourse on "Universal religion," holding forth on the eternal and universal character of the Sanatana Dharma. This theme may be regarded as a silken thread linking up the whole series and formed a fitting end to the lecturing tour. The audience at these lectures was really encouraging, looking to the fact that new ground had to be broken by the Mission in Karachi. Now that a contact has been established, it is hoped that Swami Vishwanandji and other monks of the order will visit this city more often and cater for the spiritual welfare of the Hindus here.

**Prohibition Campaign:**—The Special Correspondent of the *Hindu* at Ootakmund writes:—"Leaders of different schools of thought, now resident here, are contemplating issuing a joint appeal to the public to further the cause of prohibition of drink, which is nearest to Mahatma Gandhi's heart. They feel that it is their duty to do everything in their power to bring about prohibition, by all legitimate and peaceful means, avoiding, at the same time, all methods likely to lead to violence. An appeal will be made to all owners of coconut, palmyrah and date trees not to lease them for toddy, to all vendors and contractors of toddy and arrack shops to desist from bidding at auctions, to drinkers to abstain from drink and to the millions of total abstainers to use their influence to wear away as many people from

drink as possible. By thus helping in this great cause, the leaders think they could have the satisfaction of having done something worthy of being the fellow-countrymen and contemporaries of Mahatmaji and earn the gratitude of numberless women and children in the country." The appeal has been signed by Messrs. T. Rangachari, M. Ramachandra Rao, M. K. Reddi, S. Satyamurti, T. Ramalinga Chetti, T. Adinarayana Chetti and Mrs. Muthulashmi Reddi. It is now in circulation for more signatures of politicians of different parties and sympathisers with the movement. It runs as follows: "The incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of the world, for his historic fight for India's freedom casts a solemn duty on every daughter and son of Mother India to do her or his bit for the cause. Next to Swaraj the cause of prohibition of drink is nearest to Mahatmaji's heart. It is therefore our duty to do every thing in our power to bring about prohibition by all legitimate and peaceful means, at the same time avoiding methods likely to lead to violence. We therefore specially appeal to all owners of cocoanut, palmyra and date trees in this province not to lease them for tapping toddy. We also appeal to all local bodies and to the trustees and managers of chatrams, temple and other charities, not to lease these trees for this purpose. We need hardly assure them that in the long run they will find that they have really helped themselves and the country. We venture to appeal in all earnestness to all vendors and contractors of toddy, arrack and other liquor shops in the province to desist from bidding at auctions of these shops and to help in this great nation-building movement. But our strongest appeal must be, and is, to the people themselves who drink. We do not want to preach to them virtues of abstinence. But we do most strongly and respectfully urge upon them the great importance of this supreme occasion and beg them to abstain from drink and thus strengthen the nation. We also make an appeal to the millions of our countrymen and countrywomen who, we know, are total abstainers to use all their influence to wean away as many people from drink as possible. If as a humble token of our great regard for the personality of Mahatmaji each one of us helps in this great cause and brings prohibition nearer of achievement we shall have done something worthy of being the fellow countrymen and contemporaries of Mahatmaji and to earn the gratitude of numberless women and children of the families of people now addicted to drink."

The Satyagrahis and the Bank of India:—Owing to a mistaken report that Mr. A. G. Gray, Manager of the Bank of India, had been seen with the Police in the raid on Congress House, some uneasy feeling was created towards the Bank. The misapprehension has now been completely removed as will be seen from the following letter from Pandit Sunderlal to Mr. Gray, which we are requested to publish:—Dear Mr. Gray, During the last two days, I have examined a number of persons, some of them claiming to be eye-witnesses, in connection with your alleged participation in Congress or Wadala raids. I have also examined you. While I wholly sympathise with people who desire that all Indian concerns should be Indian managed as far as possible, while I believe that foreigners doing business or otherwise residing in India, should at least do nothing to injure our National movement and that it is the right of the Indian people to boycott economically concerns that

permit their employees to go against this healthy rule, I at the same time insist that we should never even slightly depart from truth in doing any of these things. After examining all the witnesses, I am absolutely convinced that you were not present either at the Congress House or at Wadala or at any other place on patrol duty on Wednesday or any other previous day. Whether the misunderstanding arose out of some European Sergeant resembling you or in any other way, I cannot say at present. But I am sorry this misunderstanding should have arisen at all and the thing should have been believed by thousands. You can make any use of my statement you please.

395, Kalbadevi Road,  
Bombay, 24 May 1930.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd. SUNDERLAL.

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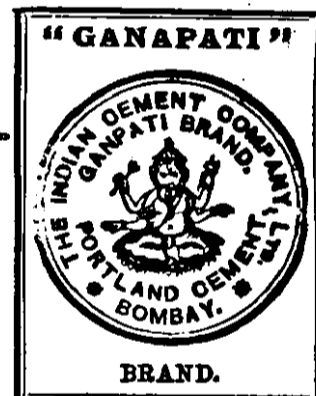
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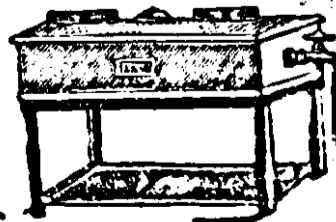
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1930

No. 41

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Doings in Dharasana:**—We print in another column the joint statement issued by Messrs. Hussain Tyebji, Devadhar and Natarajan on the incidents which they saw and heard at Dharasana, when the Satyagrahis made a raid on the salt works on the 3rd June. Government have issued a press note in which an attempt is made to discredit their statements on the ground, among others, that some part of these were derived from third parties. When, however, the authorities on the spot peremptorily ordered the visitors to leave the place, they forced the latter to fall back on secondhand information. The fact that the officials did not like their doings to be open to public view, carries with it its own inference. The statement in the joint note that though they saw many cases of injury in the hospitals, comparatively few were of a serious character, shows that the visitors were not disposed to exaggerate. And yet this is pounced upon by the official publicist as vitiating the contents of the joint statement. The Indian doctor who was in charge of the Congress hospitals in Bulsar has given a categorical reply to some other parts of the Government Communique. Maniben who was in charge of the satyagrahi Red Cross arrangements narrated to a large gathering in Bombay on Tuesday the events to which she was a witness during all the raids at Dharasana. We learnt some days ago that an Indian who witnessed one of these, has been suffering since from nervous collapse. Maniben, however, stood there at the head of her men day after day for hours together under the scorching sun until the last stretcher bearing the injured left the field for the Untadi camp hospital. We understand that a full report of the raids is to be published and, for the sake of future guidance, we hope the authorities will study it and avoid the excesses which, no doubt, without their sanction or approval, disfigured the exercise of their legitimate powers at Dharasana.

**A Christian Lady's Protest:**—We congratulate Miss I. Dickinson on her resigning her seat in the local Legislative Council and refusing the Kaisir-I-Hind medal which she was recently awarded for her public work, as a protest against Government's repressive policy and in view of the persistent reports that the Government con-

template modifying or withdrawing completely the Sarda Act. Efforts are being made to minimise the effect of her resignation by saying that it is only meant as a protest against Government's contemplated action on the Child Marriage Act, but we understand that there can be doubt concerning Miss Dickinson's attitude towards Government methods. We trust however that the Government does not contemplate scrapping the Sarda Act as a political move because it is not likely to bring them much support, while it will introduce a considerable measure of uncertainty and destroy the few remaining vestiges of faith in Government's sincerity in questions of social reform.

**The Red Cross:**—We published in our issue of the 31st May a letter from Mr. Chaganlal asking for information as to the reasons for the numerous Christian bodies refraining from rendering help to the wounded Satyagrahis. On the same day the following news item appeared in an evening paper:—"Dr. Nunan has addressed the following letter to the Secretaries of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee: 'Dear Sir,—With reference to the question of ambulance work during the present disturbed state of the City, I am sure you will appreciate the fact that the services of the St. John Ambulance Brigade are now, as always, at the disposal of all classes of the citizens, irrespective of caste, creed, nationality and politics. I am prepared to detail squads of trained ambulance men with suitable equipment and motor ambulances for public service as requested.'" We do not know whether it is the usual procedure adopted by Red Cross organisations to ask permission from the parties to a disturbance before rendering relief to the distressed. We do not think it is, but Dr. Nunan may have felt that the Congress may not welcome his intervention. The Congress, perhaps under the impression that Dr. Nunan wished to take his Brigade under the protection of their volunteers, seems to have replied that they could not accept the help of the Brigade unless the Red Cross men wore Gandhi caps. If such a letter was sent to Dr. Nunan we think the Congress was not justified in asking a relief party to wear any special dress, particularly as the Brigade must have a uniform of its own. Dr. Nunan, however, who has a reputation to maintain as a man of wit, has attempted in a letter to the press to support a fairly tenable position by citing an absurd incident in which he came into conflict with a picketting volunteer. This has resulted in the whole issue being side-tracked. We deprecate such unpleasant controversies regarding Red Cross organisations whose object is solely humanitarian.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 14, 1930.

## SIMON COMMISSION'S REPORT.

The first volume of the Report of the Simon Commission was published on Tuesday. This volume contains a survey of Indian religious, social, economic, educational, financial, constitutional and administrative conditions, in the light of the information gathered by the Commission during its two visits to this country. The second volume containing its recommendations is to be published on the 24th instant. The reason given for providing an interval between the publication of the two parts is that the material on which the Commission's recommendations are based should be studied and digested in order that they may be appreciated at their right value. The assumption behind this, namely, that the public will be guided by the desire of the Commission and, after perusing the first part, await passively the issue of the second part of the Report, to see how the recommendations follow from the premises furnished by the Survey, ignores the active working of the human mind. It has, in fact, been falsified by the comments in India and in Great Britain where attempts have been made to anticipate, inferentially from the Survey, the recommendations of the Commission. On the basis of such anticipations, the report has been condemned beforehand by Indian Liberal leaders who have expressed their opinions of the Survey. Sir John Simon, however, is too shrewd a man not to have foreseen that the publication of the first part would prejudice the second and effective part of the Report in this country, if not in Great Britain. His decision to adopt this unusual course can be explained either as resulting from the belief that the Report of a Commission which was boycotted by Indian Nationalist politicians, was not likely to have a favourable reception, whatever may be the nature of its contents; or the recommendations may have been conceived on so liberal a scale and in so generous a spirit that he may expect them to overcome the initial prejudice against the Commission as well as the unfavourable impressions formed from indications in the Survey. It is possible that Sir John Simon and his colleagues have faced the difficulties on which they lay stress in the Survey as a challenge to their statesmanship rather than as a weight impeding its free exercise. It is also probable that Sir John and his colleagues attach no importance to Indian opinion, holding that Great Britain is the providentially ordained arbiter of India's destinies.

## A SUPERFICIAL SURVEY.

Whichever be the true explanation, we shall abide by the Commissioners' desire and limit our comments as far as possible to the Survey itself, without thought of the possible or probable recommendations which they

may have based on it. These will be dealt with when they are published. We may remark at the outset that, having regard to the limitations, individual and collective, conscious and subconscious, of the Commissioners, they have, on the external whole, given a fairly good bird's-eye-view of the conditions under the several heads of the Survey mentioned above. The individual limitations of the members—the personal equation to be allowed for—arise from the fact so naively stated by Lord Rothermere on a recent occasion, namely, that 4 shillings in every pound of the Englishman's income is derived from the possession of India and that the loss of control of India will mean the stoppage of all the many and costly subventions from the British exchequer for social purposes like old age pensions, unemployment doles, health insurance and so on. This consideration, we daresay, was not consciously or precisely present to the minds of all the Commissioners, but it subconsciously influences the attitude of the average English politician to Indian self-government and could not have been altogether absent from the Commission's outlook. Many if not all of the members had no other idea of India, at the time of their appointment, and the dazed feelings which they experienced when, on arriving in this country, they were confronted by the vastness, the complexity and the absolutely novel issues of the problem set to them, are reflected in the opening chapters of the Survey. The presence of Indian colleagues on the Commission would have been a valuable counter-weight to the sub-conscious bias referred to, and what is more, they could have supplied a clue to the understanding of the maze in which the Commissioners, notwithstanding strenuous efforts and honest intentions, have lost themselves, and have been obliged to suggest a Round Table Conference with Indians as offering the only hope of extricating themselves from the, to them, labyrinthian involutions of the Indian problem. The Round Table Conference is thus a necessity of the Commission and not a concession to Indian opinion. The Commission has said much in the Report about the environs, the outer walls, the verandahs, the windows, and the neighbourhood, but it has not found the key to unlock its doors, and it has, therefore, acquired no knowledge of the inner contents of the problem. For, there is a key to it and it is in Indian hearts and cannot, therefore, be handed over to outsiders. The Commission's Survey has a good deal to say of the outworks, but there is not much in it touching the heart of the country and the people. The Survey, in fact, is an elaborate presentation of the surface facts of Indian life and history, which the Commission has taken to be the whole of it in all its depth and fulness.

## FUNDAMENTAL FALLACIES.

The Commission starts with the statement that "Europe (if Russia be excluded) possesses a real unity which in the case of India is only growing and that too, as a consequence of the influence and authority of British Rule." It is no doubt true that the political unity of India has been consummated under British Rule, but the attainment of this unity was the age-long inspiration of Indian political history and each successive empire extended over a progressively larger part of this country. This political movement was facilitated, and in fact made possible, by the cultural and spiritual unity which had been created by the devoted services of many generations of sages and saints. The unity of India is axiomatic to the Indian mind and admits of no question. This starting point of the Commission's Report, therefore, marks a fundamental antagonism to the Indian point of view and vitiates the Commission's outlook, from the Indian standpoint, from the very outset. This tendency is further exemplified in the Commission's conception of Hindu-Muslim relations. "It would be an utter misapprehension to suppose," we are told, "that Hindu-Muslim antagonism is analogous to the separation between religious denominations in contemporary Europe. It is a basic opposition, manifesting itself at every turn, in social custom and economic competition as well as in mutual religious antipathy." We are astounded at the audacity of this statement, so contrary to actual facts, past and present. Even today when political rivalry so largely obscures the truth, Hindus and Musalmans in large parts of the country speak the same language, dress in the same way, follow nearly the same customs, and live together in peaceful economic relations. As for the past, Ranade and other Indian historians have shown that a process of fusion had been in progress for centuries, affecting the social, economic, cultural and even the religious outlook of the two communities. How deep this process went is shown by the facts which came out in a case reported in the news columns of the *Reformer* of April 26, concerning the hereditary trusteeship of a Hindu temple vesting in a family of Mahomedans. "During the centuries when the material power of Islam was at its highest in India," observe the Commissioners, "it was quite unable to crush the enduring influence of Hinduism." This observation clearly brings out another fundamental fallacy amongst the Commission's assumptions. Islam, almost from the very beginning of its contact with Hinduism, made no attempt to "crush" Hinduism, and both religions set themselves to find a way of living side by side in mutual respect as friends and neighbours. Hindu and Islamic thought influenced each other and the

idea of an Indian nation was already present in the minds of India's thinkers and statesmen. Sir Henry Maine pointed out seventy years ago how British rule had arrested the normal evolution of Indian Society. This point has also been realised in practice by Indian reformers and has recently been emphasised by Sir Sankaran Nair and Mr. Jayakar. The Commission is flying in the face of facts when it asserts that communal electorates have not accentuated Hindu-Moslem differences.

## THE FRONTIER BOGEY.

In another important matter the Commission has equally distorted the facts of history. Writing on the Army in India, the Commission criticises Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's remark that none of the colonies was in a position to assume its defence at the time when a self-governing status was granted to it. The Commission observes that the North-Western Frontier constitutes a peculiarly Indian problem and that none of the Dominions had any similar risks to face when they were granted self-government. As to this, it is only necessary to remark that the frontier problem had been effectively solved prior to the British annexation of the Punjab and that a National Indian Government will not find it difficult to protect itself, if protection is needed, in that quarter in the same way as Canada in relation to the United States. The Commission has overlooked the fact that the Frontier problem of British India is due not to the rivalries of the Indians and the Afghans as of the Russians and the British. If it was a question between Indians and Afghans alone, as it would be if India were a self-governing country, peaceful relations can be easily and permanently established by peaceful means.

## CASTE AND DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The Commissioners enlarge upon the existence of caste and the "depressed classes" as barriers to Dominion Status. England among European countries is a by-word for its caste distinctions. Even its neighbours, the Scotch and the Welsh, much more their cousins, the Australians and Americans, are puzzled by it. If necessary we can quote numerous authorities on this point. As for the depressed classes, their position is a standing reproach to Hindu society. As the Commission itself admits, however, strenuous efforts are being made by Hindu leaders to remove their disabilities. And what has British rule done for them during all these years? Sir Sankaran Nair in one of his minutes on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms declared that the position of the "depressed classes" had worsened under British Rule. Leaders of the "depressed classes," themselves, have complained of this in their representations to Government. Mr. R. S. Nickaljay in his Presidential Address at the seventh session of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference held at Amraoti

in April, made this a matter of special complaint : "During the time of the War, the Government indented very largely on the manhood of the Depressed Classes to man their armies. Our men made a name for themselves on the battlefield. Military officers found our people as good soldiers as any drawn from what are called the Martial Races of India. In Maharashtra, during the time of Shivaji and the Peshwas, the Maharashtrian Depressed Classes formed a large portion of their regiments. In the days of John Company also, a very large portion of its regiments consisted of Mahars. Capt. Staunton with 800 troops, mostly drawn from Mahars, met the Peshwa's troops, numbering about 25,000 men, at Koregaon, near Poona, and routed them. Now, the Government, at the instigation of the Higher Classes with their perpetual cry of Untouchability have disbanded the Mahar Regiment. I would therefore urge on this Conference to discuss this vital need of the Depressed Classes to have an entrance into the British Army and to pass suitable resolutions on the subject. We should not however, give up our agitation till the Military Authorities in India consent to receive Depressed Class men in the Indian Army." In fact the British Empire was established by the martial qualities of these classes, though they are now classed among the non-martial races. We are sure that in a self-governing India when every Indian's contribution to the State will be indispensable these classes will have much greater opportunities than under the present system.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT AN URGENT NEED.

"In our view," conclude the Commissioners, "the most formidable of the evils from which India is suffering have their roots in social and economic customs of long-standing which can only be remedied by the action of the Indian peoples themselves." The Indian view is that these evils could have been remedied and would have produced far less suffering and depression but for the economic exploitation which has been a concomitant of British Rule. In any case the Indian people cannot remedy these evils unless they have the freedom of action which complete self-government alone can give. Social reformers have repeatedly declared that progress has come to a stand still and that further reforms are impossible until the political initiative is transferred to the hands of national leaders. "We desire to see," the Commission observes, "the forces of public opinion which exist in India concentrated and strengthened for the practical work of reform." This is precisely the reason for demanding self-government, namely, that public opinion can be strengthened and concentrated on the practical work of reform. The Commissioners state the same thing in the negative way when they observe that social evils "are much less likely to be remedied if the blame for their continuance can be put, however, unreasonably, on others." This applies both to Government and the people, and the obvious remedy is to make the Government one with the people.

#### AKBAR ASHRAM.

(By Mr. A. H. JAININGHANI.)

Politics, today, form the chief object of our interest. I believe, however, as soon as the political movement of to-day subsides, whether it is suppressed or it achieves its success, but more especially in the latter case, it will be followed by some sort of a movement for religious or communal readjustment. For to suppress is not to solve the problem. People's religious emotions and feelings are suppressed to-day and put in the background. But the problem cannot disappear without being solved. By being suppressed the monster only gains time to nourish itself and become stronger; it waits and grows till it finds an outlet again. And that is why in these turbulent times, when the national aspirations of India are running high, when not only India but the whole East seems submerged in the tide of nationalism and the world at large forgetful of other factors in our life, I venture to write on the need of religious unity and the idea of "Akbar Ashram." In the face of such great national activities as we have witnessed during the last few months this idea may seem almost ridiculous. Yet I believe it has a future; it is no mere dream; the atmosphere will soon be ripe for it, and it must, in some form, be received and realized if our religious quarrels are to end and our social life is to be readjusted. Politics cannot for ever form the sole avenue of our efforts in life; they form but one aspect of our problem which is spiritual in its essence. The Religious, the Social, the Political are its three important aspects to-day and though politics engross us so much they do by no means form its chief content. More than politics, the chief aspect of the problem may, I think, be the religious. And in a decade's time, as soon as the political equilibrium is temporarily restored, we may have to face this side of the problem in its most naked form. It is not enough, however, to realize the gravity of this problem; we must know what exactly is required to be done.

Our religions from a long time have ceased to be factors of unity; they are, instead, a cause of quarrels and divisions among mankind, though, strange as it may seem, their central concepts and principles agree with or supplement one another. Faith in God, prayers, performance of good acts, love for mankind and respect for life, faith in the higher form of power,—soul-force,—belief in a superior kind of knowledge, these are the common points which they emphasize and which form their positive content more than their theology, their system of ethics, etc. And in this strange fact lies the hope of their unity and of the salvation of mankind.

This task may be achieved by bringing together the best of each sect and uniting them in the service of these common ideals of their various faiths. Truth has its own appeal and though it may be camouflaged it cannot altogether disappear and die. Whatever differences we may have, it would be hard and it would be sinful for us to forget that

we are first men and then anything else. Therefore, while it may be difficult to make men renounce their religions it will not be impossible to make them see that they agree with one another in their chief points. And once they are made to see that it will be difficult for them ever more to separate themselves from or oppose their brethren on account of their allegiance to this or that religion. The reality being one, there cannot, as a matter of fact, be different views; God being one, there cannot, as a matter of fact, be different religions. As soon as we begin to emphasize the positive side of our religions their differences are bound to vanish slowly, till at last we realize that true religion is one as God is one, that though there may be different duties prescribed for individuals of different stages of evolution, that though there may be different paths, they lead to one and the same goal and intermingle.

We are not the first to think of such an object. Kabir, Nanik, and many other Sufis of this land, have given us, in their lives, the best examples of such broadmindedness and unity which we seek. Shah, Saphal, and other poets in Sind, were inspired by the same vision and they preached it through their songs. To this day many a wandering saint may be seen singing of the One in all and the All-in-one. The idea is not new but there is a need for organising this movement and carrying its message to the educated classes who have not been touched by it yet. The first effort at organization was made by Akbar who established at Fatehpur Sikri an "Ibadat Khana" for the meeting of the learned men of various sects who came together to discuss the common points of their various religions and tried to find out their inner unity. The "Ibadat Khana," in the words of Abu Fazil, "became the resort of Shias, Sunnis, Brahmins, Jains, Buddhists, Jews and Parsis." It will, therefore, be fair to call such an organization after Akbar. The name "Akbar Ashram" for such an organization seems appropriate for many reasons; firstly, because Akbar has given us the precedent in his own life; secondly, he is regarded by both Hindoos and Muslims to be a great soul; thirdly, he was a Sindhi and Sind is, I believe, suited to become a strong centre of such a movement; fourthly, the name "Akbar Ashram" represents both the major communities of India, Hindoos as well as Muslims; 'Ashram' signifies the Hindoo ideals of life, and the word 'Akbar' is dear to all Mahomedans, being the name of the great Muslim Emperor as well as an appellation of God so often used by prophet Mohamed; lastly, and this is not the least of its charms, it sounds well. For these reasons I believe it to be the most appropriate name for such an organization. Akbar has, also set us the best example in the work for Hindoo-Muslim unity, not only by his efforts to establish a common "Ibadat Khana," but by his state policy and by his countenancing inter-communal marriage. And if Hindoo-Muslim unity, side by side with human unity and the oneness of all religions, is going to be one of the ideals of this

Ashram, we cannot ignore the value of Akbar's example in this matter. There is much to say regarding Akbar's contribution to the realization of these ideals but space would not permit, and I like to say in this article something about the methods of work to be adopted.

What are the methods for the achievement of this object? How can it best be realized? That is an important question. There are in all matters of reform only two ways, I believe. One may be called the way of Death, and the other the way of Life. With regard to this work the two methods may be illustrated thus: the first the way of Death, would be to decry all religions, to expose them and attack them from all sides and draw them out in the field. The second, the way of Life, would be to approach them softly, overcome their shyness, invite them to your house, win them for friends and thus assimilate them and overcome their individualistic tendencies. I call this the "way of Life" because when Life wants to overcome anything or kill it, it adopts this method. What does God do when he wants to kill a man? He does not draw out a sword to cut his throat, but he somehow makes it impossible for him to prosper and then he dies. He gives him two options, either to come up to his expectation and march with him on the path of Life or suffer to be left behind in which case he meets his natural death. And by this way God avoids taking responsibility for any one's death. But man, when he wants to conquer any one, at once draws out his sword. He enters in war against him. But the result of all the wars in the world as we see today by the present conditions of our life, has been nothing. Wars as such do not make us better; if anything, they make us worse. They create animosity, and hatred and lead us away from happiness or truth. So if we begin to rail against those religions and abuse their followers it will lead us not to unity but perpetuate our divisions. The way of hatred would be unwise, especially in the case of our religions, because they are deep-rooted and still command allegiance from some of the best of us. Ours should be the way of Life, the way of overcoming, of conquest through assimilation. And there are some practical suggestions for that:

The first essential thing to do through such an organization is, I think, to provide an opportunity for men and women of various sects to come together. We shall have done half our work if only we succeed in attracting a small number of thinking men and women of various sects and bring them face to face with each other. They are bound soon to find out how much is common among them. Falsehood grows in secrecy. When it is made to stand before Truth it feels ashamed and departs before much resistance. Therefore, if any one sincerely believes in the Truth of the unity of all religions, all he has to do is to let people face that Truth, let them stand before it. A small number of men meeting together daily or once a week, can form the nucleus of such an Ashram. Let there be no desire for big results. Talking also is not



necessary, nor canvassing. We must believe in the power of Truth; it cannot but make itself known; its fragrance is bound to spread if only it is not marred by the unhealthy ambitions and desire for success. It needs a little time to grow in silence and that we must give it without being impatient.

A good way of achieving this object is to spread the message of the prophets of various religions whose lives are the best examples for our guidance. By accepting them thus we shall be robbing those religious institutions of much of their force and of their power to do evil. For, let us understand, they can mislead many only because they possess good appearances which are given them by the association of their prophets' names. When these become a common property of all men what may be left behind will not give those institutions sufficient strength to oppose or do evil. They may slowly lose their *raison-de-etre* then. The Ashram may, also, besides this, take up various other matters directly connected with the ideal of human unity, and, as a part of it, Hindoo-Muslim unity, such as inter-communal marriage, dissolution of communal consciousness, reform in the system of education and widening of its scope with a view to create an atmosphere of broadmindedness etc., etc. All such efforts can lead to the realization of true unity among various sections of mankind.

But it is essential that this organization should have no 'constitution.' Framing of constitutions, besides being a waste of time, diverts our attention from the spirit towards the rules, from the essential towards the unessential. Rules are of no help, as may be seen in the working of many institutions, when the spirit is not there. Spirit alone can give us the light and lead us to Truth. Rules, I believe, deter more than they help. They usurp the place of the spirit and try to kill it. Therefore, I think, such an institution as this should have no rules and regulations in order to avoid becoming another sect or a *smaj*. It must have no hierarchy of priests, no 'president,' no 'prefect.' It must work under the superintendence of God. We must make God our president and work under His direction. When He has ceased to give us His directions it is a sign that the institution has lost its *raison-de-etre*. The *raison-de-etre* of an institution is the will of God. An institution has a justification of being only so long as it receives its directions from God. When those directions cease to come the sooner it disappears the better, and the absence of rules in such a case would be a blessing, as it would prevent it from lingering on in life and causing much evil. Akbar Ashram, as such, may be an order of Bikshus, of the Servants of God. With such objects and such a 'constitution' it can retain only the best minds who are eager to serve. It is my faith that a few such who are strong in resolve and united in their Faith may be better than thousands who give their half-hearted support without caring to understand the spirit of its ideals. Many are not essential but the true. And they are always few!

Those who wish to communicate with me on this matter may do so at my address below:—

15, N. I. Lines, Garden Road, Karachi.

## CHRISTIANITY AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

The Editor, The "Indian Social Reformer."

Sir,

In common with many of your friends and those who admire the good work you have done through many years as Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, I very very much regret to note the attitude you have taken up with regard to Civil Disobedience. I should have thought that a man of your long experience and good common sense would have avoided being caught by the enticements of Mr. Gandhi. He has been walking in ways of wilfulness of ill conceived fancies, leading as they can only do to what the poet says,

"The children born of thee are fire and sword,  
"Red ruin and the breaking up of law."

You are a genuinely religious man and a student of the New Testament. I would call to your notice what is written therein regarding respect for Authority:—

The Lord Jesus Christ. *Matthew 17: 27* :—

"Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for Me and thee." that is, as tribute (or tax) money.

*Luke, 20: 22-25* :—"Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar, or no?" But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, "why tempt ye Me?" Shew Me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it?" They answered and said, "Caesar's." And He said unto them, "Render therefore unto caesar the things which be caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's."

Apostle Paul. *Romans 13: 1* :—Let Every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. And following 6 verses.

I Timothy 2: 1, 2:—I Exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. And following verse.

Writer of epistle to the Hebrews 13: 17:—Obey them that have rule over you.

I Peter 2: 13, 14:—Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the King, as supreme; Or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by Him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. And following three verses.

If you will consider the teaching in the above extracts from the New Testament, I think you will retrace your steps and become an exponent of law and order.

I am advocating that the Government should not restrict itself to repressive measures, but should

adopt the method of enlightening the masses of the people, for they are very ignorant, and it is upon ignorance that Mr. Gandhi has acquired his influence.

Therefore it is necessary for the Government itself to do something to inform the masses of the people about itself, and not leave them to be misinformed by false teachers.

It is not good for it to remain silent and aloof on its dignity. The people need enlightenment. They know so little.

Let it prepare and issue in English and the principal Vernaculars *Tracts for the Times* on such subjects as, What is Taxation (or why are Taxes needed); What is the Salt Tax; How is Revenue raised, How is Revenue spent; The Duty of Citizens to the Government; The Duty of Government to the Citizens; Swaraj, what it really is; Aspirations and Qualifications, their difference, Interdependence not Independence; etc. etc.

No private enterprise can undertake this task for the whole country of India. Let the Imperial or each Local Government face the duty.

"Where no counsel is, the people fall."—Proverbs 11: 14: Let counsel be given. It is for Government to give this counsel.

I write as one who has been intimate with the affairs of India for nearly 50 years.

Chik-Ballapur  
Mysore  
6th May 1930.

G. H. MACFARLANE.

[This letter was received some time back but from the personal references in it, we did not realise that it was meant for publication. Mr. Macfarlane has since written to us intimating that it was so intended. Our reading of the *New Testament* inclines us to the view expressed by the Rev. W. M. Ryburn in the *Reformer* of May 10, rather than to that of Mr. Macfarlane. We recall particularly a passage which bids us fear not those who have power to kill the body but rather those who can kill body and soul together. The point, however, is not of practical interest at present except that it enables some of our Christian Missionary friends, notwithstanding their professed and no doubt sincere love for Indians to save their consciences for looking the other way when violence is used against those who preach and practise non-violence. Ed. *I. S. R.*]

**The University Settlement:**—The University settlement has re-opened in its new quarters at Reynolds Road, Byculla. Students and professional women of all Indian communities are accommodated at fees varying from Rs. 30 to 60 according to rooms. Scholarships are also available. Both Indian and European food is provided. The Settlement faces an open maidan and possesses its own tennis and badminton courts. Trams and buses are within a few minutes' walk, and there is also a private motor-bus to take students to and from the Colleges at a fixed rate. Miss Tara Tilak B.A. is now conducting her Social Service Training Class at the Settlement. The course includes both theoretical and practical work. For further particulars apply to the Warden, University Settlement, Reynolds Road, Byculla, Bombay.

#### ANGLO-INDIAN TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.

The Anglo-Indian Temperance Association held its annual meeting in Caxton Hall, London, on May 20th. Lord Clwyd, the President, was in the chair.

The following resolutions were passed:

1. That the Report and Balance-sheet be adopted and printed in ABKARI.

Moved by Lord Clwyd, President.

Seconded by Right Hon. Sir Donald Maclean K.B.E., M.P.

2. This meeting welcomes the numerous manifestations of public interest in the Indian Temperance Movement recorded during the past year; assures the Prohibition League and affiliated organisations of the continued co-operation of the Association in their work; and trusts that the total abstinence propaganda now being carried on in many parts of the country will pave the way for the extinction of the liquor traffic in accordance with the accepted ideals of the Indian people.

Moved by Rev. Herbert Anderson.

Seconded by Mr. C. F. Andrews, M.A.

3. That the Right Hon. Lord Clwyd be re-elected President; and the Rev. Herbert Anderson Honorary Secretary; and Mr. F. Grubb General Secretary; and that the following members form the Consultative Council of the Association.—

Rev. J. H. Bateson, C.B.E., Rev. C. Phillips Cape, Mr. H. G. Chancellor, Sir W. Howell Davies, Matthew Dodsworth, Bart., Mr. Henry Edmonds, J.P., Mr. D. D. Gilder, Mr. Alexander Guthrie, J.P., Dr. Hooper, F.C.S., Sir G. B. Hunter, K.B.E., the Right Hon. Leif Jones, M.P. the Right Hon. Sir J. Herbert Lewis, G.B.E., Mr. J. M. Parikh, Miss P. H. Peckover, Mr. Charles Roberts, and Mr. Sidney Robinson, J.P.; with the following, who shall form the Executive Committee:—

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. A. E. Blackburn, Mr. Arthur Davies, M. A., Mr. A. E. Goodwin, Dr. Harold Mann, Lieut.-Col. P. W. O'Gorman, O.M.G., I.M.S. (retd.), Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Colonel D. Warliker, I.M.S. (retd.), Mr. Cecil Wilson, M.P. and Mr. G. B. Wilson.

Moved by Mr. W. A. de Silva, M.L.C.

Seconded by Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Hon. Mr. A. C. G. Wijiyekoon, M. L. C. and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E. also spoke.

In the course of the Annual Report for 1929-30, the Association, while not approving of civil disobedience, points out that it is impossible to ignore the fact that these shops are regarded by large numbers of people in India as visible tokens of an indefensible system. No responsible Indian, it is further pointed out, has ever yet come forward to advocate the perpetuation of the liquor traffic, or even to suggest that alcoholic beverages are good for any section of the community. Attention is called to the resolution passed by the sixteenth All-India Conference of Indian Christians held in January

last advocating total prohibition, thereby bringing the Community in line with Hindu and Muslim opinion on the subject. Every political party in India supports prohibition. Referring to the attitude of the National Congress, the Report observes :—

Those who follow the lead of the Indian National Congress, which on this issue must still be regarded as the outstanding organ of Nationalist opinion in the country, are committed to the policy of Prohibition in its most complete form. There is now in operation under the auspices of this body a scheme of propaganda which aims at covering the whole country with a network of committees whose work is described as being "the eradication of the drink and drug evil and enactment of laws for total prohibition." Attached to these committees there has been organised a body of voluntary workers, known as "the volunteer corps," into which have been enrolled men and women "ready to render honorary active service, strictly adhering to the principle of non-violence, and to carry out the instructions of the provincial body." These local organisations are directed to hold meetings and processions against the use of intoxicants, to arrange house-to-house visits, village by village, to provide healthy counter-attractions in order to divert people from the drink habit, and to secure pledges "taken in solemn form from all persons promising to abstain from alcoholic drinks and drugs."

After a reference to Government Temperance Propaganda in Madras and the United Provinces, the Association observes that it is regrettable that, in spite of so many sympathetic pronouncements by various Provincial Governments reluctance is all too frequently shown in giving effect to the almost universal public sentiment on this subject. Even the Madras City Corporation has given up appealing to the Government and the Licensing Board for the closure of objectionable shops. As regards Licensing Boards and Advisory Committees, the Association says that they are in many cases unrepresentative and ineffective.

None of the Provincial Governments have shown any disposition to strengthen the powers of those bodies or to make any effective response to the demand for local option or prohibition. The Bombay Government has, in fact, receded somewhat from the advanced position which it took up a few years ago on this subject, and has also definitely suspended the progressive rationing of liquor to the shops. The United Provinces Government recently published a Local Option Bill, which is pronounced by the Temperance leaders to be of no value whatever. The attitude of the Government of India in regard to foreign liquor which is within its purview is strongly criticised. The Indian Legislative Assembly pronounced an emphatic verdict some years ago in favour of the prohibition of all classes of liquor, but nothing has yet been done by the Government of India to give effect to the resolution. Incidentally, it is pointed out that the greater part of these imports come from the United Kingdom. These figures for 1927-28 were given in the House of Commons on December 5th in reply to a question put by Major Graham Pole :—

	Gallons.
Total potable liquor imports ...	6,050,593
From the United Kingdom ...	3,688,604

### THE LATE SHRIMATI RAMABAI RANADE.

[Speech made by Mr. Devadatta Vidwane at the Poona Seva Sadan, in requesting Miss Susie Sorabji, Principal of St. Helena's High School to unveil the portrait of the late Shrimati Ramabai Saheb Ranade, the Founder and First President of the Poona Seva Sadan Society, presented by himself and Mr. R. Y. Ranade, to be kept in the President's Quarters, on Saturday, the 26th April 1930.]

President, Ladies and Gentlemen :—

It is a great pleasure to stand here and say a few words on behalf of my brother, Mr. R. Y. Ranade, and myself, regarding the portrait of the late Shrimati Ramabai Saheb Ranade which you have so eagerly come here to see unveiled.

May I tell you very briefly how the idea of presenting this portrait occurred to us? A few weeks ago I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Devdhar in his office in connection with the materials for the biography of the late Mrs. Ranade, at which I am at present working. His office is situated in the same Hall which Mrs. Ranade used as her drawing room and it was very natural that I should be reminded of the great lady; I felt her presence around me. It was here that she used to sit pondering over the schemes for the uplift of women which she so successfully executed; it was here, that hundreds of people came to seek her helpful advice which was denied to none, great or small; it was here that she assuaged the grief of her sorrow-stricken sisters and gave them hope and a new vision of service and usefulness, in their prematurely shattered lives; it was here that she knelt in fulness of her love and devotion before the portrait of her great husband the late Mr. Justice Ranade, whom she adored as the fountain-source of her inspiration, knowledge and experience; and it was also in this same place that she laid down her life which was spent for others, in carrying out her cherished ideals, and passed into the great eternal. All these memories crowded into my mind and I felt that something was wanting to complete the grandeur and dignity of the Hall. It was very meet and proper that Mr. Devdhar who so zealously and devotedly assisted her in her great work should use the Hall as his office to transact the business of this great Institution, which was so near and dear to her. Having worked under her very eye and having imbibed her very spirit, men like Mr. Devdhar, do not need her visible presence in the form of a portrait to remind them of her greatness; but the necessity of such a portrait is for those who have come after her and are working in the Institution which she reared from its very birth. My idea was therefore to present her portrait to the Institution to be kept in that Hall. We suggested our plan to Mrs. Bhat who, I am very glad to state, readily welcomed the idea. We then approached Mr. Devdhar and requested him to allow us to present the portrait. And I have great pleasure,

ladies and gentlemen, in saying that though he was not, unfortunately, keeping good health, he very readily undertook to arrange for the function on this anniversary day—a very fitting occasion for such a ceremony as all of you will agree. So my thanks are due to him and to Mrs. Bhat for the readiness with which they allowed me to present the portrait to the Society.

I am deeply grateful to Miss Sorabji, Principal of St. Helena's High School for having kindly consented to come here this morning to unveil the portrait. It is in the fitness of things that she should unveil it. She was a great friend of Mrs. Ranade and knew her intimately for more than a score of years. Miss Sorabji watched with great delight the Seva-Sadan grow under the fostering care of Mrs. Ranade since its very inception.

I need not reiterate here the great debt which the Institution owed to the late Mrs. Ranade, for it is too well-known to this audience, but as a tribute to her great memory it will not be out of place if I say a word about Mrs. Ranade and the Poona Seva Sadan.

The Poona Seva-Sadan was first started in 1909, by Mrs. Ranade, under the auspices of the Hindu Ladies Social Club which she had started even so long before as 1902, in her own wada facing the Reay Market as a Branch of the Bombay Seva-Sadan of which also she was the President. The work of the Seva-Sadan was conducted in her own house under her direct care and supervision till 1914. But the Institution soon developed to such an extent that a new site had to be purchased for it in which place we now see that beautiful building. So great was her affection for this Institution that she built a house for herself (at her own cost) adjoining the Hali which is named after her so as to be near her Seva-Sadan. And it is in this house which she has dedicated to the Society that the portrait is to be set up.

I shall not dilate here upon the great difficulties, that lay in her path in developing this Institution, but it is beyond doubt that it was her great moral influence among the people of this Presidency that has accelerated the progress of this Institution and has placed it among the prominent organisations for women in this country. To quote the words of a great social reformer, "Her association with this Institution was so close that in Poona Mrs. Ranade and the Seva-Sadan were regarded in equivalent terms."

Now a word of apology and I shall have done. I shall be excused I hope, for presenting such a small portrait to this great Institution. But the size of the portrait is no indication of the greatness of Mrs. Ranade's work. And if the audience do feel that the portrait is too small, I request them to lift up their eyes to look to the work of Seva-Sadan which stands as a living monument to her great memory.

But small as it is, it bears an exact likeness to Mrs. Ranade as she was in 1920—smiling, serene and stately. And for that my thanks are due to the artist Mr. Bhadkamkar for having executed the work with such artistic finish and devotion. I should also thank Mr. D. G. Vaidya for having conducted the service so beautifully.

With these words I request, Miss Sorabji to unveil the portrait. *Subodh Patrika.*

#### SATYAGRAHA AT DHARASANA.

Mr. Hussain Tyabji, Ex-Judge of the Small Causes Court, Bombay, Mr. K. Natarajan and Mr. G. K. Deodhar, President of the Servants of India Society, have issued a statement to the Associated Press in which they state that they visited Untadi as they heard and read in the papers of many complaints of excessive violence and even brutal lawlessness against volunteers taking part in Dharasana raids, often even against those who were not taking part in them, but were mere spectators.

They went round the hospitals at Untadi and Bulsar maintained by Congress Committees where "all brave volunteers who received injuries are treated by a band of enthusiastic and self-sacrificing patriotic doctors." They discovered that the proportion of wounded and injured was comparatively large though deaths and serious cases of injury were few.

They visited places once occupied by the Satyagrahis such as the camp kitchen at Untadi village which has been confiscated by the Government and has been completely destroyed.

They wanted to see the salt raid and the way it was repulsed. With that object they proceeded to a private field which was at such a distance so as not to be a hindrance to the authorities and make their presence unobjectionable. That was half a mile away from the Salt Depot itself and at least a furlong from the place where the Satyagrahis were standing.

When they were standing at this place a European gentleman came to them and asked them to return to the village for their own safety.

What that meant could be realised from the subsequent events. They saw the raiders stopped at a great distance from the salt depot and could see how the volunteers were made to stop and were brought back towards Untadi after they had been informed that they were all arrested. One of the complaints repeatedly heard was that after being arrested the volunteers were not led but were beaten with lathis and lathis were poked into their ribs.

It appeared that the volunteers were allowed to proceed some 200 yards inside the boundaries and then ordered to retire and on their refusal they were belaboured with lathis until they reached the boundary and for a considerable distance thereafter. They were then chased by the galloping Sowars by

which time most of them had received a very large number of blows.

Subsequent scenes in which a large number of wounded volunteers who were brought on the stretchers, some with injuries in more places than one and some even in an unconscious condition amply supply proof for the complaints that severe injuries were inflicted on the volunteers after they were arrested, if they returned to the raid.

Mr. Waman Mukadam, ex-M.L.C. who led a party was first arrested and was then beaten. They heard of complaints of grossly abusive language and the Satyagrahis felt that keenly.

A still more serious thing was what they saw with their own eyes that after the Satyagrahis were driven out of the salt boundary mounted European Sowars rode at full gallop with lathis in their hands beating indiscriminately everybody they saw anywhere between the spot where the Satyagrahis had reached for raid and the village itself. They actually galloped at full speed through the streets of the village scattering men, women and children and terrorising them. The villagers ran into the lanes and closed themselves in the houses. But if by accident they were unable to escape they were beaten with lathis.

One man received serious injuries by the galloping of a horse. Another man received lathi blows and his Gandhi cap was forcibly snatched away.

These things were most distressing and they appealed to the authorities to see that these methods of handling Satyagrahis were put a stop to as they were neither necessary nor justifiable.

They further appealed to the authorities to investigate the various other complaints, which, in their opinion, were not at all unfounded and try their best by issuing instructions that all abusive language, rough handling, and charging by the mounted police were abandoned.

"A very serious charge is of scrotum being pressed and using other kinds of force on the vital parts namely the testis. From the narration of the patients one could safely say that it was deliberately done. In several cases the medical examination showed that either one or both the testis were swollen and were very tender. Some cases showed distinct bruises but there was no serious swelling of the nature which might be caught by the accidental lathi blows. This is very serious and it seems strange that the higher authorities present at the spot should not know it."

While thus appealing to the Government not to exasperate the people they would rejoice to see Providence coming to the aid with an early moonsoon, directing the Satyagrahis' efforts in less distressing activities, now that they had amply demonstrated what their determination, courage and devotion to a patriotic cause, coupled with discipline could achieve.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

##### Bombay Indian Christians and the Congress.

The *Times of India* writes:—A meeting of Indian Christians resident in Bombay was held on Saturday evening at the Nagpada Neighbourhood House to express their sympathy with the civil disobedience programme inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi and to devise ways and means to help the Congress. Several ladies were present at the meeting. Rev. D. Bhaskare presided. Mrs. Avantikabal Gokhale, the principal speaker, in the course of a long speech outlined the history of the satyagraha campaign and explained the country's programme to attain *Purna Swaraj*. She appealed to the community to join the ranks of the Congress as the other sister communities had done and extend their co-operation in making the programme a success. After some more speeches the meeting passed a number of resolutions. When the resolutions were being put to the vote one among the audience got up and inquired of the President whether by passing the resolutions it was meant that they were supporting the non-violent civil resistance at present carried on by the Congress votaries. On being answered in the affirmative, he stated that if the course of events in Peshawar, Sholapur and Calcutta was any indication of the non-violent nature of achieving *Purna Swaraj* he for one—and he felt sure several others present also agreed with him—would oppose the resolutions. To use Mr. Gandhi's own words the outrages committed in different parts of India since the "non-violent war" began were still "stinking in his nostrils." It was best for India to seek constitutional means and to retain the British connection. The speech of the dissentient was greeted with "shame" whereupon he and a few others walked out of the hall. The resolutions were then passed. The first resolution stated that the members of the Indian Christian community assembled at the meeting desired to place on record that they were one with the other communities in their desire to win for India "complete Swaraj" at the earliest possible moment and were of opinion that absolute non-violent satyagraha was in no way against the teaching of Jesus Christ and was capable of achieving great moral victories. According to the second resolution the Indian Christians pledged themselves at the meeting not to live in exclusive communal life or strive for communal advantages, which were likely to militate against the aspirations of the whole nation. They were willing to participate in the national programme in respect of 'swadeshi' and prohibition. Thirdly, the community wished to convey their sympathy to the relatives of those who had given their lives and of those who were wounded in the struggle and appealed to the churches to set apart one Sunday collection for the Congress hospital. The last resolution stated that they entirely dissociated themselves from the attitude expressed in the telegram to the Viceroy sent on behalf of the All-India Christian Conference, in which the conference pledged its support to Government in its present "repressive policy."

**Missionaries and the Present Situation:—**The following appeal issued by 65 representative and influential missionaries and Indian Christians now at Kodaikanal has been sent to us for publication: "We a group of Indian and British Christians at Kodaikanal who believe that God's will is fellowship and brotherhood, venture to send out this message and appeal to our

brethren. We have no hesitation in associating ourselves with the aspirations of India to achieve an equal and honourable place in the family of nations. We are convinced that all parties are sincerely seeking although along different lines, what they feel to be the best interests of India. At the same time we are deeply distressed by the increasing spirit of distrust and bitterness between Britain and India as revealed in the present struggle. The time calls for a spirit of magnanimity and acts of conciliation on all sides without which, we feel, the purpose of all who are seeking India's highest welfare cannot be achieved. Believing strongly that the only lasting solution will be reached through frank discussion in a spirit of mutual trust and sympathy we express the earnest hope that there may be held a Round Table Conference which will be truly representative of all parties and interests. We appeal to our brethren throughout India and Britain that they will pray earnestly and continually, both in their private and public worship, that God's will for India may be revealed and obeyed. We also appeal to them at this juncture to avail themselves of every opportunity to promote a spirit of mutual understanding and good will and to regard it as a primary duty to share in all activities which will make India truly great and truly free." The following are the signatories:—E. Forrester Paton, S. Jesudason, Jesudason Madhava Rao, S. J. Theodore, W. Scopes, D. E. Hitchcock, A. B. Johnston, E. S. Appasamy, Francis Kingsbury, J. Z. Hodge, H. Appasamy, P. B. Emmet, S. F. Emmet, W. Shuttleworth, R. Edith Howard, M. H. Royds, A. Elwin, D. I. Garlick, O. Boxall, A. M. Johnston, A. B. Elliott, Gertrude Pakenham Walsh, E. B. Morris, A. H. Morris, A. R. Penn, H. P. Young, D. M. La Brooy, M. G. New, L. A. Dixon, A. E. Walden, L. Stanyon, L. M. Jeffrey, E. A. Pidcock, A. T. Foster, O. E. Hornby, E. Marsden, H. Johnson, A. D. Lawson, D. Stephens, F. Maltus Smith, Ethel Maltus Smith, A. C. Clayton, J. S. M. Hooper, D. Simpson, F. W. Wittaker, A. J. Appasamy, E. Samuel, G. S. Marris, L. H. Stone, V. K. Pitman, E. M. Taylerson, E. O. Marris, B. Clutterbuck, F. J. B. Quina, M. K. Clutterbuck, G. W. Bowker, H. Pettit, E. M. Little, L. R. Warren, S. M. Umpleby, W. A. Aams, K. N. Brockway, A. S. Hellier and K. T. Paul.

**Helping The Emigrant:**—From the German port of Bremen on the Weser 42,275 emigrants from a dozen different countries sailed last year to seek their fortunes in North and South America. To assist these emigrants a bureau is maintained at the port of Bremen by the World's Committee of Y. M. O. A.s, and the secretary is able through his connection with the Y. M. O. A.s in all parts of the world to render useful service to those who are about to embark for the new world. During the year 99 steamers sailed from Bremen for the United States and Canada, and 17 for South America, and at each embarkation the Y. M. O. A. secretary was in attendance, being enabled in this way to furnish 5554 young men with introductions to Y. M. O. A.s overseas. To those emigrants who come to the bureau for advice, help of a more personal kind was given in 1132 cases. Information was supplied about employment overseas, and enquiries were made about posts advertised which sometimes proved to be fictitious. Often the emigration laws press hardly on individual cases, and it happened sometimes that a young man or woman to sail for America is prevented at the last moment for reasons of

health or other conditions. Even harder is the lot of some who after crossing the ocean are refused admission to the new country and find themselves shipped back to Bremen. In such cases the bureau renders friendly help, and the secretary was often able to tide young men and women over a difficult crisis. Many letters received from emigrants in all parts of the world, as well as testimonials from officials of Government and of the shipping company, bear witness to the value of the services rendered.

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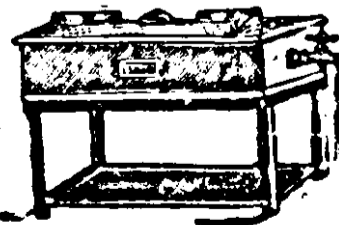
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1930

No. 42

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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<p>Peace Overtures, Government and the Liquor Trade, "The Women's War," A Timely Book, Society and the State, Sir Mirza Ismail on the Political Situation, An Unwanted Ordinance.</p>	<p>Need for Reconciliation, Don'ts for Government Servants, An Object Lesson in Co-operation, Government Communique on Dharasana Atrocities, Treatment of Political Prisoners, News of the Week.</p>
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### NOTES.

**Peace Overtures:—**With the publication of the Simon Commission's recommendations next week, and the approach of the date fixed (October 20) for the Round Table Conference, it is high time efforts are made to help the Congress party to co-operate in framing the future constitution of India. Rumours are in the air of negotiations. A Bombay paper announced last week that Sir Prabhaskar Pattani has, at the instance of the Viceroy, been in touch with Mahatma Gandbi in Yerravda prison, and gave the main heads of their supposed conversation. Next day it declared that its information was entirely baseless, and expressed regret for publishing it. Another local paper followed this up by intimating that Mr. Jinnah has been commissioned by Lord Irwin to sound Mahatmaji and that Mr. Jinnah had deputed a leading member of the commercial community to do this for him. We learn from another quarter that Dr. Ansari is likely to be the intermediary. Pandit Motilal Nehru, who is in Bombay, made a speech at a huge monster meeting on Wednesday, a sentence in which has been laid hold of as implying that negotiations are awaiting completion. We hope that there is something in all this and that the present tension, which has almost reached breaking point, will be eased soon.

**Government And The Liquor Trade:—**One of the many things penalised by Lord Irwin's Ordinance is the peaceful picketing of liquor shops. One of our most vivid memories is that of a Hindu wife who followed her husband in a vain endeavour to dissuade him from going to a liquor shop and stood weeping bitterly outside when he ignored her entreaties and when she clung to him in a last desperate effort, struck her on the face and dived quickly into the den of drinkers. If Lord Irwin's Ordinance had been in force, that woman would have been liable under its wide terms to be arrested and sentenced to a maximum of six months' imprisonment for "loitering" with a view to prevent her husband from doing what he had a legal right to do, though it meant the social ruin of the family. The picket who by entreaty and persuasion tries to dissuade a man from entering a liquor shop, in the view of ninety per cent of Indians, does a disinterested humanitarian service

and his imprisonment under the Ordinance shocks the public conscience. We quoted last week from the Report of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association of London, that while not approving of civil disobedience, the Association could not ignore the fact that the liquor shops are regarded by large numbers of the people in India as visible tokens of an indefensible system. The Simon Commission has taken a just view of this question though their objection to Prohibition is far from conclusive. "The temperance movement," it has observed, "has always been strong in India, for Muhammadans, and most of the Hindu communities, are prohibited by religion or by social usage from drinking alcoholic liquors. Beginning with the non-co-operation campaign of 1921-22, the temperance movement has developed into a definite demand for prohibition which has become an important political issue. There would be special administrative difficulties in enforcing prohibition in the peculiar circumstances of India, because of the ease with which liquor can be produced from palm-trees." Surely the administrative difficulties cannot be greater than in the case of salt, which, as the satyagraha campaign has proved, can be picked up in a natural state in many parts of the long sea coast of India, and also inland from ancient deposits. The salt laws have no support from public opinion which prohibition in this country has in abundance. The point we wish to stress now, however, is different. The Ordinance in so far as it punishes picketing of liquor shops goes against the deep-rooted moral and religious sentiment of the Indian people. A law which does that, we need hardly point out, places the subject in a cruel dilemma which no Government does well in its own interests, to do. So long as the Ordinance remains in force, we would suggest that its application to picketing of liquor-shops should be strictly limited to cases where it is accompanied by violence or abuse.

**"The Women's War":—**The Simon Commission's references to women's education and progress in the first volume of the Report, show both sympathy and insight. The All-India Women's Conference in particular has evoked the high appreciation of the Commissioners. Some of them attended the session of the Conference at Delhi and "were impressed both by the representative character of the gathering and by the evidence it gave of the fact that the educated women of India are realising their responsibility and their power." The Commissioners observe that "the active entry of Indian women into the arena on the side of educational and social progress is a feature of real promise." Sir John Simon and his colleagues will be interested to know that some of the

prominent members of the Conference—"the vanguard of progressive women," to use their own phrase—are now in jail for participating in the satyagraha movement. The *Stri Dharma*, the official organ of the Women's Indian Association, writing of the uprising of women in the satyagraha movement, observes: "Because the qualities which this new form of warfare is displaying are of the nature usually characterised as feminine rather than masculine we may look on this life and death struggle of India to be free as the Women's War. This aspect of the crisis makes the Indian question world-wide in its interest and later application." The *Stri Dharma* says, "India is waging four struggles in one—the individual struggle against the forces of violence and hatred in the individual, secondly, the economic exploitation of the Indian markets which can be self-contained, thirdly, the struggle against the undesired domination of an alien nation, and fourthly, the struggle against warfare by armaments and killing, such as has disgraced Western civilization through the nine million men mutually murdered on the battlefields of Europe." This is an original description of the satyagraha movement and shows how intelligently the women of India have understood it. The *Stri Dharma* concludes with an appeal to women all over the world to pray that India may be free to spin the thread of her own destiny "so that Eastern and Western races, brothers and sisters from the same Aryan root stock, may be equal self-governing partners in the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations." We are glad that the *Stri Dharma* has placed its stamp of approval on our suggestion that the commonwealth, in order to accommodate India, must be known not as the British but as the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations.

**A Timely Book.**—The second volume of the Simon Commission's Report, containing its recommendations, will be released to the Press on Tuesday. In our leading article last week, we have shown that the historical sketch in the first volume was erroneous and misleading in vital matters. Mr. C. F. Andrews rightly told the Indian Parliamentary Committee that if the conclusions of the second volume were based on such unsound historical foundations, they were likely to be one-sided and incapable of meeting the advancing life of the country. An excellent corrective to the false history of the Commission, is furnished by Dr. Annie Besant's "A Bird's Eye View of India's Past as the Foundation for India's Future," of which the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, has very opportunely issued a new edition. The book was first published in 1915, and went through three editions and this is the fourth. Dr. Besant's, of course, is a synthetic view of Indian history, to which the British period is an important contribution, while to Sir John Simon, India was a chaos before the British came and will be a chaos if the British left. As Dr. Besant aptly observes: "She (India) did without England for millennia, had flourished amazingly; she could do without England for millennia to come; but the two need each other, and will be the better for each other in the near future; and India desires to be linked with England in that future, but on a footing of perfect equality, and on none other." The italics are Dr. Besant's. The fundamental unity of India, which the Commission has denied, is well empha-

sised in this little book, as also the great advances made before the British period, in industry, arts and administration. The Commissioners do not seem to have come across in their researches Sir Thomas Munro's famous answer before a Parliamentary Committee regarding Indian civilisation when the country came under British rule. We have quoted it on numerous occasions but it will bear repetition: "But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching, reading, writing and arithmetic, general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and, above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy are among the signs which denote a civilised people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo." If, as has been stated, Dr. Besant attends the Round Table Conference as a representative of India, she will be the most effective critic of the historical fallacies of the Simon Commission. We would beg of her, however, to lay aside her antipathy to Mahatma Gandhi at least for the time being, and recognising the immense hold he has on the confidence of his countrymen, do nothing to make it impossible for him to co-operate with her at the Conference. The Conference, unless Mahatmaji is personally present or is otherwise properly represented at it, is very unlikely to find a working solution for the Indian problem, and we are glad that all parties in this country are agreed on that point.

**Society and the State:**—The *Catholic Leader* has involved itself in a maze by attempting to differentiate between Society and the State and the obedience due to them. The Catholic doctrine, we have thought all along, was that the State is not superior to the Church in relation to Society. Our contemporary's contention that the State is unique and political obedience is also, therefore, unique, does not seem to be sound Catholic doctrine. However that may be, theories of State derived from Aristotle and Aquinas have no sort of relevancy to Indian conditions. British rule in India has no organic relation to Indian Society. It has not grown out of it. It has always recognised its limitation by its policy of religious neutrality. The Hindu and Mahomedan laws which it administers do not owe their origin to it. "The very sanction of force which attaches to the laws of a State," writes the *Catholic Leader*, "distinguishes them decisively and completely from the laws of any other civil institution." On the contrary, the more a State has to depend on force to secure obedience to its laws, the less is its moral authority with its subjects and the less, therefore, its qualification to be the expression of their national life. The *Catholic Leader's* argument amounts to this: the Hindu and Mahomedan ban against drink, to take an instance, can be violated because the Hindu and Mahomedan communities cannot send those who drink to jail: but the Government's ban against the collection of natural salt is sacrosanct because to violate it may land one in jail! The Penal Code, according to this line of reasoning, is everything and the moral law nothing!

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 21, 1930.

## SIR MIRZA ISMAIL ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The onlooker sees more of a game than the players who are absorbed each in his own part. Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, is not exactly an onlooker of the political situation as it has developed and is developing in British India. Although technically the struggle in British India does not affect Mysore, yet as Sir Mirza well knows it has stirred the people there as much as in British India. The Mysore Government have to pass orders restraining its subjects from actively participating in the British Indian movement, and Sir Mirza's own emotional nature as an Indian, we are sure, has not remained entirely indifferent to "the growing feeling of national self-consciousness"—to use his own words—"which has lately swept over the country like a flood tide." Sir Mirza and others in his position are, therefore, not altogether in the position of onlookers of a game in which they have no sort of personal concern. It is the special and peculiar feature of the Gandhi movement that, apart from its political technique, it has already added a few inches to the moral and spiritual stature of every Indian—man, woman and child—not only in British India but in the Indian States as well and also in every land where there are Indians living either as temporary sojourners or as permanent citizens. Mahatma Gandhi has brought about a revolution in Indian psychology which affects the outlook and reactions of Indian nature everywhere and in all departments of life. We say "Mahatma Gandhi" but really his movement has several streams of tendencies flowing from the history of India, ancient and modern.

Though truths in manhood darkly join,  
Deep seated in our mystic frame,  
We yield all blessing to the name,  
Of him that made them current coin.

Those who have seen at close quarters the Gandhi movement at work, are often surprised, and sometimes amused, at the naive assumption, expressed in unexpected ways, of its workers that every Indian, whatever the exigencies of his position may require him to do, must be and is with them. And it is still more surprising how often and unexpectedly this assumption proves to be well-founded. This explains the great anxiety of the responsible leaders of the movement not to embarrass, by word or act, rulers and administrators of Indian States, and to pass by the somewhat aggressive declarations of some of them as dictated by the necessities of their position

rather than by the promptings of their personal convictions. It is, therefore, easy to understand the appreciation with which Sir Mirza Ismail's understanding and sympathetic observations in his address to the Mysore Representative Assembly on the political situation, have been received by the public. Sir Mirza described it as a tragedy that two such men as Mahatmaji and Lord Irwin—the former "a great and patriotic soul who may be said to represent the spirit of India and to voice her sentiments as probably no one else can do," the latter, "a sagacious and high-minded statesman, whose greatness of heart and love of our country is recognised by all"—should be unable to reach an agreement about a course of action the end of which is already determined. "The British Government have declared self-government as the goal of their policy in India," said the Dewan, "and consequently, it would appear to me that the main function of the Round Table Conference will be to consider how best the goal can be attained in the quickest possible time." That is how it strikes every man of commonsense.

But, as Sir Mirza knows, powerful British vested interests have bitterly opposed in and out of Parliament this commonsense deduction. Acting, no doubt, under pressure, Lord Irwin could not give an assurance of this kind and Mahatma Gandhi was unable to carry to the Lahore Congress the message which would have strengthened his hands in withstanding the "independence" movement within that body. If Lord Irwin had been a free agent, the breach, we have always believed, would not have occurred. Besides the clamour of his own party, he was hampered by the vanity of Sir John Simon to whom his personal feelings were infinitely more important than the fate of India. Now, that the Commissioners have signed their Report, the Viceroy is rid of this incubus, and if his Excellency has not, as we sometimes fear he has, hardened his heart and shut his eyes and ears against the outcome of repression, it should not be difficult—certainly not impossible—"to bridge the gulf that divides the two sides." Sir Mirza's observations are, we are sure, intended to convey to both sides the earnest desire of responsible statesmen not only of Mysore but of all important Indian States that the gulf should be bridged and that soon. We entirely agree with Sir Mirza that the benefits derived from British rule and English education should not be under-rated in a truthful estimate—and satyagrahis can not ignore what is true. At the same time, it is no longer a question of continuing in the old house till a new one is constructed on the latest and most approved plans. The mechanical view of nation-building has been falsified again and

again in history. But even on the mechanical theory, the present house has become utterly uninhabitable. We must get out of this, and go under canvass, if need be, for the time that is needed to build for ourselves a home in which the national spirit can feel at home.

#### AN UNWANTED ORDINANCE.

When Mahatma Gandhi began his famous march to Dandi and for several days afterwards, it was the general impression that the Government of Bombay were in favour of strong measures and that they were being held back by the Government of India. With the issue of the Press Ordinance and the internment of Mahatmaji, opinion has been veering round in the opposite direction. An incident connected with the two latest Ordinances penalising picketing foreign cloth and liquor shops and the social boycott of officials, and the propaganda for non-payment of taxes, showed that the later view is perhaps the right view. When the Ordinances were issued it was stated that they would come into force at once in Bombay Presidency, while it was to be made applicable to other provinces by special notification, at the instance of the Local Governments. The Presidency Governments have a tradition of independence which evoked the resentment of Lord Curzon who tried without success to have them brought into line with the Lieutenant-Governorships which were subordinate to the Government of India. The story is told in a piquant style by Lord Ronaldshay whose disapproval of Lord Curzon's attempt is made plain in his Life of that great Viceroy. The Government of India Act of 1919 has strengthened the control of the Central Government as a counter-weight to the transfer of some Provincial subjects to Ministers chosen from among the elected non-official members of the Legislative Council. Nevertheless, we could not believe that the Government of India had foisted these Ordinances on Bombay without the consent of the Local Government. This, however, seems to have been the case. For several days after the announcement, the Ordinances remained unapplied in Bombay City and the districts. Then one morning we learnt that the acting Home Member of the Government of India had unexpectedly arrived in Bombay. A day or two later the public was told that the delay in bringing the Ordinances into force was due to printed copies of them not having arrived in time to enable the Bombay Government to issue the notification which was needed to make them applicable to this Presidency!

The notification was issued in due course and the picketing Ordinance was timed to operate in Bombay City on Monday. The *Times of India* had done its best to create a scare by stories of troops being brought in and the official decision to make "ruthless" application of the Viceregal ukase. It may be charitably presumed that the *Times'* object was so to impress the satyagrahis by its account that the mere knowledge would suffice to

make them give up their picketing activities as hopeless. If so, it had not understood the satyagraha mentality. While its scaring headlines alarmed the general public, it hardened the satyagrahis' determination to persist in their programme. The result was to bring the public into conflict with the Police, the satyagrahis acting as mediators between them. The successive batches of picketers quietly surrendered to the Police when they were arrested, but the crowds became unmanageable and the Police charges infuriated them. The Police at first resented the proffered help of Congress volunteers in maintaining order but, in the end, it is these which, according to the *Times of India*, enabled them to retire from the scene unhindered by the angry crowds. We made some enquiries and found that none of the Indian and very few of the European shops in Hornby Road, had complained of the Congress pickets, and that they would have done very well without the gratuitous infliction of this Ordinance. The pickets gave no trouble to them and could in no sense be said to "molest" customers, and though some loss of business must occur, they felt that the loss under the Ordinance would be much greater. The Whiteaway, Laidlaw became for some obscure reasons a sort of Dharasana, and we much doubt whether the responsible authorities of that well-known firm enjoyed the prominence thus thrust on them. The Desha Sevikas picketed the Mulji Jetha Market, and the large number of Indian cloth merchants in that huge rabbit warren were quite unperturbed by their presence which, indeed, they seemed to welcome. One influential member told us that Indian Piece-goods Association had unanimously protested against the Ordinance and begged us to bring to his notice any case which may come to our notice of one of their number having invoked its assistance.

#### YOUTH—THE SALT OF THE EARTH.

(BY WALTER BROOKS FOLNY).

"May we attain the excellent glory of the quickening sun, the god, that he may stimulate our thoughts" are words from one of the chapters of the Rigveda, the great collection of religious hymns that have come down to the youth of India from the dawn of Indo-Aryan history. No other people have ever produced such original, striking and beautiful religious poetry at such an early stage of their history. They form a heritage that is worthy to be carefully preserved in modern India in the midst of which we live. The words quoted have been a morning prayer in India for 3,000 years.

In the beginning we should glance at the people who created the ideals back of this great religious literature. "They were still a primitive people, living in simple villages, with but few of the arts of civilization, and untrammelled by the bonds of caste. They had no writing and no coinage. They ate beef. The tribes lived each under its own chieftain, and now and then quarrels led to war among them. The family was still in a healthy

condition. Their women had a great deal of freedom throughout their lives. There was no child marriage among them, no seclusion in the zenana, no widow-burning, and no law against the remarriage of widows." Our nearest guess is that the hymns were composed about 1400 B. C., and compiled gradually up to 1000 B. C.

In dealing with the place of young people in India it is to be remembered that they represent a land with a very old, diverse and interesting history. It may be that there is to be found in modern Indian youth some likeness to the tall fair people who came down through the mountain passes of the north and settled first on the banks of the Indus River in what is now known as the Punjab.

Just as there is snow on the Indian Himalayas so is it at once evident that there are high ideals in the minds of Indian youth. These ideals are expressed in a seeking fashion; for what is taking place in the rest of the world is likewise affecting India. Indian youth is not altogether satisfied with what has been handed on and is not willing to accept entirely much of the superstition and blind practice of supposed religion. This characteristic of "Search," in many cases pointed by the hand of India's great man, Gandhi, leads backward to a re-interpretation of the early hymns and religious literature. Such a movement exercises a thoroughly cleansing influence.

Indian youth is listening to criticism such as has never been pronounced before. This is a great gain, for most of us are sensitive to anything that seems like disapproval. Youth is standing upon new heights in this land as it demands an education that will fit it for better citizenship; a chance for growing girlhood and young womanhood; the breaking down of caste so that everyone may have the opportunity of striving upward; the doing away with all forms of child marriage; the lifting of standards of living in village and city; a more vital religion that will build stronger character and better communities.

The young Maharajah with whom I talked in the mountain country of Sikkim had an old Tibetan calendar on his writing desk and a modern wireless set on the other side of the room. The mingling of eastern and western methods is producing some stimulating results. The Maharajah's capital city had electric lights along the streets. A great new motor road was being constructed to meet another coming in from the plains. The young people of his country are up-standing and alert.

A young man whom I met some time ago could tell me of all the faults of western nations as well as those of his own country. He had the world's history at his command. He came again and again to visit me. He was eager to learn facts from other lands.

So it goes all over India. Young men and young women are seeking and learning. No longer is a life of renunciation or withdrawal something to be

desired. Youth is anxious to have a greater place in the new world that is being built. The high thoughts of ancient days when sadhus lived apart in their hermitages have become a part of the thinking of modern Indian youth. But having learned something of the ideals and practice of the Christ they are anxious to travel through the valleys of new and harder experiences where new responsibilities must be carried.

India in the past was able to live more or less unto herself. But that is impossible today. Youth is now striving for a new lease of life because of the democratic trends that have come definitely out of the Christian movements of the West. Because of the changed world conditions youth must form greater ideas of God, man, morals, economics, religion, and all other phases of everyday life.

Many of my Indian friends are trying hard to justify old superstitions by giving them an elastic meaning that tries to take away absurd and superstitious symbolism. But it is hard work and some of them are becoming honest enough to state that new ideals must be found and followed. Around us everywhere in India a new life is throbbing, growing, re-building the country. The old skins cannot hold the new wine.

There is disturbance. Clouds of dust obscure the road and sight ahead is difficult if not impossible. Misunderstandings are constantly occurring. Liberal groups oppose less liberal groups. Changes are creating friction. Youth in India is an exceedingly living subject to watch. There are signs that promise additions to the culture of the whole world when the young people have cleared the way of much of the debris that has accumulated in this country where a good social house-cleaning has not taken place for centuries.

Not since Asoka's time when Buddhism swept many of the spiritual cobwebs out of the country has there been such a series of revolutions taking place. We who are missionaries, as well as the young people with whom we associate inside the Church and out, are having to face the realities of the situation. We too, have to work amid clouds of misunderstanding. We too are trying to find for ourselves as well as for our friends more splendid views and a greater wisdom to meet responsibilities.

This approach to accepting responsibility is something new for Indian youth. It is difficult for many of us to realize the handicaps under which youth labours in this regard. A fundamental principle of Hindu philosophy is not to propogandise religion, not to attempt to get others to accept one's religion; not to accept the responsibility of looking out for the interests of others. Life, according to certain ancient programmes, was a series of circumstances where each individual had to organize his experiences for himself in such a way that his next incarnation might be better than the one in which he found himself. Youth is having to substitute for



these ideas those centering about the ideal of co-operation.

It is no wonder that young people of India are strangely alert. The past glory and the present opportunity are being molded together in a strangely fascinating manner. Conditions have lent themselves to a sense of enthusiasm that is recently acquired. This enthusiasm carried into action is providing a powerful force in India.

Four deeply significant trends of this force are stirring the lives of Indian young people; a desire to know; a new attempt to understand truth; a belief in the reality of life; a tolerance of differences in religious, social and community contacts. Out of these struggles toward new adjustment to new conditions is growing a new joy in living. Only out of a desire to know grows knowledge and wisdom. The age-old search after God, or truth, in India is taking on a vitality as young men and young women begin to lead stronger lives because of the truths they are learning. Life in India demands increasingly the leadership of everyone, and insistently refuses to believe in these modern days that the best life is that which is withdrawn from all contact with other men. Young people are in the front rank of the movement which demands tolerance of all who hope to help in the reconstruction of the Indian nation.

The bases of Indian life are deep and sure. They are proving valuable in the striking re-adjustments that youth is making. It seems many times that Indian youth is not always as young as its years would indicate. For it is given to youth in India to speak with the wisdom gathered from the ages. The lessons of social failure that have been made in the past are being read by Indian youth in a remarkable way that will be better observed in the future.

At this season of the year the plains of India lie boiling under a torrid sun most of the time. Any physical and mental action is carried out only under the compulsion of a great motive. The building of the India that is to be will come largely from the efforts of young men and young women who do not permit even the most enervating climate to quench their enthusiasm for re-making a culture that is thousands of years old. The nation and the world need anew the fearless idealism of India's youth.

Every one of us has his part to play. This is no time to sit among the spectators and watch others play the game. Old India will become New India only in so far as youth bands itself together to create the new heaven and the new earth visualized by Christ. Jesus knew what he was talking about when he said to the young men who were his disciples, "Ye are the salt of the earth."

**Toddy Shops Auction** :—The auction for the licence of toddy shops in Poona district on the 16th inst., failed to realise more than Rs. 2,000 against three lakhs last year. For about 56 booths put up for auction there were only four bids. No more than 30 bidders were present, most of whom suggested the auction to be postponed for two months, but the suggestion went unheeded.

## NEED FOR RECONCILIATION.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The present situation in India is one in which we as Christians cannot be happy. We believe it to be the will of our Lord that all men should live as brothers. Many of our best friends are Indians, and from our own experience we know that in the presence and power of God it is possible for British and Indians to live and work together in equal friendship. And yet at present we see our two peoples drifting farther apart, into mutual suspicion and open enmity. We are deeply concerned at what is happening, and we refuse to believe that it is inevitable.

Neither at the beginning nor since, have we thought that the campaign of Civil Disobedience should have been launched when it was. This is not because we feel that revolution can never be right, or that obedience to the Government of the day is always a Christian duty. We do not regard this point as necessarily settled because our Lord refused to lead a revolution against the Roman Government. And we recognise that if a revolution is to be carried out at all, Mahatma Gandhi's method is at least as Christian as any that has been tried in the history of the world. We admit that much of the blame for the present state of affairs must rest with the British people, for the self-interest which has often dominated their policy, and for their failure to appreciate the genuine patriotism behind the national movement; and we admit that there is much ground for the prevalent suspicion of their intentions. But in spite of all this we feel that the policy of trust and co-operation should have been tried longer. Moreover we dread the growing habit of non-cooperation, which is too facile to be a real solution of differences. We are confident of the good intentions of the Viceroy and the present British Government and we wish they had been trusted further.

We feel the greatest sympathy for all officials both British and Indian, who are trying to carry on the work of government under the gravest difficulties. We recognise that once Civil Disobedience has been begun Government must defend itself or abdicate, and we cannot blame it for defending itself. But we should deplore any excessive severity or any attempt to crush the national movement.

We recognise that the course of events in the last few years and particularly since the beginning of the present campaign has made it perfectly clear that the thinking people of India are claiming the right to settle the future of their own country, and we gladly acknowledge that right. As far as we, who are not Indians, can, we desire to enter into the passion for freedom which moves so many of our Indian friends; we heartily welcome it, and see in it its own claim to satisfaction. We should wish that claim to be clearly and authoritatively recognised, as has not been done hitherto, and we believe that that one act will go far to restore mutual trust.

We should like to see the Government, putting aside all pride, and refusing to consider whether its previous advances have been fairly understood or not, enter upon a very bold policy of reconciliation, based on the explicit recognition of the right of India to settle her own destiny. Nothing but a positive infusion of goodwill can end the mutually provocative clash of civil disobedience and repression. We long that all the British in India, remembering their own transitions, may try to understand and sympathise with the passion for freedom which every patriotic Indian must feel, and to judge as they would themselves wish to be judged. We dare to hope that Indians, even at this late hour, will not abandon trust and patience. And above all we would appeal to all men of good will to refuse to allow their social and personal relations to be embittered by political differences. Whatever may happen we can never regard Indians as our enemies, and whatever may happen we ask them to believe we are their friends.

If we had had opportunity for wider consultation we should not have ventured to write this without securing weightier signatures than our own. But time presses, and we have felt bound to share our concern with others: If it is judged useful we should be glad to receive and publish the names of any who are in general agreement with us. Such names may be sent to the Rev. W. E. S. Holland, Gulmarg, Kashmir.

- (Sd.) W. E. S. Holland, Principal,  
St. John's College, Agra.
- (Sd.) T. R. Milford, St. John's  
College, Agra.
- (Sd.) C. S. Milford, St. Paul's  
College, Calcutta.
- (Sd.) F. B. Snell, St. John's  
College, Agra.
- (Sd.) M. L. Snell, St. John's  
College, Agra.
- (Sd.) E. W. Edmonds St. John's  
College, Agra.

13th June 1930.

#### DON'TS FOR GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

With reference to the "Don'ts for Government Servants" recently promulgated by Government, will you kindly allow me to state, through the columns of your esteemed paper, my views of the case, for the consideration of Government and also of its servants?

2. I quite agree that it is undesirable that any servant of Government, like any other good citizen, should give encouragement to subversive propaganda. But it is not correct to assume that, by his mere presence at a meeting, a government servant necessarily gives encouragement to the subversive

propaganda the meeting may have been designed to promote:—

(i) In the first place, it is not easy to know beforehand that a particular meeting's purpose is to promote subversive propaganda.

(ii) Secondly, any discussion of a high moral problem like politics can never be one-sided, i.e. positively and entirely subversive. Even the Congress propaganda of Civil Disobedience, though subversive in appearance, and even in its immediate effect, is vastly reformatory and beneficial in its ultimate aim, like the punishment of a child or the operation of a patient. It is wrong to call such propaganda subversive.

(iii) Thirdly, a government servant's mere presence at a meeting cannot necessarily be in encouragement of its object, any more than that of the C. I. D., of the pressman, the photographer, the yawning idler, the scoffing trifler.

(iv) Fourthly, should not a government servant, like a good citizen, try to counteract subversive propaganda? And, how is he to do it, if he is not to attend meetings and know the details of the propaganda carried on by them?

3. It is unnecessary for Government to take special care of its servants in this matter than of its other subjects. Because, government servants are naturally inclined to support Government, both from point of self-respect and self-interest. They know that disloyalty and treachery are sins if not also crimes, that their own welfare depends upon the safety and prosperity of Government. The only condition necessary to ensure their support is for Government to be Government: that its dealing be straight and fair, not only with its loyal subjects, but even with its avowed enemies among them. If it has reason to apprehend alienation of support from even its servants, at a time when it is being attacked by its subjects, it is a case rather for examining and setting right its own conduct than for issuing threatening circulars to its servants.

4. There is no harm to advise government servants and appeal to their sense of justice and fairness not to encourage subversive propaganda. But to warn them, with disciplinary action, is intimidatory, and helps rather to embitter their feelings towards Government than promote their goodwill to it.

5. As for the breach of "Government Servants' Conduct Rules" stated to be involved in attending political meetings, I request Government to point out the particular provision or rule No. under which such attendance constitutes a breach of those Rules. So far as I can see, there is nothing of the kind in those Rules.

6. Lastly, is the circular in question *intra vires* the competence of Government? If Government issues a circular tomorrow that its servants should not wear buttoned coats or collared shirts, will the servants be bounded to obey that order? And

what fundamental difference is there between such order and the present circular ?

7. If Government servants be guilty of any offence, either under the laws of the land, or under any rules for which they may have covenanted, it is open to Government to take the most drastic steps it can in due course. But can Government justifiably issue any orders at its will, and enforce them on its servants ? Certainly not.

Accountant General's Office, } Yours, etc.,  
Bombay, 18th June 1930. } MAN.

#### AN OBJECT LESSON IN CO-OPERATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

At a time like this, when India seems to be filled with the turmoil of her struggle to wrest national independence and a recognition of equality from her Western overlords and when caste and religion still divide her national ranks, it is refreshing to turn to an example of co-operation between East and West, Hindu and Christian. At Panhala in Kolhapur State there has just been held a summer training school for secondary teachers under the auspices of the Bombay Representative Christian Council. This school was attended by 37 men and women, who illustrated for a whole month what the Reformer has so often reiterated,—that the future development of India depends upon the co-operation of the various races and religions in India.

This school, styled the Secondary Teachers' Training Institute, lasted from April 22 to May 18. The Teachers included a Brahma Samajist (Prof. B. P. Kar, B.Sc., L.T., Acting Principal of the Secondary Training School, Bombay), a Scotswoman (Miss C. C. Thompson, M.A., of St. Columbo's High School, Bombay), an Indian Syrian Christian (Mr. V. M. Koshi, B.A., B.T., of Coonoor), and an American (Mr. F. S. Wilder, M.A., of Ahmednagar). Fourteen of the students (*i.e.*, secondary school teachers) were women, all Christian, and of the men seven were Hindus. All of these, teachers and students, men and women, Christians and Hindus, played volley ball together, walked together on hikes, ate together, and entered into everything in a most comradely way. In study and work teachers and students went out of their way to help one another. Professional problems and national problems were considered together without friction and with benefit to all. To many it was an amazing and happy example of the possibilities of all elements in India living and working together to the benefit of all concerned. In short, at Panhala teachers who could not afford a year at a training college were trained both for proficiency in teaching and as apostles of co-operation for a new and better India.

Mahabaleshwar, } Yours, etc.,  
28th May 1930. } F. S. WILDER.

#### GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE ON DHARASANA ATROCITIES.

We give below so much of the Government Communique issued last week on Dharasana atrocities which relates to the statement issued by Messrs. Hussain Tyabji, G. K. Devadhar and K. Natarajan :—

For some time past considerable prominence has been given in the Press to accounts describing atrocities alleged to have been perpetrated by the Government officers whose duty it has been to defend the Salt Works at Dharasana from the raids of the Satyagrahis.

To obtain first hand information concerning these atrocities the following gentlemen, Messrs. G. K. Devadhar, President of the Servants of India Society, Hussain Tyabji, ex-Judge of the Small Causes Court, Bombay, Amritlal Thakkar of Dohad and K. Natarajan visited Dharasana and have issued statements recording what they have seen and heard. These statements well repay examination, more especially with a view to seeing how much was actually seen and how much was heard by their authors.

One statement made by Messrs. Devadhar, Tyabji and Natarajan, which appeared in the Press on the 5th instant, says that these gentlemen, presumably on the 3rd June "went round the Congress hospitals at Untadi and Bulsar and discovered that the proportion of wounded and injured was comparatively large though deaths and serious cases were few." That statement does not take us very far; it suffers from a certain vagueness as to what is meant by the proportion of the casualties but it admits that the number of serious cases was few—little evidence of the atrocities was therefore obtainable at the hospitals.

Then, in order to see the way in which a salt raid was repulsed, "they proceeded to a field which was at such a distance so as not to be a hindrance to the authorities and make their presence unobjectionable." From there "they saw the raids stopped at a great distance from the salt depot and could see how the volunteers were made to stop and were brought back towards Untadi after they had been informed that they were all arrested." So such they saw but the account then goes on to say "one of the complaints repeatedly heard was that after being arrested the volunteers were not led but were beaten with lathi blows and lathis were poked into their ribs." This would not appear to indicate that such deeds were actually witnessed nor would it appear to substantiate the foul atrocities attributed to the police. The report then goes on to say that "it appeared" that the volunteers were allowed to do this, then ordered to do that and then on their refusal belaboured with lathis and chased by galloping sowars and so on.

One thing it does say the authors saw and that "after the Satyagrahis were driven out of the salt boundary, mounted European sowars rode at full

gallop with lathis in their hands beating indiscriminately everybody they saw anywhere between the spot where the Satyagrahis had reached for the raid and the village itself. They actually galloped at full speed through the streets of the village, scattering men, women and children and terrorising them. The villagers ran into the lanes and closed themselves in the houses. But if by accident they were unable to escape they were beaten with lathis." What, however, was the sum total of the damage done by this dreadful charge? In the words of the report "one man received serious injuries by the galloping of a horse. Another man received lathi blows and his Gandhi camp was forcibly snatched away." If such a charge as described above had been actually carried out, surely its effect would have been more visible and more serious.

#### TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

The following is the full text of the representation made to the Hon'ble the Law Member, Government of Madras, regarding the treatment of political prisoners by leaders at Ooty:—

We beg leave to present this note to you with the request that you will be pleased to take necessary and sympathetic action.

This note is intended to make some representations on behalf of prisoners for your consideration and sympathetic orders. It is not intended to ask for any amendment of the Jail Rules or for any special treatment not allowed under existing Rules for political prisoners as such.

#### ERRORS IN CLASSIFICATION OF PRISONERS.

2. Item 1.—The principles laid down for classification of prisoners in A, B or C are not observed. Briefly, persons of character, status and education when the crime does not involve violence or moral turpitude should be classed under A. Under normal circumstances very few convicts will be so eligible. But the Civil Disobedience movement has abnormally drawn a very large number of such persons in the category of prisoners. Magistrates are apt to be reluctant to classify a large number under A. The public impression (wrong it may be) is that Magistrates believe that they please their superiors by declining to classify under A and B even when the rules permit. But it is contended that quite irrespective of the number the principles laid down by Government should be strictly observed. Even if this leads to a very large number of prisoners, the circumstance is only temporary.

Illustrations.—(a) His Holiness Swami Narayanandji alias Pingali Lakshminarayana was sentenced under Section 108, C. P. C. He is a Sanyasi and an author of great position in Hindu society. He is treated as a "C" class prisoner.

(b) Dr. K. L. Narasimha Rao of Rajahmundry, a medical practitioner with an income of about Rs. 200 per mensem has been placed under "C."

(c) Mr. Palakodeti Surayaprakasa Rao, B.A., Landlord, Director of the Rajahmundry Central Co-operative Bank and Secretary, Rajahmundry Health Association, etc., has been placed under "C."

(d) Mr. G. Suryanarayana, Poet and publisher, is under class "C."

(e) About a hundred Kamma (Chowdry) and Reddi and Kshatriya landlords with an income of over thousand rupees per annum have all been placed under "C."

It is felt that inasmuch as particulars of classification of "C" prisoners do not come to Government, Government have no information of the above errors.

Recommendation.—A small committee of three persons, two non-officials and the District Magistrate as President, should review the circumstances of every "C" class political prisoner and report in the prescribed form to Government whatever their recommendations be. Till the principles are better understood, to ensure uniformity of classification and to provide for the present abnormal circumstance, it is better that the Government has chance of correcting error of classification.

#### DELAY IN DESPATCH OF ORDERS.

3. Item 2.—Clear cases where the prisoner ought to be classified under "A" are placed under "B."

(a) Mr. M. Narasimhacharu, B.A., B.L., a leading lawyer of Guntur with an income of about Rs. 5,000 per annum.

(b) Mr. Serum Subbarao Naidu, Managing Director of Andhra Trader, Limited, Guntur.

Recommendation.—It is believed that such cases are reported to Government, if not, they should be. Government should be pleased to scrutinise all these cases with care and sympathy.

4. Item 3.—Even when a trying Magistrate recommends the higher classification, the convicted prisoner is treated for indefinite period as "C" class prisoner till orders of higher authorities are received.

Illustration.—Mr. Maladi Yegnanarayana, B.A., B.L., a leading lawyer of Bapatla has been recommended for "A" class; but is being treated as "C" pending orders.

Recommendation.—A G. O. should issue that in the interval between conviction and receipt of final orders of classification the prisoner should be allowed the privileges permitted to the class as judged by the trying Court.

#### TREATMENT BY JAIL OFFICERS.

5. Item 4.—Cases are not unknown where the convicting Magistrate has placed a prisoner in "A" or "B" class and nevertheless the Jail officers treat him under the "C" class e. g., the District Magistrate, Vellore, has placed Mr. W. S. Srinivasa Rao

in "B" class. Nevertheless he is treated as "C" class prisoner.

**Recommendation.**—Strict orders should issue that Jail Superintendents should not, without the sanction of Government, alter the classification ordered by the District Magistrates.

6. Item 5.—Unsuitable labour is awarded to "C" class political prisoners. They have been made to work oil-mills like cattle. The Government Order is that the task should be assigned "with careful regard to the character, previous mode of life and antecedents of the prisoner."

**Recommendation.**—Non-official visitors should be asked to examine the tasks and offer remarks, if any, to the Superintendents and to Government. District Magistrates should do likewise as it is obviously their duty to see that the Government orders should be obeyed.

#### DIST AND SEPARATE ACCOMMODATION.

7. Item 6.—The diet supplied is of inferior quality and badly adulterated. It is a matter of general knowledge that the contractors secure the connivance of the jail subordinates and pass off inferior stuff below the standard of the samples prescribed in tender notifications. It is understood that this defect became so scandalous that some of the prisoners in the Madras Penitentiary went on strike which, however, was called off owing to the advice of political leaders expecting amelioration in the usual official course.

**Recommendation.**—The articles of supply should be better checked; non-official visitors should be asked to inspect them. Medical Officers should be instructed to do so daily. If possible, the supplies from contractors seeking profit should be stopped and they should be obtained from co-operative societies and leading merchants.

8. Item 7.—The Government of India have suggested that a separate jail be allotted to "A" and "B" class prisoners. This was done in the early twenties for political prisoners.

**Recommendation.**—The above recommendation be given effect to at once. C class politicals also may be lodged in the same jail for, there is no danger of breach of discipline in the case of such prisoners on account of differential treatment. If no building is immediately available, a barbed wire entanglement may be arranged as in the case of the Boer and Mappila prisoners.

9. General.—The present circumstances are abnormal. The rules are new and little understood. There will be irritating diversity if they are left to be administered by individual Magistrates and individual Superintendents. So until conventions are established and the present abnormalities disappear, it is suggested that the Government reserve to themselves a considerable part in the application of the rules.

To help Government and to a certain extent to minimise its unpopularity in the enforcement of

the rules, it is recommended that more jail visitors be appointed and their advice frequently asked for.

(Sd.) T. Rangachari.  
S. Muthulakshmi Reddi.  
U. Rama Rao.  
T. Adinarayana Chetti.  
K. Sriramulu Naidu.  
V. S. Rajagopal.  
C. Marudavanam Pillai.  
Y. Rama Rao.

The allegations in the above note deserve investigation and sympathetic consideration.

P. S. SIVASWAMI AYYAR.

*Note.*—As regards Mr. W. S. Srinivasa Rao mentioned in Para 5 (item 4) supra, I since learn that it is not quite accurate to state that he is being treated as O class prisoner; but I learn that attempts are being made to lower him to C class.

T. ADINARAYANA CHETTI.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Lady M. L. C. Resigns.**—Miss Ida M. Dickinson, the first lady member of the Bombay Legislative Council has resigned her membership of that body. She was sworn in as a nominated member at the last March session of the Council and being actively connected with the Bombay Vigilance Association was of invaluable help to Government in helping the passage of the Bill to amend the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act. Miss Dickinson in the letter of resignation which she has forwarded to Government points out that one of the reasons which actuated her to relinquish her membership of the Council was the "repressive" policy of Government in dealing with the political situation. She has also declined for the same reason, the Kaiser-I-Hind medal awarded to her in the recent Birthday Honours list in recognition of her social service. She told a representative of *The Times of India* that she sent in the resignation in her individual capacity and that with a view not to embarrass the Bombay Vigilance Association, she has also severed her connection with the Institution. Miss Dickinson has been associated with the Vigilance Association for the last three years and a half and was for seven years in charge of the St. Catherine Rescue Home in Bombay. She has been an enthusiastic worker in the cause of social reform and an ardent advocate of the abolition of brothels with a view to doing away with the evil of prostitution.

**A Summer School in India.**—Mr. F. S. Wilder, one of the organisers of the 'Secondary Teachers' Training Institute at Panhala gives an account of the working of the Institute this year. He writes: "The idea of teachers going to school in the summer vacation, though common enough in England and America, is rather new to India. So, as it seemed unlikely a summer school would receive sufficient support to pay its way in the first year, fees were set at too low a rate to pay salaries to instructors (Rs. 13 for registration and tuition and 2 annas a day for board). But the committee received more generous co-operation than it had reckoned on. Permission to use their Panhala property was given by the A. P. Mission of Kolhapur. Professor B. P. Kar., B.Sc., L.T., acting Principal of the Bombay Secondary Training College,

offered to teach the course in methods, if given travel expenses and living accommodation. Through the Rev. E. A. Annet the I. S. S. U. arranged to send Mr. V. M. Koshy, B.A., B. T., to teach Methods of Religious Education. Miss Thompson arranged to supplement this with lectures on the Charter house Programme, and the writer took charge of the course in psychology. The result was that registrations came in rapidly, some applications had to be refused for lack of accommodation and the Institute has been able to pay practically all its expenses from its income. The daily programme at Panhala was choti at seven, prayers at 7-30 followed by three full hours of lectures and breakfast at eleven. An improvised library of sixty books was in Belfry Cottage and was kept open for the students in the afternoon. There were lectures for students at four o'clock on three afternoons in the week. Scout training (by Mr. M. T. Rajnoor, Ahmednagar) and volley ball began at five o'clock, and dinner at 6-30 when not delayed by enthusiasm for volley ball). On Sundays there were discussion classes, Marathi church services, and an English song service. On May 10 and 12 Prof. Charles A. Pendleton of Peabody College for Teachers (Tenn, U. S. A.) gave several lectures on language teaching. It was a busy time, and everything went on smoothly. All too soon came examinations on May 17, and the departure of the students on May 19. A great deal had been packed into the 25 lectures in each course, and only the better students were able to keep up with all three courses, so most of them completed only two. These results are more or less tangible, but the more important results are the intangible things of the spirit. Let us hope that the happy month at Panhala will endure and show itself in increased teaching efficiency and professional enthusiasm and in Christlike living.

**Servants of India Society:**—The Servants of India Society has elected the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as its President for the next three years and Mr. G. K. Devadhar as vice-president.

**Social Worker's Training Class:**—The Secretary, Social Service League, Bombay writes:—The Social Service League, Bombay, has decided to organize a class for the training of social workers for a period of about eleven weeks beginning with the 5th July 1930. The class will be held at the Head Office of the Social Service League, Girgaum. Lectures will be arranged generally on Tuesdays and Saturdays in the evenings, and visits to social service institutions will be paid on days on which there will be no lectures. The following well-known social workers have been requested to conduct the class on the subjects mentioned against their names:—(1) Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, B.A., LL.B., (Lives of some leading social workers), (2) Dr. Clifford Manshardt, Ph. D., (Olvics), (3) Dr. Miss Jerbanoo E. Mistri, L.M. & S., (Child Welfare), (4) Prof. R. M. Joshi, M.A., I.E.S., (Industrial Revolution and its Social Effects), (5) Prof. P. A. Wadia, B.A., (Problems of Poverty), (6) Mr. H. D. Ohhatrapati, B.A., (Education and Care of the Blind), (7) Rev. J. F. Edwards, (The Drink Evil and Prohibition), (8) Miss M. K. Davis, B.A., (London), (Juvenile Court Probation and the Bombay Children Act), (9) Dr. H. D. Khote, D.P.H., M.R.C.P., (Health and Hygiene), (10) Mr. P. G. Naik (The Beggar Problem), (11) Mr. S. G. Warty, M. A., (The Indian Labour Problems), (12) Prin. T. A. Kulkarni, B.A., (Crime and Punishment), (13) Dr. G. S.

Ghurye, Ph. D., (Principles of Sociology), (14) Dr. W. N. Welinkar, (Social Hygiene). An examination will be held in the last week of September and certificates will be awarded to the successful students. Those desirous of joining the class are required to register their names at the office of the Social Service League, Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, Bombay, as early as possible. Students are required to pay an entrance fee of Rs. 2 only. Names should be registered any time from 11 A.M. (S.T.), to 7 P.M. (S.T.). For further particulars apply to Mr. D. S. Savardekar, Assistant Secretary, Social Service League Bombay, No. 4.

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No. 43

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**A Suggestion To Pandit Motilal Nehru:—**  
Pandit Motilal Nehru's visit to Bombay, which was extended by nearly a week more than was intended, has done much good. Owing to the imprisonment of every one who could claim to be a leader, the Congress force in Bombay has come almost wholly to consist of men in the ranks who hailed the presence of the veteran acting President of the National Congress with great enthusiasm. Panditjee again and again publicly expressed his admiration of the perfect organisation, discipline and self-control with which Bombay has borne the brunt of the civil disobedience campaign and his hopes for its success were, no doubt, greatly enhanced by what he saw and heard in this city. He was not able to visit Gujarat, but there too the gospel of non-violence has gripped the heart of the people and the fear of revolutionary violence spreading, which was the prime reason of Mahatma Gandhi in starting the present movement, may be dismissed from our minds so far as Bombay and Gujarat are concerned. This is true more or less of other parts of the Presidency and the country. The people everywhere have exhibited a calm courage and patience under grave provocation, which has exceeded the most sanguine expectations of Indian leaders, as it has belied the fears of those who were sure—with a strange absence of logic—that non-violence must end in violence. Most of the violence during the last few weeks has been from the official side and all the non-violence from the popular side. Pandit Motilal Nehru witnessed the onslaught of the Police on the Congress volunteers on Saturday last for disobeying an order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, prohibiting them, for reasons which have puzzled us, from having a rally on the Esplanade Maidan to salute the Congress President. The staunchness of the women volunteers, several of whom had to be removed to the Congress Hospital, was a revelation. All fair-minded men, including officials, must recognise that from this point of view the present movement has been a gratifying success. To Pandit Motilal Nehru, on whose shoulders rests the whole burden of leadership at the present moment, it must be a great relief to know how well the people of India have understood and responded to the national call. The Congress has morally united all sections of the population, but there are many who are deterred from formally joining the Congress owing to two reasons. The first is the insistence on Khaddar

which is at present unobtainable for love or money. The second and more important reason is the commitment regarding the goal of Independence. Mahatma Candhi has stated that what is important is the "substance of independence" and Panditjee also, we think, is substantially of the same view. If the Working Committee of the Congress which is meeting at Allahabad will relax the Khaddar rule for the present and declare that "independence" really means the "substance of independence," we think that the way would be made clear for all parties to join the Congress and, on proper conditions, to present a united national demand at the Round Table Conference whether it is held in London or Delhi. The time is very opportune for a move towards unity under the aegis of the Congress.

**A Welcome Step:—**The Non-Brahmin party in Madras will be shortly called upon to approve the unanimous recommendation of its Executive Council to remove the ban on the admission of Brahmins to its membership. It may seem anomalous for a Brahmin to be a member of the non-Brahmin party, but the official designation of the Party is the South Indian Liberal Federation, and to avoid the cumbersome length of this title, it is shortly known as the Justice Party from the name of the newspaper which is its official organ. We have seen it suggested that the present step is a tactical move in view of the representation of the Party at the Round Table Conference, but this is not true, as three years ago the late Raja of Panagal, with whom was Sir Parasuram Patro, told this writer that it was their intention to have the basis of their Party broadened on non-exclusive lines. While we welcome this step, we think that the objects of the Party, as defined in the revised rule which we reprint to-day, are much too narrow for a political party. Seats in the Legislative Council and appointments in the Public Service are means to a greater end and not an end in themselves. Our fear that the Party leaders have not quite realised this truth, is rather strengthened by some observations which Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, one of the ablest Indians in politics, is reported to have made on the present situation in the Madras Presidency. The Dewan Bahadur, if the report is correct, seems to favour a policy of jobbing men of his political persuasion into local bodies with a view to control their administration in its interests. There has been a widespread complaint to this effect, and the Dewan Bahadur's remarks seem to admit that there is good ground for it. The attack on the present Ministers for nominating three women to the Boards, reveals an even more deplorable frame of mind. The reference to one of them as "the Red Rosa of Andhra" is in very poor taste and rouses a suspicion that the Justice

(Continued in the 3rd Leader page).

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, JUNE 28, 1930.

SIMON COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

The second part of the report of the Simon Commission containing its recommendations was issued on Tuesday. Like the first part, it is signed by all the members without any minute of dissent. Some differences or suggestions of individual members are indicated in the body of the Report, the most important of these being Major Atlee's objection to the representation of special interests like Commerce and Labour as such in the Legislature. The Commissioners, the Report states, were unable to agree upon the question of a second chamber for the Provinces, which was expressly referred to them under the terms of the Government of India Act. We are pleased to note that the Commission has, in one respect which we regard as vital, made some amends for its gross misconception in the first part of the Report. It had, in that part, spoken of India as possessing less real unity than Europe. In the present volume, the Commission has recognised that "there is an essential unity in diversity in the Indian peninsula regarded as a whole," that British and Indian India are both organically one by geographical as well as cultural, economic and national ties, and that the future constitution of India should be framed with a view to their ultimate union in a single system. The Commission's reference to Indian nationalism, though seriously erring on the side of under-statement as to its actual progress at the present day, is conceived in a not inappreciative spirit. "Beginning in an almost academic assembly of a few intellectuals," the Commissioners observe, "it (Indian nationalism) has spread throughout the educated classes and is beginning to make itself felt among the masses. Whatever may be its shortcomings and however distasteful some of its manifestations, it appears to be the one force in Indian society to-day that may perhaps contain within itself the power to overcome the deep and dangerous cleavages that threaten its peace." The Commissioners in their concluding remarks say that they have made no allusion to the events of the last few months in the country. That does not mean, we hope, that they have not kept in touch with them. If they have, they will see how very much their cautious and tentative estimate of the stimulating and reconciling effect of Indian nationalism falls short of actual achievement at the present day. They will be particularly pleased at the leading part which the women of India are taking in the national movement, as they repeatedly lay stress on the co-operation of

women for the healthy and harmonious evolution of a nation's life.

VEILED AUTOCRACY IN THE PROVINCES.

The Commissioners express the hope that Indians will study their Report as a whole and find that what they have put forward has been written in a spirit of genuine sympathy. As the foregoing paragraph will show, we are not concerned to doubt the sympathy of Sir John Simon and his colleagues. If that sympathy had been combined with an accurate understanding of Indian conditions, not only from the outside but also and chiefly from the inside, their survey and recommendations would not have fallen so hopelessly short of the urgent requirements of the present situation. It is not altogether their fault that the composition of the Commission—entirely of Englishmen almost totally ignorant of Indian historical and cultural developments—left them without competent Indian guidance in appraising the inner meaning of facts whose outside appearances alone are accessible to strangers in their position. Owing to the non-co-operation of the politically-minded classes who have a national outlook, the Commissioners had almost entirely to depend for information on the communal and sectional interests which surrounded them like flies round a honey pot, in the hope of securing something for themselves to which they would offer no claim before a tribunal better constituted in respect of knowledge of Indian conditions. The Commissioners, however, are too shrewd to overlook the limitations of sectional advocacy, and the chief use they have made of it is to propose to invest the Viceroy and Governors with the power of over-riding, at their discretion, every part of the constitution which they ostentatiously set up. "We consider," they observe, "that the only practical means of protecting the weaker or less numerous elements in the population is by the retention of an impartial power, residing in the Governor-General and the Governors of provinces, to be exercised for this purpose." This is not the only sphere in which the Governor with the Governor-General behind him is to act the part of the god out of the machine. The Commissioners themselves have obligingly summed up the multifarious powers of a provincial governor in paragraph 54 of their Report, describing them with unintentional, if not intentional, irony as falling within "the normal working of a system of provincial responsible self-government." Every part of the elaborate scheme which the Commission has drawn up for the provinces is subject to the governors' all-pervading discretion. The Commissioners admit a doubt whether supermen of the calibre needed to fill this role will be available in sufficient numbers to operate the scheme during "the long time to come" beyond which self-government is dimly

discernible to them. But they dismiss it as soon as it is felt, with a reference to "the qualities of fact, judgment, sympathy and courage which have so often distinguished holders of this high office." Taking the last four Governors of Bombay, Lord Sydenham, Lord Willingdon, Lord Lloyd and Sir Leslie Wilson, it is impossible to say that all these qualities were present in equal measure in all of them. In fact it may be safely said that none of them had more than one or at most two of these qualities with their corresponding defects, and one of them had most of the defects and none of these qualities, unless a reckless egoism may be counted as courage. Lord Reay had all these qualities, but he was Governor of Bombay fifty years ago, and the conditions both in Great Britain and India have greatly changed in the interval. It is inevitable that a Governor in the Simon scheme should become the centre of intrigues of all kinds, and Provincial administrations in British India will approximate steadily to the Palace rule in an Indian State, which, no doubt, will facilitate the kind of federation the Commission's enthusiasm for which has blinded them to the immediate purpose of their enquiry.

#### NAKED AUTOCRACY AT THE CENTRE.

In the proposals relating to the Central Government, the paraphernalia of responsible Government which masks the autocracy of the Governor in the Provincial proposals, are frankly dispensed with and the Governor-General bestrides the administration like a mighty colossus, constitutionally speaking, naked and unashamed. He is to appoint his Executive Councillors who will hold office presumably during his pleasure and will not be responsible to the Legislature. It has been made patent to all the world that whatever security of life, limb or property the Indian people possess to-day is wholly due to the grace of Lord Irwin. The Commission's scheme for the Central Government proclaims this to be the natural road to Indian self-government and fixes it permanently as our new constitution. The Legislative Assembly, a large proportion of whose members are now directly elected by constituencies, is to be replaced by a so-called Federal Assembly elected by proportional representation by the Provincial Councils. The Council of State is to be retained and also to be filled by election by the same Provincial Councils. The Commission proposes nominally to leave all its present powers to the Central Legislature but it actually contemplates the delegation of much of its present legislative functions to the provincial Councils and the strengthening of the Governor-General's powers to overrule and supersede the Legislature. The one additional power proposed for it, namely, to levy taxation to form what is called a Provincial Fund, is likely to be rather a burden than a privilege. A new Member is to be

added to the Executive Council "who will perform in the Federal Assembly functions corresponding to those of the Leader of the House without being at the same time preoccupied with the work of a heavy administrative department." This official who will also be irremovable by the vote of the Assembly, will, no doubt, carry on or direct more assiduously than a regular Member of the Government can, the duties of Chief Whip and Patronage Secretary of Government in the Assembly. The Commission is at pains to show that its proposals for the Central Government do not constitute retrogression but only the adoption of a form of responsible government different from the British model which it has followed in its proposals for the Provinces. "It seems to us," the Commissioners observe, "that there is a serious danger of development at the Centre proceeding on wrong lines if the assumption is made that the only form of responsible government which can ultimately emerge is one which closely imitates the British Parliamentary system." Their proposals for the Central Government seem to be framed on the American model, but the essence of the American system, which brings it in the category of responsible government, is the elective President and not a nominated Governor-General. The introduction at this stage of an unfamiliar model only at the centre involves the wastage of the experience so far gained in the Central Legislature and the Provinces, and to be gained in the latter under the Commission's proposals, and a further period of tutelage in getting acquainted with its working. The coming in at an indefinite future date of the Indian States into the Federal Assembly is again and again suggested as the main reason for the form of the proposals relating to the Central Legislature, particularly the one for preferring indirect to direct election of members. But the Commissioners have nowhere shown how Indian States, many of which are autocracies pure and simple, can send representatives to an Assembly intended to be the organ of a democratic and responsible system. The Commission was appointed to deal with the problem of self-government in British India in the light of the conditions disclosed by its investigation in British India. While it is right that the possibility of the States coming into federal relations with British India should be kept in view and every tendency in that direction encouraged, it is hardly right that it should be made the determining factor in framing the constitution of British India. The Commission's reasoning leads to the suspicion that British India is to be denied responsible Government on the ground that the Indian States are not ready for it.

There is much in the Commission's arguments in favour of an indirect system of election for a

large country like India and we have always regretted that Lord Morley's original scheme of proportional representation through electoral colleges both for the Provincial and the Central Legislatures, was not adopted in the Morley-Minto reforms. But it is too late now to go back on the system of direct election which has been in force for ten years and which the electors have come to regard as a valuable possession.

#### COMMUNAL ISSUES.

The Commission's recommendations on the communal issues leaves them very much where they were prior to its enquiry. The Commissioners strongly feel that communal electorates are a great drawback to national progress and impress upon the Hindu and Muslim communities the desirability of reaching an agreed solution to their differences. They hope that the Round Table Conference will furnish a new opportunity for reaching a settlement between them and that it will not be lost. "These two great communities," they write, "living side by side in India, each of which has so important a part to play in the constitutional development of their common country, can, as it seems to us, make the biggest contribution to that end by reaching an accommodation on this issue." Here, too, as in the case of Indian unity, there is a welcome sign of recession from the dogmatic assumption in the first volume of fundamental Hindu-Muslim antagonism. Pending an agreement between the Hindu and Muslim communities, the Commission has recommended the continuance of the present arrangements for Provincial Councils under the Lucknow Pact, and has proposed for the Central Legislature a plan which is expected to give 28 per cent. of the total seats to Muslims. They have rejected the demand for fixing the Muslim proportions in the Bengal and Punjab Councils, on the ground that "it would be unfair that Mahomedans should retain the very considerable weightage they now enjoy in the six provinces, and that there should at the same time be imposed, in face of Hindu and Sikh opposition, a definite Moslem majority in the Punjab and Bengal unalterable by any appeal to the electorate." They have left the question of the separation of Sind much where it was left by the Nehru Report, and definitely declined, what that Report conceded, the introduction in the North Western Frontier Province of the same type of government as in other Provinces. The reasons which the Commissioners give for not giving separate electorates to the depressed classes are conclusive, but the proportion of seats reserved for them might be increased. As a consequence of the continuance of separate electorates for Mussulmans, the Commission recommended their retention for Sikhs also and an increase in their representation in the Punjab Council by transference of the necessary seats from the Indian general electorates. The European proportion is not to be touched. The Commission does not recommend separate electorates of Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians but only reservation of seats. The proposals in the Report require careful study and may be capable of improvement

but, we think, the Commissioners have on the whole, approached this perplexing problem with an open mind, and the desire to do justice to all communities without aggravating existing differences.

The Commissioners state that their proposals are conceived in the spirit of the announcement of 20th August 1917, and inspired with the honest purpose of giving it its due effect. The exact interpretation of this announcement has been a matter of controversy and it is only in November last that the Viceroy laid all doubts at rest by definitely declaring that the announcement of 1917 meant and was always intended to mean the attainment of Dominion Status by British India. Although the Commissioners refer to the Viceroy's Statement so far as it relates to the Round Table Conference they observe a studied silence as regards the part relating to Dominion Status, and it is clear that their recommendations have not been made in the light of that announcement. The recommendations of the Commission in respect of the Central Government and the Army do not constitute a step towards Dominion Status, rather one away from it. The whole of these will have to be recast in order to make them fit in with the declaration of the Viceroy. The Nehru report has sketched out a plan which is a good basis for the further consideration that may be decided either at the Round Table Conference or elsewhere. Broadly speaking, the next stage of advance should be a large element of responsibility in the Central and full responsibility in Provincial Governments. We have not had time to go through it carefully, but judging from its standpoint, Mr. Layton's Note on the financial aspect of constitutional reform is an original and important contribution to the Report.

Taking the Report as a whole, it may be said that, while the Commission, has brought a comparatively open mind to bear upon the internal problems relating to communities and Indian States, it has wholly failed to do so in dealing with the relations between India and Great Britain.

*(Continued from the Notes Page).*

Party is yet to realise that no party which claims to be national can under-value the co-operation of women. The three women, to whom Mr. Mudaliar referred as "convicted satyagrahis," are in the same boat as Mahatma Gandhi. We are told that the Justice Party controls the Province, and it may be reasonably assumed that the penalising of taklis and Gandhi caps and of hospitality to satyagrahis, has the support of the Party. In no other province has the campaign against the Gandhi movement been carried to such ridiculous lengths.

### JOHN WILKES—A MODERN INTERPRETATION.

The Wilkes of history has not attracted much admiration and his name has often been a byword for everything disreputable in private and public life. Mr. O. A. Sherrard, however, has in his *Life of Wilkes*,\* published by Messrs. Allen and Unwin, London, taken considerable pains to show that he is not so black as he has been painted. The biographer concedes that Wilkes' private life was not above reproach but pleads in extenuation an unfortunate marriage—Wilkes like most of his contemporaries looked upon matrimony mainly as a financial proposition and had married a lady ten years his senior and wholly unsuited to him—and the general looseness of the age. The two vices most characteristic of his times, drunkenness and gambling, Wilkes was entirely free from. On the other hand Wilkes had in abundance the qualities of generosity and consistency. The one redeeming feature in Wilkes' private life was his affection for his daughter, and his life in France was devoted to personally attending to her education. His popularity with the masses is due to reasons other than generally ascribed to it. Far from being a demagogue Wilkes was not very successful as a speaker and professed to abhor the crowd.

During the early part of his life Wilkes was anxious to obtain an appointment, if possible outside the British Isles, and tried to become the British Minister at Constantinople. Pitt intended him for the newly conquered dominion of Canada and the biographer considers this a high compliment to Wilkes' ability. It is very probable however that Wilkes desired to be far removed from the influence of George III and that Pitt welcomed the opportunity of getting rid of a supporter who was not always a source of strength to him. However that may be the fact remains that Wilkes did not fulfil his ambition, 'to have gone to Quebec, the first Governor; to have reconciled the new subjects to the English; and to have shown the French the advantages of the mild rule of laws over that of lawless power and despotism.' Another point in his political career which is not without interest was the novel method of bribery to which he resorted. Whilst less economical men were scattering money freely to obtain votes Wilkes wrote to his agent: 'select three hundred and bid the others do their worst and declare they shall have five guineas or else I desire no vote but I will never be trampled upon.'

The years that followed Wilkes' return from exile in France show his forbearance and his dislike for any form of mass demonstration. As Lord Mayor of the City of London he did much to raise the standard of municipal politics and displayed a talent for administrative work. In his election speeches and manifestos it was his habit to base his claim to favour on past performances. His political career reveals him standing alone and the victim of political leaders who felt his support would embarrass them.

But it is in fighting against odds that Wilkes is at his best. In the persistency, bitterness and adroitness with which Wilkes conducted his fights with the Government of his times there is a close analogy to Mr. Vithalbhai Patel's attitude during the last year of his Presidentship of the Assembly. To Wilkes goes the credit of abolishing the convention that the proceedings of Parliament should not be published and that the Commons could punish a publisher for printing the debates. The form of "civil disobedience" he utilised to bring this about was one calculated to cover the Commons' decision with ridicule.

Mr. Sherrard is to be congratulated on his "Life" and there are occasions when the reader forgets that the author holds a brief for Wilkes.

\*Price 10s. 6d.

### THE SIMON REPORT.

#### SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

British India at present has a constitution, based for the most part on the Government of India Act, which includes (1) a Central Executive—the Governor-General in Council and a Central Legislature—the Council of State and Legislative Assembly; and (2) nine Provincial Governments, each associated with a Provincial Council, and covering between them 97 per cent. of the whole area. The balance is represented by the North-West Frontier Province and other minor administrations. Our proposals touch every part of this constitution. We will venture to repeat words which we used in the first paragraph of our former volume, when we wrote that we were entering upon our task "upon the basis and assumption that the goal defined by Mr. Montagu represents the accepted policy to be considered and the only proposals worthy to be considered are proposals conceived in the spirit of the announcement of 20th August, 1917, and inspired with the honest purpose of giving to it its due effect." We have kept this principle steadily in mind throughout the whole of our deliberations, and our recommendations are based upon it.

#### OUTLINE OF PROVINCIAL CHANGES.

In the provinces, the main consequences of adopting our proposals would be as follows:—

The boundary now set up between departments of which Indian Ministers may take charge and departments from which they are excluded will be removed, and thus dyarchy will terminate.

The conduct of provincial administration as a whole will rest with a provincial Cabinet, the members of which will be chosen by the Governor. These Ministers, whether elected members of the legislature or not, will have joint responsibility for action and policy. The constitution of the provincial Cabinet will be elastic and, where and when the Governor considers it necessary, it will contain an official element.

The powers of the Governor for certain essential purposes, such as the protection of minorities, and



of the civil service will be defined, and will be exercised within the limits and under the conditions we have described.

Full powers of intervention in the event of a breakdown will remain in the hands of the Governor, subject to the direction of the Governor-General.

The Provincial Legislatures will be based upon a widened franchise—the extension we propose would treble the electorate and would include the admission of a larger number of women voters.

Certain important minorities will be adequately protected by the continuance of communal electorates unless and until agreement can be reached upon a better method.

The Depressed Classes will be enlarged, and the constituencies reduced to a more manageable size. The Provincial Councils instead of being, as at present, purely legislative bodies, will acquire certain powers of recasting their own representative system, so that each province may advance to self-government on lines which are found to be best suited for its individual needs, subject always to securing that the vote of the majority shall not introduce constitutional changes which would prejudice minority rights.

The provinces will be provided with enlarged financial resources.

As for provincial areas, the question whether some redistribution is desirable will at once be taken up; such cases as those of Sind and the Oriya-speaking peoples will be the first to be considered.

Burma, which is admittedly not a natural part of British India, will be separated forthwith. Provision must be made without delay for framing its future constitution.

The administered areas of the North-West Frontier Province will now receive an advance in constitutional status represented by the creation of a local legislature, with powers which we have described. Both it and Baluchistan will acquire the right to representation at the Centre.

The complicated and interlacing systems of administration of the Backward Tracts will be revised, and such parts of these as remain excluded areas will come under the charge of the central administration.

#### MODIFICATIONS AT THE CENTRE.

We now pass to the Centre.

The Legislative Assembly, which should be called the "Federal Assembly," will be reconstituted on the basis of the representation of the Provinces and other areas in British India according to population. Members representing Governor's Provinces will be elected by the Provincial Councils by the method of proportional representation, which will ensure that members belonging to minority communities will be included in sufficient numbers in the Federal Assembly. Members will be returned from the North-West Frontier Province and other areas outside the Governor's Provinces by methods

appropriate to each case. The official members of the Federal Assembly will consist of such members of the Governor-General's Council as sit in the Lower House, together with twelve other nominated officials.

The Council of State will continue with its existing functions as a body of elected and nominated members chosen in the same proportions as at present. Its members, who must have high qualifications, will, so far as they are elected, be chosen by indirect election carried out by provincial Second Chambers if such bodies are constituted, or, failing this, by the Provincial Councils.

The existing legislative and financial powers of the two Chambers of the Central Legislature will remain as at present, but the Federal Assembly will also have the special function of voting certain indirect taxes, collected by a central agency, the net proceeds of which will fall into a Provincial Fund for the purpose of being distributed amongst the different units represented in the Federal Assembly.

The Central Executive will continue to be the Governor-General in Council, but the Governor-General will henceforward be the authority who will select and appoint his Executive Councillors. Existing qualifications will remain, but will be laid down in statutory rules made under the new Government of India Act, so that when occasion arises to modify these conditions hereafter this may be done without passing a new Act of Parliament. But any modification in the statutory rules made for this purpose would require to be laid before both Houses of Parliament and the approval of both Houses expressed by Resolution.

It is proposed that among the members of the Governor-General's Council should be one whose primary function it would be to lead the Federal Assembly. We have made other suggestions relating to the composition and character of the Governor-General's Council, and we propose that the Commander-in-chief should no longer be a member of it, or of the Central Legislature.

#### THE ARMY.

We have suggested for consideration a method by which, if agreement could be reached, the obstacle which the composition and functions of the Army in India present to the more rapid development of responsible government might be removed through treating the defence of India as a matter which should fall within the responsibilities of the Governor-General, advised by the Commander-in-Chief, as representing the Imperial authorities, instead of being part of the responsibilities of the Government of India in relation to the Central Legislature.

#### CIVIL SERVICES, HIGH COURTS, INDIA OFFICE.

As regards the Civil Services of India, the Security Services must continue to be recruited as All-India Services by the Secretary of State, and their existing rights must be maintained. These Security Services include the Indian Civil Service and

the Indian Police Service. It is a matter for consideration whether the Irrigation Service and the Forest Service should not be similarly recruited. The privilege of premature retirement will be extended.

The rate of Indianisation laid down by the Lee Commission for the Security Services will be maintained.

In addition to the existing Public Service Commission, we intend that there should be established by Statute similar bodies covering the provincial and subordinate services in all the Provinces.

The High Courts will be centralised, and the expenses of the High Courts will become a central charge.

As regards the India Office, the Governor-General in Council will remain in constitutional theory under the superintendence, direction and control of the Secretary of State, and the extent to which this control is relaxed or falls into desuetude will depend upon future practice, and cannot be laid down in the Statute.

Apart from the Secretary of State's authority over the Governor-General in Council, he will exercise no control over Provincial Governments, save in so far as he does so in connection with the exercise of special powers vested in the Governor.

The functions and composition of the Council of India will be modified. Its size will be reduced, and the majority of its members should have the qualification of more recent Indian experience than is required at present. The Council will exist primarily as an advisory body, but independent powers will continue for (1) the control of Service conditions, and (2) the control of non-votable Indian expenditure.

#### INDIAN STATES.

Lastly, for the purpose of promoting the closer association with British India of the Indian States in matters of common concern for India as a whole, we propose that the new Act should provide that it shall be lawful for the Crown to create a Council for Greater India, containing both representatives of the States and members representing British India. This Council would have consultative and deliberative functions in regard to a scheduled list of "matters of common concern," together with such subjects of common concern as the Viceroy from time to time certifies as suitable for consideration by the Council.

#### CONCLUSION.

In writing this Report we have made no allusion to the events of the last few months in India. In fact, the whole of our principal recommendations were arrived at and unanimously agreed upon before these events occurred. We have not altered a line of our Report on that account, for it is necessary to look beyond particular incidents and to take a longer view.

Our object throughout has been to bring to the notice of the British Parliament and the people

such information as we are able to supply about the general conditions of the problem which now awaits solution, together with our considered proposals. We hope, at the same time, that our Indian fellow-subjects, after doing us the courtesy of studying the Report as a whole (for isolated sentences may give to any reader a wrong impression), will find that what we have put forward has been written in a spirit of genuine sympathy.

No one of either race ought to be so foolish as to deny the greatness of the contribution which Britain has made to Indian progress. It is not racial prejudice, nor imperialistic ambition, nor commercial interest, which makes us say so plainly. It is a tremendous achievement to have brought to the Indian sub-continent and to have applied in practice the conceptions of impartial justice, of the rule of law, of respect for equal civic rights without reference to class or creed, and of a disinterested and incorruptible civil service. These are essential elements in any state which is advancing towards well-ordered self-government. In his heart, even the bitterest critic of British administration in India knows that India has owed these things mainly to Britain. But, when all this is said, it still leaves out of account the condition essential to the peaceful advance of India, and Indian statesmanship has now a great part to play. Success can only be achieved by sustained goodwill and co-operation, both between the great religious communities of India which have so constantly been in conflict, and between India and Britain. For the future of India depends on the collaboration of East and West, and each has much to learn from the other.

We have grown to understand something of the ideals which are inspiring the Indian national movement, and no man who has taken part in working the representative institutions of Britain can fail to sympathise with the desire of others to secure for their own land a similar development. But a constitution is something more than a generalisation: it has to present a constructive scheme. We submit our Report in the hope that it may furnish materials and suggest a plan by means of which Indian constitutional reconstruction may be peacefully and surely promoted.

#### CHRISTIANITY AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay.

Sir,

As one who has been a subscriber of the "Reformer" practically ever since coming to India I just want to let you know that the article in the Reformer of June 14, entitled "Christianity and Civil Disobedience" written by one G. H. Macfarlane does not express the opinion of a great number of Missionaries. To me it is nothing short of painful to see anyone so misuse the scripture as Mr. Macfarlane has done. It actually makes my heart sick to re-read the quotations he has used and implications that he has given them. All I care further to say is, "May the dear Lord of truth and freedom forgive him."

I am in the interest of India's highest welfare  
 June 20, 1930. }  
 Jagdalpur. } Your, etc.,  
 J. W. LANHAM.

### INDIAN WOMEN AND THE SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT.

We give below extracts from the Convocation address of Mr. C. R. Reddy the vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, which was to have been delivered at the Convocation of the Indian women's University, Poona on the 15th of July. Owing, however, to the present political situation in the country the Convocation has been abandoned:—

We are meeting in a new era of Indian women and of Indian history. If anybody had ventured to think that Indian women would have been playing the heroic part that they were doing in the present national movement, he would have been regarded as a lunatic.

Contrary to all historical induction and positive inference, Mahatma Gandhi has.....produced.....an explosion of the pentup woman-power of India, which is nothing short of a miracle.

Genius can transcend history—this is the essence of the miracle-working power it possesses. The power of genius has often blasted historical inductions to pieces.

#### FACT VERSUS REALITY.

The men who adhere too closely to what they call facts,—is there, I wonder, any fact which is not coloured and conditioned by interest?—thus miss reality. Reality is evolution, creation. What you call a fact is the dead tissue. Factual politicians will analyse all the difficulties of the Indian situation and conclude that little or no progress is possible. Fateful heroes of nation will look on existing defects as an evil dream which disappears at the break of the new dawn. Shall we say that the former are always right and the latter always wrong? Is stagnation eternal and progress a chimera? As a professor of history, which I once was, I used to say that in Indian history there have been once battles and no wars until the rise of the Mahrattas and Sikhs, and I used to comment on the national psychology thus revealed, which is our lack of perseverance and incapacity to outlive and overcome a defeat.

#### WOMEN IN STRUGGLE.

Today, after the failure of the first Non-Co-operation Movement, a similar one on a bigger scale is in full swing and the women of India are leading the struggle.

Whether we agree with the policies and methods of Mahatma Gandhi or not—that is not relevant to this occasion—there can be no disagreeing with the fact that, so far as the national character is concerned he has done more to strengthen and elevate it than all the Indian universities put together.

It is this ethical aspect that I am concerned with here as an educationist, and the further truth charged with hope for human progress that Mahatma Gandhi's genius jumps the bounds of historical anticipations and soars to higher heavens.

#### MASS AWAKENING.

Take another of his achievements. Did anyone imagine the possibility of mass movements in India on the scale now operating? We have always been told by careful students of our past, having no care for our future, that the rural folk were plunged in wakeless sleep, while the cities were undergoing political nightmares, and that democracy was impossible. I have only one remark to offer. If the masses and women fight for a constitution in the matter they are now doing, they will know how to guard it against possible oligarchies, foreign or indigenous.

To this extent the Gandhian public life is a vast improvement over the older days in which a few intellectuals supplied all the politics we possessed, the politics of argument as different from community organisation and action.

Dr. Robert Bridges, the late Poet-Laureate of England, has expatiated in his writings on the divine right, possessed only by rational man, to break existing laws in order to recognise life at a higher level. The moralist Gandhi would add that such reconstruction should never be attempted by methods of violence.

Non-violent struggle for social and political emancipation is a new feature in history.

I wonder if it will become a factor. *Law and order are not ends in themselves but means to progress.* As Jesus Christ declared, "Law exists for man, not man for law." Those who desire the people's support for law and order should make clear beyond possibility of doubt the nature and extent of the progress to which it is their intention to advance.

#### CONVERSION OF FOES.

Struggle in some shape or other is an inevitable incident of progressive life. It may take one of two forms—destruction of the opponent or conversion of the opponent. The former has been the usual type in history. The method inaugurated by Jesus Christ is conversion by self-suffering. Materialism triumphs by producing death and demoralisation; spirituality aims at saving both the parties. It comes to fulfil and not to destroy. Its triumphs are permanent.

The Gandhian movement is an adventurous application of this spiritual principle for the political and social redemption of mankind.

The principle of Mahatma Gandhi's method appears to be as old as religion itself or at least Christianity. The novelty consists in the vast scale in which it has been under his inspiration practised. Whether he succeeds or fails, the better mind of humanity will bow in reverence to the man in Yeravda Jail for his sublime demonstration.

I am aware of the biting criticism of George Bernard Shaw that the non-violence of the cow has not converted the tiger to vegetarianism. But are men no better than tigers?

## STRENGTH WITHOUT SOUL.

Ideas without organised will and exertion are mirage and moonshine. Organised power bereft of high purpose is brutishness. A nation which has ideas without the requisite capacity for organised action is degenerate. A nation which has strength without soul is unregenerate.

Women are the guardians of the race. You cannot help sympathising and encouraging all those who are engaged in fighting for the rights of our people. No true woman will ever admire the diplomat in preference to the soldier. I am therefore, not surprised at the support that Indian women are giving to the Gandhian movement.

There is no need to appeal to you at the present time for brave acts of citizenship. Your own sex has furnished ample inspiration by example more telling than empty precept. Mrs. C. R. Das, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Mrs. Rukmani Laxmipathi, the Tyabji ladies of Baroda and Rangoon, Begum Alam of Lahore, Srimati Anasuya of Ahmedabad, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Mrs. K. M. Munshi, Miss Dickinson and a host of others are there to inspire or shape our people into noble deeds.

I wish some enterprising firm would bring out an album containing the pictures of these heroines of Modern India with short sketches of their services and sufferings.

## S. I. L. F. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

(Justice, MADRAS.)

The following official report of the proceedings is sent to us for publication :—

The Executive Committee of the South Indian Liberal Federation met last week at the Sir Theagaroya Memorial Buildings, Mr. P. T. Rajan, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, presiding.

Sir A. P. Patro moved the following resolution, which, after some discussion, was adopted :—  
“Resolved that it be a recommendation to the next Confederation that the following be adopted as the creed of the South Indian Liberal Federation :—  
(a) the attainment of Swaraj for India as a component part of the British Empire by all peaceful, legitimate and constitutional means ; (b) the attainment of social equality by the abolition of all distinctions based on birth ; and (c) the ensuring of adequate representation of all communities in the public services and in the legislatures and other public bodies. Any person above the age of 21 who subscribes to this creed is eligible for membership in the South Indian Liberal Federation.”

The creed, as it stood hitherto, was as follows :—  
“ (a) To obtain Swaraj for India as a component part of the British Empire at as early a date as possible by all peaceful, legitimate and constitutional means ; (b) to promote good will and unity among the different non-Brahmin classes and communities of Southern India through safeguarding their interests by means of adequate and communal

representation as well as by social amelioration and reorganisation with a view to the ultimate fusion of all castes ; (c) to promote educational, social, economic, industrial, agricultural and political progress of all non-brahmin communities in Southern India ; (d) to effectively organise public opinion and express it on all questions which are deemed by general consent to be of importance and to act as the authoritative and representative mouthpiece of the Non-brahmins of Southern India, and (e) generally to do such acts or things as shall be deemed expedient in furtherance of the above objects.”

The resolution of Sir A. P. Patro was seconded by Mr. P. S. Guruswami Naidu and eventually adopted.

With reference to this resolution, Mr. P. T. Rajan said that he wanted to make his position clear. Although he favoured the idea of Brahmins being admitted into the party, as a first step, he was still sceptical about the advisability of taking them in the South Indian Liberal Federation. In saying this, he was giving expression to the feelings and sentiments of a large number of party men, especially in the Southern Districts. At the same time, he could not ignore the fact, that there was a section in the Justice Party that felt keenly that this step ought to be taken in the interests of the party. In deference to their wishes, he did not propose to stand in the way of the resolution being adopted.

Sir A. P. Patro moved and Mr. M. Damodaram Naidu seconded that the next Confederation be convened on the 26th and 27th July and that the invitation of the Tanjore S. I. L. F. be accepted.

Having passed the above resolution, Sir A. Patro moved another proposition “that the following members do constitute an Election Board (with power to co-operate) to issue an election manifesto, do propaganda, and to put up candidates on behalf of the party and to make all other arrangements for the coming election.

The names of the members are Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Sir A. P. Patro, Dewan Bahadur B. Muniswami Naidu, Kumararaja of Venkatagiri, Raja of Bobbili, Mr. P. T. Rajan, Dewan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiar, Rao Bahadur A. T. Pannirselvam, Khan Sahib T. M. Moido, Dewan Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chettiar Hon. Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Rao Sahib Pinjala Subrahmanyam Chettiar, Mr. R. K. Shanmugam Chettiar and Rao Bahadur Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar.

The proposition was approved and the personnel agreed to, and the Committee appointed Dewan Bahadur B. Muniswami Naidu to be the Convenor and Chairman of the Election Board.

In view of the changed creed of the S. I. L. F. Mr. P. T. Rajan, Dewan Bahadur Muniswami Naidu and the Secretary of the Federation were requested to make the necessary consequential changes in the constitution.

The meeting then terminated.

## SYMPOSIUM ON BIRTH-CONTROL.

The May number of the *Birth-Control Review* has a collection of articles by Christian and Jewish religious leaders in the United States on the subject. Among the contributors are Methodists, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Roman Catholics and Jews. The views of the Catholic and Jewish writers are of special interest as the Hebrew and Catholic opposition to birth-control is well-known. Rabbi Edward Israel who holds the position of chairman of a Communion of American Rabbis, points out that according to Talmudic Law conjugal relations are often permitted in such manner or under such conditions as would make conceptions impossible. He gives two examples. Rabbinic law not only permits but even commands sexual relations in marriage after menopause. It goes further and permits a man who has never had children, and thus has not fulfilled the duty of procreation, to marry a woman known to be sterile. There are even certain statements in the Rabbinic Law which definitely praise the use of certain instruments which in those days were believed to be contraceptives. The ancient Rabbis also believed that there was a certain drug which, if taken internally, would make sterile. Rabbi Israel clinches the argument by pointing out that it is not said in Genesis that woman was created in order that man should procreate through her, but that man should have a "beef-mater." Dr. E. Boyd Barrett who is a Catholic and an ex-Jesuit priest believes that the Church will gradually modify its attitude on Birth-Control as it has in several matters relating to sex. He writes:—

In early days unmarried deacons and deaconesses were allowed to sleep together "as brother and sister," but that practice was stopped. Nakedness in adult baptisms was once allowed but it no longer exists. The castration of boys destined to sing in the Sistine Choir was once tolerated. On the other hand the Church is more liberal in some respects than she used to be. Soldiers and sailors may, in view of the Vermeersch teaching, avail themselves of prophylactic treatment on such "evenings off" as they foresee may eventuate in dissipation. Many activities for women, such as bicycle-riding, mixed bathing, "making up" which were once considered sins of immodesty, are now allowed. Things once forbidden, in the intimate life of a married couple, are no longer forbidden. Under pressure of the public opinion and moral sense of the Church's children, and also under pressure of reason, the Church will change her position in regard to Birth Control.

The Protestant Churches are well represented in the Symposium by distinguished men. The first place is given to a statement by the Rev. Harry Emerson Fordick, the foremost Christian thinker in the United States. Mr. Fordick writes:—"As for problems of individual ethics which this new information involves, we must face them and not dodge them. Suppression will do no good, for it is suppressing nothing but knowledge, light, and candid thought. After all, chastity has been

guaranteed more by modesty and common sense than by fear. The idea that the mere removal of the dread of conception is going to let loose a flood of iniquity is, I suspect, a misapprehension of the facts. Children of this new generation who have been trained in a code of honour involving existence and the right use of Birth Control will be less likely even than their mid-Victorian parents to treat the matter lightly or to be beguiled by fools.

The Rev. Shot White, writing from seven years' experience among families of Manhattan's Far East side, says that it is difficult for us to realize how any normally observant and unprejudiced worker in that congested neighborhood can fail to advocate at least as unopposed access to intelligent information concerning Birth Control for the poor as is available to members of the community enjoying more favourable social and economic conditions. The Rev. John Roy Ewers is more emphatic in his condemnation of the opposition to the dissemination of reliable information on Birth-Control. It must be evident he writes, to anyone who thinks at all, that some type of Birth Control has been employed by thousands of the better class people. When one sees good families limiting their offspring to one, two or three children, one knows fairly well that the natural processes have been blocked at some point. Whether harmfully or not, is another question. He goes on to say:—"The demand that unlimited production of children without regard to either the health of the mother or the financial condition of the family is too absurd for words. To make a woman unfit to take care of her other children and to tax the family budget beyond the limits of decent living conditions is wrong. The command to multiply and inhabit the earth does not mean that one is to litter the landscape with all the offspring that one can possibly produce! If, therefore, any sort of control is to be exercised, let it be scientific, open to everybody, and such as will work no harm."

The Rev. John Haynes Holmes, well-known for his interpretation of the Gandhi movement, whole heartedly supports the demand for freedom in respect of this important question. He writes:—"But deepest of all, I believe in Birth Control as a great spiritual influence. Marriage to my mind has two functions—the biological function which pertains to the continuance of the race, and the spiritual function which pertains to the ennobling of individual. I believe, in other words, that love between man and woman, as well as the reproduction of children, is a mission of the marital relation. Such love can be fostered and strengthened only as the sexual act, which is itself a symbolical and sacramental expression, is freed from the fear of conception when unsought and undesired. Birth Control is man's final gesture of emancipation. I believe in it fundamentally because I am a teacher of religion and would serve man's highest spiritual interests." Another of the contributors points out that the Church of Jesus should, like its Master, trust human nature—believe in men and women

when others do not and when they cannot even believe in themselves. "He always assumed that men and women wanted to do the right but he saw that many of them were 'missing the mark' and He spent His life trying to show them. His great purpose was to help them to make the most of their life—to live here and now the 'abundant life.' The followers of that revolutionary Teacher have too long been numbered among the reactionary forces—they should, like their Master, be the first to vision a brighter future." Paul Jones emphasises the need for an intelligent approach to the question of Marriage. "For the great mass of people" he observes "our present civilization offers three choices: marriage and a large family with poverty, under-nourishment, demoralization, discord and despair; temporary unions broken by desertion and divorces and the children denied their right to life in a family; or voluntary parenthood where the children are the result of choice determined by the health and strength of the mother and the economic condition of the family. To my mind there is no question but that the last is the only basis for a family life that will give the best results: for the parents, the children and society at large."

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**All India Women's Conference:**—*Stri Dharma*, the official organ of the women's Indian Association writes:—After her four years of unstinted service to the All-India Women's Conference for Educational and Social Reform Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya has resigned her office as Hon. Secretary. Of course everyone is sorry but in both her personal circumstances and the present political crisis she could not undertake the adequate and conscientious charge of a permanent Office which is so essential for the Conference's expansion and the Conference members understand her motives for passing the Secretaryship into other hands. They will praise her most by carrying on the work in such a way as to gladden her heart. If only this time of political adjustment can be shortened we may hope again for her invaluable co-operation. She wrote of it in letters she sent from the Police Lock-up as she awaited her trial, for her heart is with the work of the Conference. She will be thinking of it and all her fellow members with love as she sits in the solitary confinement of her prison cell, and surely the love of her Conference fellow members will flow back to her in admiration for her courage in living up to her conviction as to what is her highest duty. Rani Lakshmi Bai G. Rajwadi of Gwalior has bravely consented to undertake the office and has been elected almost unanimously by the Members of the Standing Committee. People know the Rani better as Dr. Miss. Tai Joshi, daughter of Sir Moropant Joshi. She was a popular medical woman in Bombay and as long ago as 1917 came to Madras to wait on the Hon. E. Montague when the historic Women's Deputation petitioned him to give votes to women in the new Indian Reforms. Everyone will give her sympathetic co-operation in her difficult job of plunging into new work without the possibility of even guiding words from the outgoing Secretary. Mrs. Rustomji Faridoodji is working hard at the organisation of the Special Committee for research into the

best Objective for the Education Fund. Its members will meet sometime in August, the place is not yet arranged. The Standing Committee Members and Officers of the Conference should make it a point of honour to be present at the Half-yearly Meeting of the Committee which will be held in Bangalore at the end of July. Miss. Z. Lazarus will make efficient and enjoyable arrangements, and it is up to each one to make good the sad absence of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Srimati Kamaladevi and Mrs. Abbas Tyabji.

**A Widow Remarriage At Delhi:**—A correspondent writes to the *Leader*:—The marriage ceremony of Srimati Kaushalia Devi Nigam, aged 21, the widowed daughter of Lala Sheo Narain Nigam, sub-postmaster, Gali Kashmirian, Kucha Patiram, took place at Delhi on June 15 and 16 with Lala Bishamber Nath Saxena, aged 29, a Government employee.

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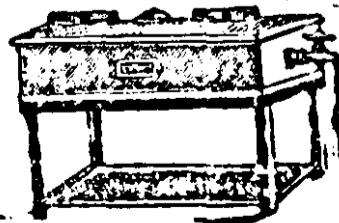
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No. 44

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Women Patriots:—**In Bombay so far only two women had been imprisoned in the course of the Satyagraha campaign, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. Mrs. Perin Captain was arrested on Thursday and Mrs. Lilavati Munshi was arrested on Friday. Mrs. Perin who is a grand-daughter of Dada-bhai Navroji, has for several years past taken the leading part in organizing the women's side of the national movement, and her infectious zeal, enthusiasm and earnestness have been the means of enlisting a large number of women in the Rashtriya Stree Sabha and Desa Sevikas in Bombay. When the last officers of the Congress War Committee were arrested she and Mrs. Munshi, another zealous and gifted worker in the national cause, stepped into the breach as President and Vice President respectively. As we go to press, we learn that they have been sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment.

**Banning the Working Committee:—**The Working Committee of the Congress was declared to be an unlawful association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act on Monday. The Working Committee is the Executive Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, and the reasons given in the statement of the Government of India, which we reprint, would appear to show that the declaration affects only the particular Working Committee and not any Committee which may be appointed in its place. Apart from this technical point, there are one or two broad facts which are admitted by Government. The first and most important is that after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, the Working Committee had intensified and extended the civil disobedience movement launched by him. If that be so, it plainly shows that the Government committed a great blunder in imprisoning Mahatmaji from their own point of view. Mahatma Gandhi's influence always makes for moderation, and his interment has certainly made the task of his successors difficult in coping with the public feeling of discontent and despair which it has created. The remedy is in the hands of Government. Instead of proceeding to intensify repression, they should release Mahatmaji and seek to come to a

settlement with him. This is the opinion of all responsible public men in this country, and Government will save themselves and the people much anxiety and hardship, if they promptly act upon it. The second and scarcely less significant admission is that Government grossly under-estimated the strength of the *satyagraha* movement, when it was launched. This is because they rely so exclusively on the reports of the C. I. D. which are often misleading, and give so little freedom to their Indian officers to speak their minds frankly and freely. If Indian officers of Government felt that their views will not be resented by their European superiors, they can easily prevent public discontent by advising Government to adopt timely measures for allaying it. As it is, the policy which Indian officers have to carry out is antagonising them to an ever increasing extent to their own people and thus creating a gulf between serving the Government and serving the people. The non-violent *satyagraha* movement was avowedly started to prevent violent revolutionary forces from making headway and Government must see that in putting it down with a high hand, it is likely to let loose these very forces which it is their interest as well as that of responsible Indian leaders to keep in check. How the attempt to make out that the non-violent movement is not essentially different from the violent movement, strikes impartial observers, is illustrated by a pregnant sentence in a very fair-minded article in the *Christian Century* which we reproduce today. The *Century*, it will be seen, speaks highly of Lord Irwin and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. Our contemporary says: "It (Gandhi's imprisonment) is a challenge for which the West, as it now is, has no answer. No answer, that is, different from the old answer of Rome. And men and women in the Christian churches, with consciences that are not willing to acquiesce in the Roman answer, are reduced by this concrete crisis to the necessity of emphasizing Gandhi's mistakes in strategy, or the failure of his followers to measure up completely to his ideals, as a reason for supporting the State in its action."

**Indian Liberals on the Simon Report:—**The strongest condemnation of the recommendations of the Simon Commission has come from Indian Liberal leaders. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who has all along been straining every nerve to commend the Round Table Conference to Indians, has called it a "a piece of unparalleled political humbug and chicanery" in a statement to the Press which he gave last week. "If it were that only," he went on to say, "it would not matter much."

But what is of graver concern is that it is a dangerous document to put before a sullen and discontented India and an ignorant world. Dominion Status to which Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn have so often referred is a forbidden word with the Commission. This, then, is the position." Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru referred next to the relation of this position with the Round Table Conference. He asked "Are there to be no terms of reference? Is there to be no understanding between the leaders of various parties and the Government as to what the Conference is expected to do? For let me warn all concerned that so long as there is the feeling in the country that the Conference is intended merely to register the decrees of Sir John Simon, so long as there is the feeling that Dominion Status based on genuine self-government is a distant possibility, so long will the situation remain unsolved. If there is to be a mental reservation on the part of the Government, I cannot blame leaders of the Congress who also speak with a similar reservation." Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, addressing a large number of members of Parliament in London last week, said: "If the report was to be a framework for consultation at the Round Table Conference, even a bare suggestion of this new departure would add another to the long list of Indian grievances and it would be difficult and almost impossible to get the co-operation of any intelligent and responsible Indian representative. The differences would be widened and a hope of reconciliation would become more remote." The Government of India in their weekly summary to the Secretary of State have been obliged to say that the Simon Commission's recommendations have met with practically unanimous disapproval in this country. In the face of this fact, it is, we think, rather bold of the English editor of the *Dnyanodaya*, for whom we have a high regard, to attribute the singular unanimity of Indian opinion not to reasoned conviction but to unthinking prejudice. He says: So poisoned is the whole Indian atmosphere at present that not a few observers feel there are good reasons for believing that whatever recommendations this particular Commission had made, these would have been rejected by Indians of most political parties." We have in these columns tried to discuss the Report without any prejudice, taking special care to avoid any pre-judging or offensive adjective. This has not been difficult for we really think that the Commission, constituted as it was, was bound to bring in some such Report, with the best of intentions. It was not competent to do any better. That our contemporary cannot see that the Report has wholly failed to meet the situation, only shows that it is very hard for an Englishman, even one so sympathetic and experienced as our friend, to put himself in the place of Indians.

**Why This Haste?** :—When we read the full report of the trial of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Dr. Syed Mahmud in the *Leader*, we were struck by the fact that the Government order to arrest them was given over the telephone by the Chief Secretary to the Superintendent of Police that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was applied to the province at 4 a.m. that morning and that Pandit Motilal was arrested at 5 a.m. under that Act. The Government Prosecutor himself told the Magistrate regarding the charge brought against the accused under this Act

that it was hardly fair to expect them at 5 a.m. when they were arrested to be cognizant of a law which was extended only an hour previously to the province. The Pandit is an eminent lawyer and was, no doubt, aware of this anomaly, but as a Congressman he was pledged not to defend himself, and he said nothing beyond remarking that the trial was a farce. We read that two advocates of the Allahabad High Court of their own motion have moved that Court in the exercise of its powers of review to take notice of the anomaly. Their point is that an order on the telephone is not a legal order as required by the law. Bogus messages are more easily transmitted by telephone than in writing, and it is certainly a risky thing to use the former in preference to the latter. The High Court may or may not consider the irregularity so serious as to require it to quash the conviction. Even if it did so, it will make no difference, as the Pandit and Dr. Mahmud will have to serve their term of imprisonment under another charge. The point is of interest only to lawyers, but what the public cannot understand is the indecent haste implied in ordering a prosecution an hour after the law came into force, and that, too, the unusual hour of 4 a.m. There is a feeling abroad that Sir Malcolm Hailey is the chief protagonist of the die-hard school among high officials and the Allahabad incident seems to lend colour to it.

**A Word of Warning.**—There is a very great deal in the present satyagraha movement for which we feel and have expressed unbounded admiration. The present is not the time for carping at small errors. But after much thought we have come to the conclusion that it will be a serious dereliction of duty if we refrained at this juncture from warning Congress leaders of the grave, the fatal, mistake which they will be committing, if they encouraged the movement to withdraw students from schools and colleges. It was this step more than any other which led to the collapse and discredit of the old non-co-operation movement, and it will assuredly lead to the same result now. So far as we can judge, the majority of college students are not in favour of giving up their studies. This was shown by the voting at the Students' Conference held in Bombay last week. Evidently endeavours are being made to get over this resolution. What will the students do out of school and college? We understand that one of the things which they are expected to do is propaganda work which is now rendered difficult by the Press Ordinance supplemented by the Ordinance against cyclostyled publications issued last week. This will hardly fill all the time of the students, and are they to remain idle the rest of the time? We need hardly remind Congress leaders of the old and true saying of the evil one finding work for idle hands. If educated young men are wanted for constructive work they can be easily secured from the large number of unemployed graduates and under-graduates. If this source of supply is not enough, senior students from non-technical institutions should be called, after first making provision for their upkeep. On no account, should students from secondary or primary schools be taken out. We feel very strongly on this subject, and we earnestly trust that Congress leaders will pay heed to our warning which is conceived in a spirit of entire goodwill to them.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 5, 1930.

## SIMON COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

## ARMY AND FINANCE.

Self-Government does not in all cases imply the sufficiency of a country to protect itself single-handed against external dangers. Belgium has self-government but it was not able to prevent the Germans from occupying its soil. Even France had to invoke British and American assistance to repel the German invasion. In the same way, self-governing India may solicit British help to protect her frontiers till she organises her own defence, without derogating from her claim to self-government. This she can do even if she was not a member of the British Commonwealth. As a member of that Commonwealth, she has a right to claim British assistance for the purpose. Other British Dominions, as Sir Sivaswami Aiyar has pointed out, obtained self-Government before they had organised a complete system of external defence. The Simon Commission's answer to that is that no other Dominion is exposed to invasion as India is on her North-Western Frontier. One has only to read any book or article on "White Australia" to see that the prospect of Chinese and Japanese occupying the wide empty spaces of that vast Continent is a very present danger in the eyes of Australian statesmen. It is, of course, open to Britain to say that Australians are its own flesh and blood, and Indians who are not of its race or religion cannot expect it to undertake the obligations which it cheerfully does for the former. Indians, so far, have understood the promise of Dominion status to mean that no distinction is to be made between India and other Dominions on account of race and colour difference. We are, therefore, unable to understand the Simon Commission's assumption that British troops serving in India are an insuperable barrier to Indian Ministers responsible to the Legislature having charge of the port-folio of Defence. If they are not mercenaries now, how will the fact of the King's Minister in charge of the Army being a brown and not a white man make them so? For Dominion Ministers are as much King's Ministers as the British Cabinet.

The reasons given by the Commission for the retention of British troops and British officers to command Indian troops are by no means conclusive. These are, first, the defence of the North-Western frontier; secondly, that the martial races from which the Indian troops are recruited will not obey non-British officers; thirdly, that it will take a long time to train up a sufficient number of Indian officers to replace

the British; fourthly, that British troops are "neutral guardians" of the peace in communal conflicts; and fifthly, the obligation which the British Crown has undertaken to protect Indian Princes. As we pointed out in noticing the first volume of the Report, the Indian frontier was quite well protected long before the British came on the scene, and Anglo-Russian rivalry and the attempt to keep Afghanistan as a vassal state, lay at the root of the Anglo-Indian frontier problem. A national Government of India whose policy, in this matter, will necessarily reflect Muslim opinion will have no difficulty in placing its relations with its neighbours on a mutually advantageous footing. The Frontier question as it is now will cease to exist. Then, we are told that Indian troops will not have the same respect for Indian as for British officers. Whatever of truth there is in this statement is due to the fact that the Indian officer has been, as the result of policy, reduced to the position of an inferior and has, therefore, come to be looked upon as an inferior. If it will take a long time to train Indian officers, that is a reason why we should begin immediately to train a large number of them as rapidly as possible. Communal conflicts will become as rare under a national government as in Indian States, and the "neutral guardian's" services, therefore, will not be needed. As regards the obligations to Indian Princes, they can be discharged quite as well with Indian troops and at a much less cost. The Simon Commission frankly says that the Declaration of August 1917, cannot be reconciled with the maintenance of a British Army of occupation, but since it wants to keep the latter and cannot openly recommend scrapping the former, it has insidiously recommended ways of breaking it while appearing to keep it.

The Simon Commission is evidently not quite pleased with Mr. Layton's review of the financial aspect of the present system, as a few perfunctory compliments are all that it pays to his masterly exposition of it. He was called to assist in devising a scheme for the equitable adjustment of the financial relations between the Central and Provincial governments and for that purpose he had necessarily to take a general survey of the financial administration and its incidence in the Provinces and in the country. As the result of a comparison of the average annual income and expenditure of Great Britain and India, Mr. Layton, at the outset, lays down with three propositions (1) the mass of the people are extremely poor; (2) India is incurring expenditure on the primary functions of government such as defence and the maintenance of law and order, as high in proportion to her wealth as Western nations; and (3) her expenditure on social services such as education, health, sanitation &c., on the other hand, is far behind Western standards, and

indeed in many directions is almost non-existent. Indian Army expenditure, he points out, is not only very high in proportion to the revenue—it is 62½ per cent. of the Central and 31½ per cent. of the Central and Provincial revenues together—but it is also exceptionally burdensome in the case of India, “as the Army contains a large element drawn from elsewhere.” Mr. Layton regards Indian administration as expensive, but this he takes to be inevitable so long as the higher grades of the services are filled by recruitment from Britain. In Mr. Layton’s view, the poor in this country are taxed more in proportion to their means than the well-to-do, and his main proposal is designed to bring about an equitable incidence of the burden. It was beyond his allotted task to bring out the bearing of the system of government on the burden of taxation, but he lets fall an illuminating remark, almost as an “aside”—which goes to the root of the Simon recommendations. He observes that “the system of non-responsible Government at the centre and of dyarchical Governments in the Provinces must inevitably afford opportunities for extravagance”—a criticism applicable in even greater measure to the Simon Commission’s Scheme.

#### PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU IN JAIL.

Pandit Motilal Nehru left on Wednesday the 25th June after a week’s strenuous stay in Bombay. He was to have left on the previous Sunday but he was persuaded by some friends who were hopeful of securing the necessary permission to seek an interview with Mahatma Gandhi in Yerrowda Jail before returning to Allahabad. The Pandit waited for three days for the reply but it did not come. When I met him that Wednesday, Panditjee told me that he understood that the Bombay Government had passed on his request with their recommendation to the Government of India and that probably the question had been referred to Whitehall. Even then, he said, there had been plenty of time for a reply to be received, and he could not wait longer in Bombay. On Friday and Saturday he presided over the Working Committee of the Congress, which had been called at Allahabad, and on Sunday he, although tired and indisposed, addressed a large public meeting in that city with his accustomed courage and conviction. We note that he repeated there what he had said more than once in Bombay that the National Congress would go to the Round Table Conference on certain conditions which were regarded as by no means intractable. On Monday morning he was arrested at his home on the charge of abetting more than ten persons to break the laws, and on Tuesday he was tried and sentenced to six months’ simple imprisonment. He, of course, refused to defend himself. This is no new experience to Panditjee as he served a similar

sentence during the non-co-operation days ten years ago. He is ten years older now, and his health is by no means what it used to be. At the age of seventy, a jail is not the most suitable place for spending one’s days. But Pandit Motilal Nehru will have the company of his son in prison, which will somewhat make up for his enforced seclusion from public activities. Dr. Syed Mahmud, the General Secretary of the Congress, was arrested along with Panditjee and has been sentenced to the same term of imprisonment.

I had not seen or tried to see Pandit Motilal Nehru until the last day of his stay in Bombay, for the reason that he could not be expected to discuss with me freely his plans and policy, and an interview must be formal and might be embarrassing to him. It is different with Mahatma Gandhi whom I have known much longer and with whom I share a wide range of social and religious interests. How I came to seek an interview with Panditjee, may be briefly told. On Wednesday morning I read in the *Bombay Chronicle*, a report of his address at Jinnah Hall on the previous Tuesday evening in which the following sentences arrested my attention.

“Referring to his interview with Mr. Slocombe,” he, (Panditjee) said, that it was not given in an official capacity. It was his personal opinion but even there he had made it clear that the Congress would be ready to participate in the Round Table Conference but only on the condition that it was accepted as the most representative political body in the country and its representatives were to meet British representatives like the representatives of a free nation. He believed that the fight would end in a settlement but it must be a settlement between the representatives of two free nations. Because they knew no country could afford to be isolated, and India also would have to enter into a settlement with Britain but they would never allow any outsider to be masters in their own country.”

I have been anxiously scanning the horizon for any speck of a star to bring hope in the midst of the present gloom. The Pandit’s speech seemed to me a very bright constellation suddenly appearing in the sky. I felt I should see the Pandit and ask him about it. The telephone at his residence was not working, and so we had to get into touch with him through Mrs. Perin Captain who kindly undertook to fix up an appointment in the course of the day. She did so and I called at her brother, Mr. J. A. D. Naoroji’s residence in Nepean Sea Road, where Panditjee was putting up, at a few minutes before 3, when I was to see him. There were two other callers. Panditjee was having a nap and I waited for about fifteen minutes. He came out of his room and having requested the others to call later, he looked about for a place where we could sit and talk. He first went into a closed room but led the way back to the central hall, saying that as an asthmatic, he would prefer a more open

\*This is reprinted on page 713.

place. I asked him about the *Chronicle* report, adding that if the share of representation of the Congress at the Round Table Conference was the main thing, there should be no difficulty, as no party was likely to oppose the claim, and leading Liberals have admitted that the Congress was the predominant political party and that, without it, the Conference would be infructuous. Pandit Motilal had evidently not seen the report in the *Chronicle* and called for the paper. He read over the passage, and said that the report of a speech delivered in Hindustani rendered into English was often misleading but when I asked him if this particular statement was not in accord with the general trend of his address, he either did not reply or changed the subject, I do not remember which. It was, then, that I ventured the question if he had thought of seeking an interview with Mahatma Gandhi. His reply was as I have stated above. Our conversation lasted about three-quarters of an hour, and my distinct impression when I left him was that he would welcome an opportunity of bringing the present deadlock to an early and honourable solution. Panditjee was in a hopeful mood. The warmth of his reception in Bombay had delighted him, and he was pleased that the Simon Commission's recommendations, which had been published the day before, had managed to justify the Congress attitude to the Commission in the eyes of all parties, interests and communities. That the Government should have chosen this time to put out of action the Pandit who, as leader of Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, gave proof of the qualities of a great Parliamentarian, is certainly surprising. I can think of no Indian leader either within or without the Congress whose appreciation of Western civilization is so deep and real and who can, therefore, work so sympathetically for a harmonious adjustment of the Indian and British points of view as Pandit Motilal.

At a small gathering of British and Indian friends last Tuesday, there was some speculation as to what the object of Government might be in arresting the Pandit and declaring the Working Committee of the Congress an unlawful body at this juncture, which all agreed was unintelligible in the light of known circumstances. An English friend suggested that perhaps Government had in view to satisfy the "die hards" in England that they had not shrunk from the strongest measure of repression, before unfolding a very large plan of reform.

K. NATARAJAN.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel:—Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who was arrested and sentenced to 3 month's imprisonment prior to Mahatma Gandhi's launching on the Civil Disobedience campaign was released on the 26th June, a day previous to the expiry of his sentence. He was taken in a procession in Ahmedabad and addressed a mammoth meeting the same day. On the arrest of Pandit Motilal, he has been nominated President of the Congress. He is at present in Bombay.

#### THE SIMON CONSTITUTION AND THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your leading article of the *Reformer* of the 28th June, there is a sentence which says:—"The proposals for the Central Government seem to be framed on the American model, etc."

I hope you will not mind my pointing out that members of both the Senate and the House of Representatives are elected directly by the people of each State. It is not an indirect arrangement and therefore I am not aware that there is any real analogy between the American system and the Simon Commission recommendations. The American system is a dual system but it is direct representation in both state and national Government, just as it is in India at the present moment.

June 29, 1930, }  
Poona. }

Yours, etc.,  
WILBUR S. DEMING.

[By the American system we meant the selection of Ministers by the President and their not being "responsible" to Congress, in contrast to the British system in which the Cabinet is a Committee of Parliament responsible to Parliament.—Ed., *I S. R.*]

#### THE SLOCOMBE INTERVIEW.

Mr. George Slocombe, the representative of the *Daily Herald* of London, in India interviewed Pandit Motilal Nehru when the Pandit was in Bombay recently. A reference to this interview which we give below, is made in Mr. Natarajan's personal article:—

I have had a long and frank conversation with Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Acting President of the Indian National Congress, and since the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi, the acknowledged leader of the profound and widespread national movement which is now agitating India. At the age of seventy and, in spite of ill-health Pandit Motilal is still the ablest, politician in India.

With his simple but elegant white khaddar coat and his handsome tonsured head of silver hair his appearance is that of a Prince of the Roman Church. He received me at Congress headquarters in Bombay after a morning spent in consultation with Congress delegates from all parts of the Presidency. His first words were to assure me that the Government were tragically deceived if they believed that the Civil Disobedience movement was dying down, except in the Bombay Presidency, or that it could be crushed by ordinances and the use of lathis.

"Unlike the earlier campaign of Civil Disobedience," he told me, "this movement is uncomplicated by religious issues. Members of all communities have rallied to the Congress Flag, and this is a national movement in a sense never before known in India."

I asked him what his attitude would be if he were to receive an invitation to the Round Table Conference.



"My reply," he said, "would be to ask on what basis the Conference is convened. If its terms of reference are to be left open, and we are expected to go to London to argue a case for Dominion Status, I should decline."

"If it was made clear, however, that the Conference would meet to frame a Constitution for a free India, subject to such adjustments of our mutual relations as are required by the special needs and conditions of India and our past association, I for one would be disposed to recommend that Congress accept an invitation to participate in the Conference."

"We must be masters in our own household, but we are ready to agree to reasonable terms for the period of transfer of power from a British administration in India to a responsible Indian Government. We must meet the British people to discuss these terms as nation to nation and on an equal footing."

Pandit Motilal recalled that at the famous Delhi interview with the Viceroy on December 22nd he and Mr. Gandhi had asked—failing a declaration of the terms of reference of the Round Table Conference—for a private assurance from Lord Irwin that His Majesty's Government and his own Government would support India's case for full Dominion Status at the Conference. The Viceroy had replied that neither Government could prejudge the decision of the British Parliament.

"We have no wish to interfere with the liberties of the British Parliament," Pandit Motilal told me. "What the British Parliament does is no concern of ours. We wished then to be assured that the British Government and the Viceroy were sincere in their promises."

"If we had been assured that as far as lay in their power they would honestly support our claim at the Round Table Conference we would have been content to leave the results of the Conference and their reception at the hands of Parliament to take care of themselves, reserving naturally our own action for the future in the event of rejection."

"Much water has flowed under the bridges since December. The private assurance which Mr. Gandhi asked for then, and which we should have been prepared to accept, might not be acceptable now. Even the great moral and political authority of Mr. Gandhi might not now be able to persuade the Congress to participate in the Conference on any terms short of complete Independence."

Pandit Motilal insisted that if an invitation were accepted, the Congress—which even the Liberals had admitted to be the greatest political force in the country—must have the predominant voice in the representation of British India, justified by its strength and influence. He refused to admit the exaggerated claims of a large number of mushroom parties which had appeared during the past two years, and which, in spite of their close association with the Government, had neither following nor influence in the country.

Echoing Mr. Gandhi's now famous phrase, he asked for signs of "a change of heart" on the part of the British administrators of India as an earnest of their sincerity.

If these terms were conceded, and a wide measure of amnesty for political prisoners were granted, he believed that a political settlement was possible.

### AN UNWANTED ORDINANCE.

#### INDIAN MERCHANTS CONDEMN "LAWLESS ORDINANCES."

The following is the copy of the representation sent to the Government by the Maha Mandal against the Viceregal Ordinances:—

This Maha Mandal to which are amalgamated the following Commercial Associations of the City of Bombay emphatically protest against the promulgation of the latest Ordinances. They are not satisfied with the statement of reasons and objects which have prompted this action. So far as the protection of those, who deal in foreign goods is concerned, a very large majority of them, are Indians; and no protection against picketing was asked by any influential section of them. The question whether merchants should deal in foreign articles, and whether consumers should use them, is one entirely of domestic economy, in which it was not necessary for Government to interfere by their unconstitutional and extra-ordinary powers of invoking Ordinances.

On the economic side, Government action could only be explained as the desire to force the use of foreign articles at the cost of the development of Indian industries and national resources.

#### HARDLY REFLECT CREDIT.

On its executive side this Federation is emphatically of opinion that the operations and the administration of these ordinances are such as would hardly reflect any credit on the Government.

This Federation therefore trusts that, although late in the day, Government will, for the sake of good and peaceful government withdraw these ordinances and adopt a policy of conciliation which will alone restore peace, contentment and trade circulation.

List of the Associations who have joined in the protest against the promulgation of recent Ordinances:—

- (1) Bombay Shroff Association; (2) Marwar Chamber of Commerce; (3) Bullion Exchange Ltd; (4) Gum Merchants' Association; (5) Japan and Shanghai Silk Merchants' Association; (6) Bombay Rice Merchants' Association; (7) Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association; (8) Bombay Cotton Merchants' and Mukadams' Association; (9) Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce; (10) Bombay Commission Agents' Association; (11) Sugar Merchants' Association; (12) Grain Merchants' Association; (13) Swadeshi Life Assurance Cos' Association; (14) Bombay Motor Merchants' Association,

(15) Electrical Trade Association; (16) Electrical Contractors' Association; (17) Bombay Light Merchants' Association; (18) Kariana Bazaar Merchants' Association; (19) Muddibazaar Kariana Merchants' Association; (20) Hindustan Native Merchants' Association; (21) Seeds Traders' Association; (22) Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association; (23) Diamond Merchants' Association; (24) Bombay Sweetmeat Merchants' Association; (25) Bombay Grain Dealers' Association; (26) Bhuleshwar Silk Merchants' Association; (27) Shree Mahajan Association; (28) Punjab Sayal Merchants' Association; (29) Bombay Coloured Cloth Merchants' Association; (30) Piece-Goods Native Merchants' Association; (31) Sewing Thread Merchants' Association; (32) Bombay Malbar Kariana Merchants' Association; (33) Bombay Jariwala Association; (34) Jaliwala Association; (35) The Mill Gin Stores Merchants' Association; (36) All Indian Motor Accessories and Petrol Dealers' Association; (37) Bombay Bullion Brokers' Association; (38) Gold and Silver Merchants' Association; (39) Bombay Washed Cloth Merchants' Association; (40) Bombay Gamthi Cloth Merchants' Association; (41) Bombay Woolen Merchants' Association; (42) Bombay Foreign Cloth Merchants' Association; (43) Yarn, Copper and Brass Merchants' Association; (44) Bombay Cut-Piece Merchants' Association; (45) Grass Merchants' Association; (46) Jackeria Bazaar Piece-Goods and Millinary Merchants' Association; (47) Gamthi Cloth Merchants' Association; (48) Bhuleshwar Silver Merchants' Association; (49) and (50) Copper and Brass Wares Merchants' Association and ten other Associations.

#### SILK MERCHANTS REFUSE POLICE PROTECTION.

Messrs. Madhavdas Raghunathdas and Company, Silk Merchants, Hornby Road, have written to the Police Commissioner as follows:—

To our regret we find that the picketers were arrested under the new ordinance issued by the Viceroy though we had made no complaint to the Police about them.

We desire to make it quite plain that we have no objection whatever to any number of picketers picketing our shop and do not desire that the Police should either harass, molest or arrest the picketers in any way. We cannot bear to see young boys and fine youths of this country being taken away to jail for no offence whatever. These picketers are patriotic sons of our country and they are welcome guests at our shop. Will you kindly therefore give instructions not to arrest any picketers found near our shop. We also beg to inform you that we are also negotiating with the Congress authorities and we hope that within a short time an arrangement will be arrived at whereby the Congress authorities will not send picketers to our shop.

Madhavdas Raghunathdas & Co.,  
Silk Merchants,  
160, Hornby Road,  
Fort, Bombay.

Messrs. Madhavdas have further written as follows to the Congress:—

We beg to send you herewith a copy of a letter addressed by us this day to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, requesting him not to arrest picketers sent by the Congress authorities near our shop.

You will find from that letter that we desire to enter into some arrangement whereby the Congress authorities may see their way to cease picketing near our shop.

We shall thank you to give us an early appointment to see the proper Congress authorities in the matter.

#### GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S STATEMENT ON THE WORKING COMMITTEE.

##### WHY GOVERNMENT HAVE DECLARED IT UNLAWFUL.

The Government of India have issued the following statement:—

The Government of the United Provinces, in close consultation with the Government of India, have declared the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee to be an unlawful Association under Section 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The action taken is the inevitable result of the course consistently pursued by the Working Committee for more than a month past.

The general object of the civil disobedience movement which is being directed by the Working Committee has been to force the Government to accept its political demands by creating a spirit of general defiance of authority and in the last resort, by paralysing the Government.

In the earlier stage of the movement, attention was concentrated on breaches of the salt law, often of a technical character and of little significance, not affecting Government revenue, but these activities succeeded in achieving the real aim of their organisers, which was to arouse a spirit of lawlessness and defiance. After the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, the Working Committee gradually took more and more prominent part in organising and directing the whole movement.

##### NO-TAX CAMPAIGN.

About the middle of May, the Working Committee issued a series of resolutions intended to stimulate the Civil Disobedience movement.

The Committee urged the inauguration of a no-tax campaign by the non-payment of specified taxes in certain Provinces to organise such campaigns.

They further laid down a thorough-going policy of boycott of foreign cloth to be carried out by methods which would clearly amount to intimidation. These resolutions resulted in considerable intensification of the Civil Disobedience movement.

Early in June, the Working Committee passed a further series of resolutions which constituted a

still more open defiance of the Government and encouragement to law-breaking. The public were urged to disobey the Prevention of Intimidation and the Unlawful Intimidation Ordinance, to carry on with redoubled vigour the picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops, and to extend and intensify the campaign for non-payment of taxes.

But the most serious feature of these resolutions was that the Working Committee issued an incitement to troops and police to fail in their duty in dealing with the Civil Disobedience movement.

Not only did they issue this resolution, but they took special measures to transmit it to all Provincial Congress Committees and to urge them to translate and distribute it among the troops and the police. It has recently been found necessary to proscribe under the law and seize copies of this resolution, which are being circulated in accordance with the instructions of the Committee.

#### PROMOTING A REVOLUTION.

In pursuance of similar ideas, various Congress organisations have been endeavouring to express publicly their recommendations of those men of the 2/18th Royal Garhwal Rifles, who have been found guilty of mutiny. The action of the Working Committee demonstrates that they have now reached the stage of endeavouring to promote a revolution through the overthrow of the Government. It is impossible any longer, consistently with the obligations which the Government owes to the vast majority of peaceful and law-abiding citizens in India, to overlook these reckless activities.

Already there are plain indications that the movement which the Working Committee is directing is tending more and more to organised violence.

The serious disturbances recently in Midnapore District of Bengal which included violent attacks on parties of police, in one of which a Sub-Inspector of Police was murdered in circumstances of utmost brutality, were organised by Congress volunteers, and the rumour was spread over a large area that the British *Raj* had come to an end.

Moreover, it is believed that persistent propaganda among transborder tribes of the North-West Frontier, inciting them to attack British India, has been instigated by the Congress organisation.

It is, in any case, clear that the Working Committee of the Congress have discarded ordinary methods of political protest, and must be considered as engaged in a deliberate attempt to subvert the Government. In these circumstances, the Government have no choice but to declare this Committee to be an unlawful association.

**U. S. A. Women Support Prohibition:—**The following Resolution was passed by the official body of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church at their semi-annual business meeting. The Society has a voting constituency of 450,000 in the United States and multiplied thousands of adherents in other lands. "We here reaffirm our allegiance to the Constitution and the laws of our land, and our profound gratitude to God for the blessings prohibition of the liquor traffic has already brought to our country. We urge American womanhood to loyally support the Eighteenth Amendment and those who are engaged in the present crucial task of enforcing it and building it into the life of our people."

#### AS AMERICA VIEWS THE SITUATION.

The following two articles taken from recent issues of the *Christian Century* of New York and the *Unity* of Chicago, convey a good view of how the Gandhi movement is regarded in religious circles in America.

#### "GANDHI IN JAIL."

We reproduce the following from the editorial pages of the *Christian Century*, an undenominational journal of religion, of Chicago:—

Gandhi in jail weighs heavily upon the conscience of mankind. Men may consider that his incarceration had become necessary. They may consider his methods wrong. They may consider his aims mistaken. Most men, it is probable, have serious misgivings as to the wisdom and practicability of his course. But the thought of the Mahatma—the "great souled one"—in prison raises questionings that are not easily put down. Does the arrest of this apostle of revolution by "soul force" indicate a conflict between Gandhi's world and our own, much more fundamental than any conflict between India and Britain?

Will Rogers evidently believes that it does. The famous cowboy philosopher sent to the syndicate of newspapers that publish his daily musings this comment on the arrest:

They've got Gandhi in jail in India. He preached "liberty without violence." He swore all his followers "to truth and constant poverty." He wanted nothing for himself, not even the ordinary comforts. He believed in "prayer and renunciation." Well, naturally a man that's holy couldn't run at large these days. They figured that a crazy man like that was liable to get other people wanting those fanatical things. Civilization has got past "truth and poverty and renunciation" and all that old junk. Threw those nuts in jail.

The problem placed before the British administration of India by the Gandhi campaign of mass civil disobedience has not been quite as simple as Will Rogers' comment might make it appear. Not all the response to ideals has been on Gandhi's side. There are men in power today in London, and women, who have known what it means to sacrifice a career for a faith. There is a Viceroy in Delhi who has shown an unaccustomed capacity to comprehend the validity of the intangible forces which animate the Indian leader. But qualify the contrasts in the situation as you may, the one fact that rivets world attention remains unchanged: Mahatma Gandhi, who would gain liberty for his people without resort to violence, is in jail. What are men to think in the light of that fact?

What is Ramsay MacDonald thinking? Of all the men who must touch this problem closely, our sympathy goes out most fully to Ramsay MacDonald. Gandhi in jail is an enviable figure when compared with Ramsay MacDonald, sitting in Downing street, with the control of British power his responsibility. Consider the things for which the imprisoned Gandhi stands—the revolt against

imperialism, the revolt against capitalistic exploitation, the substitution of reason for force, the right of self-determination for weak peoples, the supremacy of the conscience over the demands of the state. These things have been the very stuff of life for Ramsay MacDonald! Were Stanley Baldwin in power today and Ramsay MacDonald in his accustomed seat in the opposition, how confidently would the House of Commons, and the world, listen to hear from him an exposition of the spiritual significance and the significance for human liberty, of this struggle!

But Ramsay MacDonald is no longer in opposition. He is in office. He is the real ruler of the British domain. He is responsible for the safety and integrity of the empire. He is chief servant of the state. And the state—no more in Britain than elsewhere—the state is organized force. The road before the state is clear. To the state, the maintenance of order is paramount. Whatever, whoever threatens that must be put under restraint. "This fellow stirreth up the people." It makes no difference who "this fellow" may be, nor what the philosophy of life which lies behind his agitation. If he stirs up the people, the state has but one answer to make. Disorder must be put down.

Then what? Our British correspondent, Mr. Shillito, gave a picture of the foredoomed course in his Table Talk last week: "The results of violent attacks upon the government officials or institutions can only be the cooling of the sympathy which exists in this country and the strengthening of those who will talk freely of the need of a strong policy. Ireland over again!" Ireland over again! But Ramsay MacDonald is enough of a liberal, a historian, a Christian, not to believe in the methods that England used in Ireland. He knows that such methods do not work; that in the long run Ireland gets what it is after, and both Ireland and England have only appalling misery to show for their conflict. Ramsay MacDonald has no more faith in the appeal to force than Mahatma Gandhi. But what else will the pressure of public wrath, the demand for the assertion of an empire's power, allow? Dark must be the thoughts today, coursing through the mind of Britain's prime minister. Unhappy Ramsay MacDonald!

What are the Christian people of Great Britain to make of Gandhi in jail? For there are Christian people in great Britain; thousands of them. People who are honestly trying to follow Jesus Christ. Nineteen centuries have not been altogether thrown away. As Studdert-Kennedy said, Jesus may not be the Lord of our western life, but he has ruined us for our old game of iron-handed imperialism; he insinuates a fatal hesitation into what should be our knockout blows. Whoever sees that, sees the most important fact in the modern world.

Moreover, the world war was not a total loss. The slogans for which men died—"Freedom," "Self-determination," "The rights of weak people,"—are not entirely forgotten. John Masfield,

not Rudyard Kipling, is the new laureate. Kipling has gone out of style, save in the penitential mood of his "Recessional." Then what are the Christians of Great Britain to make of the imprisonment of a man who insists on the method of love and of non-violence as a means of achieving the ends of state? What are they to make of a movement that insists upon confronting the power of the state with the desire for martyrdom?

But what are the Christians of all the west to make of the imprisonment of this man? Let us not try to deceive ourselves into any belief that the issues here involved affect only Englishmen and Indians. We are of all generations most blind if we see in Gandhi in jail only a figure in protest against British rule. Gandhi in jail is one philosophy of life awaiting crucifixion at the hands of another. It is against everything that has come to be most characteristic of our western life that Gandhi stands in revolt. And it is against these things as they are exemplified among Indians, as much as among Englishmen. Against the will to power; against the domination of the stock market and the machine; against the demand for order at the behest of power. These things that we think inevitable, inexorable, Gandhi denies.

What are we going to do with a man who opposes us with nothing more than moral opposition? Jail him? Yes, but what does that settle? Here, for instance, is an excerpt from an interview which Mr. Negley Farson, correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, held last week with Mr. V. J. Patel, the recently resigned president of the lower house of the Indian legislative assembly. Mr. Farson's dispatches from India have been by far the best reporting of development in the orient that American journalism has recently exhibited. In this quotation from Mr. Patel he paints what is, to most of the west, an unintelligible picture:

I am going to make you beat me so outrageously that after a while you will begin to feel ashamed of yourself, and while you are doing it I am going to put up such an outcry that the whole street will know about it; even your own family will be horrified at you. And after you have stood this scandal long enough, you will come to me and say, "Look here, this sort of business cannot go on any longer—now, why cannot we two get together and settle something?"

How does jail answer a movement that is based on a philosophy of that sort?

This is what confronts the world in Gandhi's imprisonment. It is a challenge for which the west, as it now is, has no answer. No answer, that is, different from the old answer of Rome. And men and women in the Christian churches, with consciences that are not willing to acquiesce in the Roman answer, are reduced by this concrete crisis to the necessity of emphasizing Gandhi's mistakes in strategy, or the failure of his followers to measure up completely to his ideals, as a reason for supporting the state in its action.

In saying this we are not, in the slightest degree, singling out the Christians of Britain for criticism. If Gandhi were a Filipino, the Christians of America would stand in no different position. Indeed, we doubt whether there would be even as great a measure of questioning of the action of the state in America as there is today in England. The truth is that none of us, living in the west, has any real answer to a jailed Gandhi. For, when all is said, Gandhi is the prophet of a new—or at least another—world order. Dimly we perceive that this order strives after ends we would, in our reflective moods, acknowledge as superior to the ends which now engross us. Even do we admit that they are ends which our own prophet—he who spoke the sermon on the mount—held up to our eyes. But they are ends impossible, grotesque, fantastic, while the goal of life remains acquisition and the measure of life remains power.

The question posed by this strange figure in an Indian jail is not merely as to whether Britain shall go on ruling India. It is the question as to what shall go on ruling us. And Will Rogers is probably right. Until we can make an entirely different answer than candor today compels, there is probably nothing that the men who rule on our behalf can say to men of the Gandhi stripe but "To jail with you!"

#### GANDHI AND GARRISON,

Mr. H. B. Mussey writes in *Unity* :—

In these days when the attention of the world is irresistibly drawn to India, and the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi are commanding a worldwide interest, it may not come wholly amiss for Americans to remind themselves of the debt of the Indian saint to their own Liberator. We are much given in this country to reproaching ourselves, justly enough, for lack of spirituality. It is perhaps worth while to remember that we too have had our saints and prophets. Standing as we do in the presence of another tremendous movement for human liberty, it is not without interest to point out that the idea with which Gandhi is shaking the very foundations of the British Empire is not a strange new bit of oriental madness, but is the common property of a few choice spirits in all periods of the world's history. We as Americans may well recall our own seer whose thought and whose vision have contributed in some measure to shape the purpose and the methods of the Hindu leader before whom India bows as a saint.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, in his new book, "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas," quotes from J. J. Doke's little-known work "An Indian Patriot in South Africa" a passage in which Gandhi relates the origin of his idea of non-violence or truth force. He tells of a Gujarati poem that he learnt as a child: "If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing. Real beauty consists in doing good against evil." Even as a child, he says, the verse had a powerful influence

on him. Then when he read the Sermon on the Mount: "I was simply overjoyed, and found my own opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The Bhagavad Gita deepened the impression, and Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God Is Within You' gave it a permanent form." Gandhi repeatedly testifies his profound debt to Tolstoy, and in his South African days he regarded himself as Tolstoy's disciple, naming his second colony, it will be recalled, Tolstoy Farm.

It is thus that Gandhi's thought is linked back with the great American apostle of liberty and non-violence; for Tolstoy in turn drew inspiration from Garrison. In his introduction to Tchertkoff and Holah's little life of Garrison Tolstoy says:

"I thank you very much for sending me your biography of Garrison. Reading it, I lived again through the spring of my awakening to true life. While reading Garrison's speeches and articles I vividly recalled to mind the spiritual joy which I experienced twenty years ago, when I found out that the law of non-resistance to which I had inevitably been brought by the recognition of the Christian teaching in its full meaning, and which revealed to me the great joyous ideal to be realized in Christian life—was even as far back as the forties not only recognized and proclaimed by Garrison (about Ballou I learnt later), but also placed by him at the foundation of his practical activity in the emancipation of the slaves.

"Garrison was the first to proclaim this principle as a rule for the organization of the life of men. In this is his great merit. If at the time he did not attain the pacific liberation of the slaves in America, he indicated the way of liberating men in general from the power of brute force.

"Therefore Garrison will forever remain one of the greatest reformers and promoters of true human progress." The line thus runs straight from Garrison through Tolstoy to Gandhi. It is not that Americans would seek to claim credit for the life and thought of Mahatma Gandhi; such an idea would be preposterous. But they may gratefully and humbly claim spiritual kinship with the Indian saint in so far as they accept and live by the teachings of their own prophet, and no farther. Garrison was in great measure without honor in his day; and in our own time, the better part of a century later, his beliefs are still struggling for recognition and for embodiment in the life of our society.

Let us once more set down, then, the principle that Garrison saw so clearly, that Tolstoy in turn accepted, and that Gandhi now seeks to embody in the life of his people and in their relations with the empire that holds them in subjection. In the Declaration of Sentiments that Garrison wrote in 1838 for the newly formed New-England Non-Resistant Society we read:

"Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights,

liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us than are those of the whole human race.

"We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations.

"The history of mankind is crowded with evidences proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful disposition of men can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, that the violent who resort to the sword are destined to perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy—of safety to property, life and liberty—of public quietude and private enjoyment—as well as on the ground of allegiance to Him who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will ensure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force.

"..... If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience."

It is this principle of non-resistance, which Garrison so clearly stated and Tolstoy so completely accepted, that Gandhi has made the basis of his life and the foundation of the campaigns he has waged in both South Africa and India. As Mr. Andrews says: "It is difficult in the West to realize how this has become to him the heart of all religion. It is bound up absolutely in his mind with truth. He holds that the truth of all life on this planet and of God Himself is to be found in this principle of the sacredness of life and refusal to use violence." It is no mere negative principle, but demands positive goodness in all relations. The negative view of non-violence, says the Mahatma, has "rendered us insensible to a host of other and more insidious forms of violence, like harsh words, harsh judgments, ill-will, anger, spite, and lust of cruelty; it has made us forget that there may be far more violence in the slow torture of men and animals, the starvation and exploitation to which they are subjected out of selfish greed, the wanton humiliation and oppression of the weak and the killing of their

self-respect that we witness all around us today, than in the benevolent taking of life." It is this positive principle of non-resistance that Gandhi is trying today to direct by the perilous method of non-cooperation against the evils of British rule in India. As we at a distance watch the struggle, as we see the failure and the suffering and the outbreaks of violence, perhaps we shall better understand the animating spirit of the struggle if we recall the words of Garrison:

"While we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of God; to assail iniquity, in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing evil, political, legal and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time when the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign forever."

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Vol. XL.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1930

No. 45

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

**Our Modern Satis:**—Two more women have been sent to jail, for the first time in this Presidency for picketing liquor shops. They are Mrs. Lakhmani and Mrs. Kamalabai Kishoredas of Ghatkopar. Women Satyagrahis in Bombay and elsewhere have been hitherto awarded simple imprisonment when they were prosecuted for participating in the civil disobedience movement. But the Magistrate at Kurla, by name Mr. K. T. Chaubal, has distinguished himself by sentencing Mrs. Lakhmani, a daughter of the late Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyabji, a lady of sixty five summers, for picketing outside a liquor shop in Chembur, a suburb of Bombay. We have more than once pointed out that the penalising of peaceful picketing of Liquor shops by the Viceroy's Ordinance is a grievous affront to the national sentiment against drink. Mrs. Lakhmani and other women who have undertaken the humane task of dissuading people from violating their own national tradition, are really working for the benefit of women and children who are the worst sufferers from the liquor traffic. The same worthy Magistrate in the next case of a similar offence by Mrs. Kishoredas, awarded a sentence of simple imprisonment. We hope that this is the result of reflection in the light of the severe criticism of his first sentence in the public press but sure'y a man in his position should not stand in need of such inducement to do what is obviously right and proper. Mrs. Lakhmani's imprisonment was signalled in Bombay by a large women's procession and Mrs. Kamalabai's arrest by a complete hartal in Thana and Ghatkopar.

**An Unwanted Ordinance:**—We published last week two very significant protests against the Ordinance against picketing. The first is a request to the Government to withdraw the Ordinance as it is unnecessary and is, indeed, hampering their business interests, signed by fifty merchants' associations comprising practically the whole Indian mercantile community of Bombay. The second is a letter addressed by an old and reputed firm of silk merchants in Fort, where the Ordinance is being applied with such vigour as to become almost a public nuisance, to the Police Commissioner asking that picketers sta-

tioned before their shops should not be 'harassed, molested or arrested' by the Police. Picketers have always found Indian shopkeepers courteous and sympathetic towards them. This is true even of the toddy vendors some of whom have even refused to sell toddy to customers so long as picketers are present. The shopkeepers who have asked for protection have been few even among Europeans who as the Mahamandal, or Indian Commercial Federation, points out, are a very small minority. As, however, the offence has been made cognisable, it is apparently not for the individual shopkeeper to decide whether picketing is an inconvenience to him and whether the picketers are molesting him, but for the police. The Council of the Western India Liberal Association in a statement issued on Thursday before last has clearly pointed out how the application of the Ordinance materially differs from its original intention of exempting peaceful picketing as conveyed in the Viceroy's explanatory note published along with it. In spite of their appeal for protection, from an over-enthusiastic application of the Ordinance it appears that Messrs. Madhavdas Raghunathdas and Co., are still the victims of the Ordinance. The Ordinance warns the general public that 'loitering' near a place of business, which shopkeepers want passers-by to do by means of "window-dressing", is "molestation", and, therefore, an offence. Before we were told by the local Government that the Ordinance was in force in Bombay, the Congress had sent out volunteers to picket the Fort shops and we often noticed that the public were mildly rebuked by the picketers for looking at the huge show windows at Whiteaway's and told that it was a sin even to look at foreign goods. On Monday the 16th. June the first day of the Ordinance regime, on the other hand, the police kept the people away from the show windows, and even used force to do it! The outlook for trade is not very hopeful and, we trust that the Government will not ignore the protests of the merchants in the interests of a very small minority who, most probably, by this time are persuaded of the inadvisability of their action.

**The Patiala Enquiry:**—When the Viceroy, at the suggestion of the Maharaja of Patiala, appointed Mr. Fitzpatrick, the Political Agent for the Punjab States, to hold an enquiry *in camera* on the charges against His Highness made in the Report of the Thakkar Committee, we remarked that the conclusion of the enquiry will leave the question where it was so far as the Maharaja's innocence was concerned. Mr. Amritlal Sheth, one of the members of the Thakkar Committee, who was undergoing a sentence of imprisonment

for participation in the *satyagraha* movement, was released from jail, under the orders of the Government of India to attend the enquiry. He was present as a visitor on one day and he has given an account of it, which has been sent to us for publication. It will be seen from his account that the lines on which the enquiry is proceeding, can, at the most, furnish a basis for a subsequent prosecution of the authors of "the Indictment of Patiala" which alone can conclusively vindicate in the eyes of the public the Maharaja from the charges—some of them of a loathsome character—alleged against him. This may take some time and meanwhile the Maharaja, who was re-elected in February by a majority as the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes for the year—the first instance of a contested election for the high office—will have to attend the Round Table Conference in London to be held in October as leader of the Princes' delegation. There is a strong feeling, shared by some of the Princes themselves, that it is unfair to His Highness to impose this heavy burden on him pending the complete vindication of his character, personal as well as public, from the aspersions cast on it, and that in the interests of the Order as well as his own, it will be more considerate to devolve the responsible duty on some other ruling Prince. The British public is very sensitive—some nations think unreasonably so—about the personal purity of public men. It is very unfortunate that these allegations have been made against His Highness, but as they have been made by responsible public men, they have to be disposed of one way or another.

**The East African Question :—**Amidst much that is discouraging we are pleased to note that there is one bright point in the political situation for which our acknowledgements are due to the British Labour Government. Lord Passfield's replies to the East African Indian deputation which waited on him after the publication of Sir Samuel Hoare's Report, were considered unsympathetic and Mr. Hirdayanath Kunzru who led the deputation was most pessimistic about the result. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, however, was known to be taking a very strong stand for the Indian side and his efforts have met with unexpected success. The conclusions of the Labour Government in regard to the retention of the official majority in Kenya and the introduction of a common roll are quite satisfactory. In respect of the common electoral roll, the consent of the European settlers is not made a condition precedent to its introduction. Further safe-guards are provided by making the High Commissioner responsible for the protection of minority interests; requiring him to reserve measures adversely affecting such interests for the signification of the pleasure of his Majesty's Government and empowering any three members of the proposed central council to require the High Commissioner to reserve any measure passed by that Council for consideration by his Majesty's Government. As it may be taken for granted that there will be at least one Indian representative from each of the three territories, of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, this provision would enable the Indian members to hold up any legislation that they do not like.

**Information Before Investigation :—**The Director for Information, Bombay, is not content

with giving information but must also tell the public how to interpret the information supplied by him. Thus in a Press Note issued last week he introduces a piece of news relating to the raid of a forest area in Thana district by certain villagers, with the comment that it "shows how far some of the exponents of civil disobedience consider themselves bound by the doctrine of non-violence." At the end of the narrative he says, "the matter is being dealt with by the police but it is significant in so far as it shows the inevitable trend of the civil disobedience movement." As the police are still dealing with the case, the facts, as stated by the Director, are obviously tentative. When the Police version is complete it will have to be tested before a judicial tribunal, before it can be accepted as correct. The Director, therefore, is rather premature in assuming that the facts are as he has stated them. To use his own language, this is significant in so far as it shows the inevitable trend of the Directors of Information to anticipate not only Police investigation but also Magisterial enquiry. Evidently the Director is not aware of or is exempt from the law and equity relating to comment on matters which are about to come for adjudication before a Court of Justice.

**Strange Logic :—**The Director tells the public that the action of the Thana villagers shows how far some of the exponents of civil disobedience consider themselves bound by the doctrine of non-violence. If the facts are correct, the persons concerned are no more entitled to be called "exponents of civil disobedience" than the worthy Director himself. To threaten to murder the Forest guard is an act of criminal violence and not civil disobedience. To suggest, as does the Director, that such criminal violence is the inevitable consequence of the doctrine of non-violence, is to suggest that grapes will grow of thorns and figs from thistles. This kind of logic will not convince any one whom it is worth while for Government to convince of the accuracy of their facts or the equity of their judgment. It is sheer waste of the valuable time and talents of the Director and of good stationery. As mere propaganda too, it is too crude to impress people even temporarily. The trained propagandist will not betray his purpose in the very first sentence as the Director does. He will state his facts with an appearance of detachment—"assume a virtue if you have it not," as old Polonius told his son—and lead the reader gently to the conclusion which he wishes him to draw and not violently push him into it. Over-emphasis always defeats its own ends. The repetition of the Director's curious belief in violence being the inevitable trend of non-violence, at the end as well as at the commencement, betrays the fear that the reader may draw from his story—as we do—a conclusion the very opposite of what he wants him to.

**Dharasana :—**A history of the salt raids at Dharasana has been issued by the Secretary of the Gujerat Provincial Congress Committee, Ahmedabad, entitled 'The Black Regime at Dharasana' and sold at 6 annas a copy. While the survey brings together in a handy form all the important contributions to the subject it contains much original matter and is written with feeling. The report is a valuable and reliable record of Dharasana days.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 12, 1930.

## LORD IRWIN'S ADDRESS.

"In India more than anywhere else," said Lord Irwin in the fine peroration with which he concluded his address to the Indian Legislature at Simla on Wednesday, "there is the capacity to apprehend the spiritual power by which things, apparently impossible, are brought to pass; and I, at least, cannot doubt that could we but recapture the spirit of mutual trust between our two countries, we should in so doing liberate invincible forces of faith to remove those mountains which have lately hemmed us round." In this belief we whole-heartedly concur. Yet, it is strange that the Viceroy who expressed this sentiment, has persistently under-rated if, indeed, he has not wholly failed to appreciate the presence of that very spiritual power of which he spoke, in the satyagraha movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi. Foreign observers, including eminent Englishmen, have readily grasped this central feature of the movement. Professor Radhakrishnan who returned from England after delivering his Hibbert lectures a week ago, told us of the high appreciation of the satyagraha movement among thoughtful men in that country. The Bishop of Liverpool, for instance, told him that whether he succeed or fail in his immediate purpose, Gandhi has made a great contribution to humanity by his application of the principle of non-violence to the problem of Indian self-government. The Rev. V. Elwyn of the Christa Seva Sangha of Poona, a very remarkable endeavour to bring out the accord of the mind of Christ with the spiritual genius of this land, in his moving address on Wednesday under the auspices of the newly-formed association of Indian Christian nationalists, showed how closely the Gandhi movement reproduced the underlying principles of Christianity. The two articles which we reproduced from two American Christian Journals last week, emphasised the same point. The spirit of mutual trust between Great Britain and India which Lord Irwin wants, and all Englishmen and Indians of good-will want, cannot be attained on a commercial or military basis. On the contrary, attempts to reach it exclusively on these planes, will only aggravate the problem. Mutual trust between the two peoples, which really stand for the Eastern and the Western ideals, can come only from spiritual understanding and co-operation. This is exactly what the Gandhi movement is bringing about, though Lord Irwin, notwithstanding his own exceptional insight in such matters, is prevented by his official position from appreciating, while the fact which is so obvious to many other men with less opportunities of study-

ing it first-hand. It is quite possible that when His Excellency retires from the Indian scene next year and views the movement in its true perspective, he will be able to see its grand moral outlines which are at present hidden from him by the distorting medium of his surroundings.

Lord Irwin said that it was an utter tragedy that at a moment when the chances of settlement were perhaps better than they have ever been, the Congress party should have thrown aside the finest opportunity that India has ever had to attain Swaraj. The view of Indians who dissented from the action of the Congress party is stated with great precision in the admirable statement of Dr. Ansari which we publish today. They were not so confident of the outcome of the Round Table Conference as Lord Irwin is now but, they, like Dr. Ansari, took the view that the Congress should have fully utilised the peace offer made by the Viceroy, that it should not have closed the door against further negotiations by changing the Congress creed and that it should not have declared war by calling the country to launch a campaign of mass civil disobedience. Mahatma Gandhi has said that his main reason for launching civil disobedience was to counteract the growth of a violent revolutionary movement which, he thought, was bound to ensue if nothing was done to lead the political aspirations of the youth of the country into non-violent channels. On the other hand, it is quite probable that had Mahatma Gandhi thrown the great weight of his moral authority on the side of co-operation, the violent movement might have felt that it had a poor chance if it ventured to show its head. It is no good, however, lamenting over what might have been. If the Congress made a great mistake in letting go the opportunity of a settlement by negotiation, Government's methods of dealing with the civil disobedience movement have been a worse blunder still. Lord Irwin's over-complacent view of their effect is in striking contrast to Dr. Ansari's categorical statements which reflect the opinion of practically Indians of all schools of political thought. Lord Irwin declared that he was fighting civil disobedience not because he lacked sympathy with the genuine nationalist feelings of India but because once the habit was formed it must persist and thwart Indian self-government whenever it comes. Here, His Excellency missed an important consideration. Careful observers of civil disobedience in operation will find that, behind the appearance of disobedience, it is really seeking for an authority to which it can yield willing obedience. If the satyagrahis and many who were not satyagrahis have found Lord Irwin's Ordinances to be a call to disobedience, they have also found in Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent movement a principle which appeals as much to their

spiritual as to their patriotic instincts. The discipline of the satyagrahis which has impressed many foreign observers, is what it is because it is voluntary and not imposed from without. Men and women, boys and girls, brought up in comfort, work cheerfully for several hours of the day at tasks which they would have regarded as menial, and endure with unresisting composure the violence to which they are subjected under the authority, and with the sanction, of Lord Irwin's Government. We make no complaint that the Viceroy showered praise on the police and military—and they deserved it for doing what they regarded as their duty to the Government whose salt they are eating—but His Excellency, to be quite fair, might have spared a word of appreciation for the patient courage of the hundreds of men and women who have suffered injury without a thought of retaliation. On the contrary, his observations suggest that the satyagrahis habitually murdered policemen, a statement for which there is, so far as we know, very little justification. This onesidedness of his estimate of the Satyagraha movement, is calculated to induce distrust of the method which he recommends for securing the essentials of self-Government by the people of India. We have no fear that disobedience will become a national habit. When a piece of coal gets into your eyes in travelling in a railway train, all your efforts for the time being are directed to removing its irritating presence. But when once it is removed, you do not go on repeating the reflex processes which were needed to effect the removal. Many of us feel humiliated by Lord Irwin's Ordinances as asserting before all the world that the liberties of the three hundred millions of Indian people, lie in the hollow of his hand, and India is determined that this should never happen again.

The satyagraha movement is thus just the kind of spiritual movement to which Lord Irwin and we if we may venture to associate ourselves with him, pin our faith for a future of goodwill and harmony in the relations between Great Britain and India. It is the great task of the Indian statesman to seek for ways in which the fine qualities brought out by this movement may be enlisted in the service of the State. The world has long outgrown the old pedagogy which regarded breaking the spirit of resistance in the child as the same thing as the formation of its character. The spirit of resistance, we now know, is the very stuff of character, and character formation is the direction of this spirit in ways helpful to social well-being. The wise school-master no longer regards his cane as his chief instrument of instruction. No more should the administrator regard the lathi as a means of good government. Mahatma Gandhi has often said that the Indian

people have to learn that the small word "No" is a force of great potency in individual as in national life. His satyagraha movement not only says "No" to political wrongs but and even more, to social wrongs such as untouchability, drink and self-indulgence. We are not saying that the satyagraha movement has not its quota of backsliders—persons who exploit it for their own selfish ends. "Where today the martyr stands, tomorrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands." We are only saying that the movement should be judged by its ideals and not by the defections from those ideals. The political aspect of the movement is a very small part of it, and is of casual and fleeting interest. It is the spiritual and moral aspect of it which has arrested the world's attention, but of which Lord Irwin does not seem to have caught even a glimpse, that is of permanent benefit to this country. The Round Table Conference, from this point of view, is a minor issue. Those who believe in it may attend it and those who do not believe in it will stand aloof. Even the manifesto issued on the Viceroy's speech by certain members of the Central Legislature, does not claim more than that "nothing can be lost by participating in that Conference." Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, thinks that it is no good going to it unless there is a reasonable certainty of obtaining "the substance of independence." But one thing is certain. Those who go to the Conference will not find their task lightened by several thousands of satyagrahi prisoners and the Ordinances which will go on increasing their number in this country. If they are sure to return with the full sheaf of swaraj in their hands, they can take even that risk in the hope of vindicating to their countrymen their faith in this method. Judging from political appearances in Great Britain there seems to be not much chance of their doing so and we can only surmise that private assurances have been given to them calculated to remove their misgivings on that score.

#### A CANADIAN VIEW.

"A review of history teaches that wherever a small and privileged governing class has monopolised political power, it has never willingly shared it with the common people.....Here in Canada a long struggle took place before the home authorities would give any real power to the men who were building a nation in the wilderness..... It would be a matter for surprise, therefore, if the British in India gave self-Government to India as rapidly as the circumstances warrant.....The events of the next few months in India may determine whether the people of that country will receive Dominion Status gratefully at the hands of the Britisher, or disappointed and impatient with the slow increase of their self-governing powers, seek the severance of the ties uniting them with the Empire.....the task imposed by the present crisis is to perfect the best that is in the record of Britain's handling of affairs by speeding up the policy of establishing the machinery of Democracy"—  
"Toronto Daily Star."

## PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU'S TRIAL.

(FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT).

Pandit Motilal's arrest early this week created quite a sensation. I attended his trial. Apparently he knew that he was going to be arrested a day earlier for he told an interviewer who had gone to see him on Sunday (the day before his arrest), to come on the following day and laughed. He was taken to Naini Jail and tried on Tuesday there by the Collector. Naini is six miles away from Allahabad and I reached there by car just in time for the trial which began at 12 o'clock. The Collector came out of the Jail through a little wicket in the Jail Gate and admitted press representatives and others who wanted to attend the trial. As soon as we entered we had to sign our names in a kind of ledger and were conducted up a narrow, winding, stone flight of steps. It led into a little room with two low windows faced with wire netting, so constructed that a man standing near them would just command a view of the court-yard below. At one end of the room as we entered there was a pile of books and pamphlets covered with the dust of ages and at the other, were ranged a number of *surais*. In the middle of the room was a half-rectangular half-oval table (really two tables put together, I think). On the rectangular side was placed a chair, afterwards occupied by the Collector in his capacity of Magistrate; and the other three sides were flanked with benches, with a few chairs scattered behind them. This is the room in which Pandit Jawaharlal was tried and sentenced for violating the salt laws.

Pandit Motilal was already in the room. He was leaning against the table and talking to a group of women, evidently his relatives. On our entering, he turned round and looked half suspiciously as if resentful of the intrusion. It had the effect of making those who entered turn away to an adjacent window. Panditjee was not looking happy. His grey hair was firmly brushed down and he wore a white waist-coat over his shirt and in his waist-coat pocket he carried a Parker fountain pen and pencil. He resumed his conversation and except for occasional glances at the door as people entered, he pursued it uninterruptedly until the trial began. It was not long before the Collector came in and took his seat at the table. On the bench to his left (not a yard away from him) sat Pandit Motilal, Dr. Mahmud, Motilal's grand-daughter, a slip of a girl with large dark eyes the anxiety in which belied the smile on her lips, and Mrs. Motilal who was looking frankly worried and weary. The bench facing the Magistrate was occupied by other women among whom were Mrs. Jawaharlal and Pandit Motilal's daughter. They were conversing in low voices among themselves and as the trial progressed they produced little "taklis" and kept spinning throughout the hearing. The actual recording of evidence was very tiresome and the room was very hot—the

medieval system of ventilation, circular holes in the ceiling, only serving to make it hotter—and I am sure that the others would have been thankful for some such distraction. As it was, they contented themselves with watching, some furtively, the deft movements of the fingers of those who were twirling the "taklis." The inconvenience caused by the absence of electric fans was somewhat mitigated by a warder who stood behind the Magistrate and waved a huge fan; and later the women and the accused were provided with little fans. But the press were left to stew in their own juice and drops of perspiration trickled down their backs to the monotonous droning of the Government Prosecutor.

We were all in a semi-somnolent condition when the Government Advocate woke us all up by putting forward what seemed to be an argument for the defence. He apparently pointed out that sufficient time had not elapsed between the declaration of the Congress as an unlawful body and the arrest of the accused and that the warrants for their arrest were issued even before that. Everybody was amused including the Pandit and Dr. Mahmud and a close argument ensued between the Prosecutor and the Magistrate. Finally, the Magistrate rose to leave the Court prior to delivering judgment. Pandit Motilal wanted to go for his lunch if the Magistrate would take longer than an hour to return but that was not necessary. As soon as the Court rose there was general buzz and one of the reporters engaged the Prosecutor in conversation which ended in annoying that person considerably. Just then a number of Mahomedan women entered the court and were given seats. They apparently all belonged to one family and were friends of Dr. Mahmud. In the courtyard a small crowd of about a hundred were shouting "jais" to Motilal and "Inquilab Zindabad." It was not long before the Magistrate returned and, in a confidential whisper which was barely heard by the rest, he told Pandit Motilal and Dr. Mahmud that they were both sentenced to six months each.

Throughout the trial Pandit Motilal refused to participate in the proceedings and declared that the trial was a farce but he nevertheless followed the proceedings closely. At the end he was asked by the Magistrate whether he wished to make any statement. Pandit Motilal said that he wished to make it quite clear that he did not want any special treatment. But he pointed out that while in other Provinces political prisoners were allowed a daily English paper, in the United Provinces they were given a Hindi Weekly paper which contained no news. On the Magistrate asking whether he wanted a paper to be supplied, Pandit Motilal said: "As long as one has interest in life, one likes to keep in touch with the news." The Magistrate promised to refer the matter to higher authorities. At the conclusion of the trial, there was the usual leave-taking which I will not attempt to



describe. Pandit Motilal was profusely garlanded, so was Dr. Mahmud. They appeared at the window and were greeted with "jais" from the crowd below. Throughout, Dr. Mahmud was very cheerful and did not seem in the least worried. Whenever the Magistrate asked him any question he simply replied "the same" endorsing Pandit Motilal's answer.

#### THE PROBLEM OF UNTOUCHABLES.\*

It is a curious fact that anthropometrical measurements showed that the untouchable classes are racially identical with the highest castes. This is further confirmed by another test, namely, the clear and perfect way in which the children of these classes, trained in the Depressed Classes Mission carried on by the Arya Samaj in Baroda and elsewhere recite the *Gayatri*, the ancient Vedic prayer of the Hindus. Some years ago, when I went to Mysore, a young man was attending on me throughout my stay; when I was about to leave Mysore that young man asked me if I knew to what caste he belonged. I replied, "Of course you are a Brahmin," whereupon he said, that he was a pariah boy. That shows how, with proper education and training, the untouchables will become in every respect indistinguishable from the higher castes. The position of these classes had really become worse under British rule and Sir Sankaran Nair in one of his minutes to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, when he was a member of the Government of India has supported this view. In Mr. Nikaljay's address at the All-India Depressed Classes Conference recently held in Akola there is the significant remark that the untouchables formed a considerable portion of the army of the Peshwas and also of the East India Company. Really speaking, India was conquered not by the British, but by the Indian troops led by the British and of these troops the largest proportion belonged to the depressed classes. Mr. Nikaljay wrongly attributes the exclusion of these classes from the army at the present day to the machinations of the high caste. As a matter of fact, however, it is not the high caste but the Military authorities, especially Lord Kitchener that decreed that recruitment to the Indian army should be confined to the so-called martial races of Northern India. The position of the depressed classes was most unsatisfactory, but at the same time there were signs to show that Indian public opinion is rapidly hardening against the continuance of this absurd custom. In Mahatma Gandhi's movement the problem of communal and caste differences is being automatically solved. In every Satyagraha Ashram absolutely no distinction is made between Hindus, Muhamadans, touchables or untouchables. In fact, one of the camps in the Bombay Suburbs was located in the compound of a Hindu temple and the

volunteers in the camp were drawn from all classes. At Mymensing high caste Hindu women defied the authorities of the local temple by leading ladies of the untouchable classes into the temple for worship. The women of Bombay should follow this great example and the women's movement is bound to solve this and other social problems. "Women and sudras" were bracketed together as being incapable of studying the Vedas, and now that women have emancipated themselves from such absurd prohibitions, they ought to take the foremost part in emancipating the depressed classes also from their disabilities. It was Keshub Chandra Sen, the leader of the Brahmo Samaj, who gave a copy of the Rig Veda to Pandita Ramabai and asked her to study it, when she told him that though she had studied the Gita and other Shastras she had not read the Veda, because as a woman she was not entitled to do it.

Though the Simon Commission as a whole had been rightly condemned by Indian opinion as retrograde, its recommendations regarding the Depressed Classes must be acknowledged to be on the whole on right lines. The Commission had rejected the idea of separate electorates, for these classes on the ground, among others, that a separate electorate for the Depressed classes meant stigmatising each individual elector in the list and "militated against a process which is already beginning and which needs to be in every way encouraged—that of helping those who are depressed to rise in the social and economic scale." The Commission recommended therefore that the depressed classes ought to form part of the general Non-Muhamadan electorates and that seats should be reserved for them in a certain proportion with liberty to compete for more seats. The proportion was the number of seats in all the Indian general constituencies should be three quarters of the proportion of the Depressed Classes' population to the total population of the electoral area of a province. This will really be a little more than the three-fourths proportion, as the European seats are excluded from the calculation. However, the number of seats of the depressed classes should be in proportion to their population and not less. As regards the proposals of the Simon Commission regarding the certification by the Governor of candidates from these classes this was objectionable. I object to the power given to the Governor to appoint persons not belonging to the depressed classes as their representatives. Sufficient candidates can be found among these classes to represent them in the council chambers. Except for these two points, the Simon Commission recommendations were quite sound. From my experience of other social reforms, I am convinced that the Hindu community, with its accustomed sound sense, will soon recognise the injustice of the present situation and freely admit the depressed classes to the same status as caste Hindus.

\*Summary of Mr. K. Natarajan's presidential observations at the "No More Untouchability Conference" held at the Prarthana Samaj last Saturday and Sunday.

### DR. ANSARI ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

Dr. M. A. Ansari has issued the following statement :—

I have been urged by numerous friends to break the silence I had imposed on myself since my retirement from the Congress Executive, due to my differences with the policy and programme adopted at the Lahore Sessions of the Congress. I must state, however, that in spite of the differences the confidence which my colleagues in the Congress Working Committee still reposed in me, gave me many opportunities to place my views before them. I have fully availed myself of this advantage on several important occasions.

Briefly stated, my contentions were that the Congress should have fully utilised the peace offer made by the Viceroy, that it should not have closed the door against further negotiations by changing the Congress creed and that it should not have declared war by calling the country to launch upon a campaign of civil disobedience. Further it should not have shelved the solution of the minority question. My reasons for holding these views were that we were not ready for a country-wide mass movement of this nature; that there were great chances of the non-violent campaign being submerged by breaking out into violence and lastly, that the only sanction necessary for the success of a non-violent campaign, i.e., Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity, was wanting.

#### HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

Having had unique opportunities of making intimate study of this question for a number of years, I felt convinced that in spite of the apparently formidable obstacles in the way, it was within practical possibility at the time to achieve it, if another concerted and earnest effort was made in that direction. The settlement of this question would have given us unique position and power both in the country and outside. It would have been impossible to withstand a united demand made on behalf of every section of the people of India at the Round Table Conference. In the eventuality, however, of such a demand having been turned down, a campaign of independence started by a united India would have had the moral support of the world public opinion and the combined political and material support of the entire Indian people. These views were placed for the last time before the Working Committee of the Congress, on the very eve of starting the campaign of civil disobedience. They were given full consideration, but were not found acceptable.

#### METHODS OF "FRIGHTFULNESS."

What followed after the memorable march of Mahatma Gandhi to Dandi for breaking the salt laws, is public property. In the beginning, absence of any interference on the part of the Government apparently took the wind out of Mahatma Gandhi's sails. But the movement gathered strength and

volume steadily as forced by the clamour of British people and the Press, the Government of India began to interfere with it. From simple, and in places polite, obstruction in the beginning, the agents of the Government gradually adopted harsher methods, which later developed into harassment and wholesale arrests of the leaders and mass assaults on and beating with lathis of the rank and file of civil resisters. And now it has culminated into Black and Tan methods of regular frightfulness. The assaults have become most violent, causing some times multiple and serious injuries, the lathi play has become merciless, continued sometimes even when the unfortunate victim has fallen down in an unconscious state; there are inhuman and at times indecent treatment reported by reliable eye-witnesses; innumerable cases of belabouring of passers-by or innocent spectators, including women and children, have been authentically reported; shooting down gatherings of peaceful people with least provocation, often without any warning or with insufficient warning, is being resorted to; rule by promulgation of emergency laws, rule by Ordinances and rule by martial law, are becoming normal. All the time the spirit of resistance shown by the people all over the country and their adherence to non-violence, often in the face of gravest provocation, has been beyond all expectations. Sporadic cases of violence on the part of the people, most reprehensible though they were, undoubtedly have been rare. The latest communique issued by the Government of India, declaring the Congress Working Committee an unlawful body and arresting the President and the General Secretary of the Congress, contains a confession by the Government of the campaign of civil disobedience having completely succeeded in its objects. It is also an evidence of the mastery of the forces of reaction in the Council of the Viceroy, over those of sober and clear-sighted statesmanship.

The recommendations of the Simon Commission, though not altogether unexpected, have shocked entire India by their unabashed retrograde character and their openly reactionary nature. There has been a well-deserved chorus of general condemnation from every section of the people. No one is prepared to touch them even with a pair of tongs. Even the easy-going loyalist has been rudely shaken out of his complacent and blind loyalty.

#### DISILLUSIONED.

The band of the faithful which had foregathered under the banner of the spiritual Muslim leader, at Delhi, and had laboured to lay deep the foundations of a constitutional paradise for the Muslim minority, has been sadly disillusioned. It had spurned even to enter paradise with the help of its brown neighbours, for it was promised a higher heaven by the alien, white, arch-angel Gabriel. But to its utter discomfiture, it finds itself trapped in a veritable inferno. Well may it declaim with contrition: "In ham raft o an ham raft" (This is lost, as well as that.") Even the fourteen points

emphasized as indispensable for the emancipation of the people by the Muslim Woodrow Wilson, have been completely ignored by the Simon-Seven. False leadership has led Muslims into a sad plight. Let us hope the hard lesson would make them set their faces in the right direction and in future they would place greater reliance in themselves and in the good faith of their own countrymen rather than in the intervention of the interested third party to safeguard their rights.

It is obvious that to-day the power and prestige of the Government have reached the lowest watermark; that the people of India have been stirred to the depths by the nation-wide struggle for freedom; that "resolute Government" has failed to crush their spirits; that the methods of frightfulness carried by the agents of the Government have produced a very widespread sympathy with the sufferers even in circles opposed to the policy and programme of the Congress; and that therefore, sooner or later the Government would feel obliged to change its present policy and resort to methods of conciliation. In my humble opinion the Government would be well-advised forthwith to give up the policy of ruthless repression and make the best use of the offers made in the interviews of Mahatma Gandhi and Pundit Motilal Nehru, and set the hand of the clock forward instead of keeping it back.

#### INDIA HOUSE, LONDON.

His Majesty the King opened the new building to be known as India House in London on Tuesday. Replying to the address presented by the High Commissioner for India, Sir Atul Chatterjee, His Majesty said:—It gives me great pleasure to come here and open this imposing new building. A quarter of a century has passed since the Queen and I paid our first memorable visit to India. In that time India has never lost her hold on my affections and sympathy. There have been many changes and some dark days, but I rejoice to think that through them all she has steadily advanced to an assured place among the great peoples of the earth. Of that advancement India House is in some degree a symbol. At this critical period in India's history, when the thoughts of all who love the country are centred on constructive effort and on laying well and truly the foundations of the India of the future, I regard it as a happy augury that we are the able to open a building which marks end of one period of advancement and the beginning of a new. But India House stands for more than that.

"As I look round me, I see emblems of the religions and provinces and States of India. The building which contains them surely testifies to the unity of India itself. The position of India House among those of her sister nations here in the centre of my capital further symbolises the unity of the Greater Commonwealth of which she is a part. For a deeper realisation of that two-fold unity I most earnestly pray.

"During the recent months I have watched with anxious heart the troublous passage of events. Trusting in divine guidance, I hopefully await the day that shall restore the gift of true understanding and thus unite every race and creed in one desire to bring peace and contentment to my Indian peoples.

#### APPEAL FOR 'WIDER SYMPATHY.'

"On the successful issue of your plans I congratulate you, Sir Atul Chatterjee, and all who have been associated with you. The foremost among them is Sir Herbert Baker who has impressed his genius upon so many continents and, as an architect, more than one great building in the imperial capital of Delhi. It is most appropriate that he should also be the designer of this India House in London.

"I have now much pleasure in declaring India House open and I trust that it may not only serve the material progress of the country but, by spreading sound knowledge, may foster between the peoples of India and Great Britain that "wider sympathy" for which I pleaded many years ago and plead again to-day."

#### THE FITZPATRICK PATIALA ENQUIRY.

Mr. Amritlal Sheth, a member of the Indian States' People's Conference Patiala Enquiry Committee, has issued the following statement to the press:—

I was asked by my colleagues of the Patiala Enquiry Committee to go to the Punjab to study the situation created by the appointment of Mr. Fitzpatrick, A. G. G., the Punjab States, to report on 'The Indictment of Patiala' published by us. Accordingly I came over to the Punjab, and met various workers who were helpful to us during our enquiry tour, as also a number of other persons who showed interest in this affair subsequently. I met members of the deputation that waited on the A. G. G., the Punjab states and the Deputy Political Secretary to the Government of India. I had also the occasion of attending the Patiala Session of the Fitzpatrick Enquiry for a day as a visitor. I am thankful to Mr. Fitzpatrick for the courtesy shown by him to me both in giving permission to me to attend the enquiry as a visitor, as also in his treatment towards me during the course of the proceedings throughout. Thus having studied the whole situation, I am now in a position to state what I think of this Fitzpatrick Enquiry. In this connection I will first state various facts that go to form my decision. They are as under.

1. When I was to start from Bombay, I was informed by the A. G. G. by his wire dated the 16th June 1930 that he had already disposed of counts No. 2, 3, and 5; and by the 26th of June he finished recording of evidence in the Enquiry. This unusual hurry of proceedings seems very strange.

2. The deputation that waited on the A. G. G. at Mashobra told me that during the conversation

with the A. G. G. they brought to his notice the fact that in his capacity as A. G. G., the Punjab States he might have disposed of some matters about Patiala bearing on the present Enquiry. To this the A. G. G. replied that it was but natural that such things might have happened. He however explained that that was an ordinary course of his office business.

3. The deputationists further told Mr. Fitzpatrick that they had no objection to his appointment on any personal grounds. Their objection was that he was a nominee of Patiala. To this Mr. Fitzpatrick replied that it was certainly not right for the Patiala Maharaja to have given his name. But it was all a concern of the Government of India and that he was there merely to carry out their orders. This incident shows that Mr. Fitzpatrick himself feels the constitutional impropriety of his appointment.

4. The deputationists requested the A. G. G. and the political department to transfer to the British Indian jails the witnesses now incarcerated in Patiala jails so as to get free evidence from them. The Government said that they could not ask the Patiala Maharaja to do this, because he was a sovereign in his own territory. Firstly this argument was ridiculous in the mouth of the officers who themselves were conducting enquiry into the personal conduct and the State administration of the Maharaja in the very heart of his state i. e. in Patiala itself and in the very palace of the Maharaja. Secondly it was a cruel joke of the principles of justice and fairness to ask the prisoners to come to give free evidence concerning the party that was keeping them in imprisonment, that was producing them in the imprisoned condition before the Enquiry Officer and that had all autocratic powers to do whatever he wished with the prisoners after their evidence was recorded in the Enquiry. It is a mockery of the Enquiry itself. The result has been what was expected. Most of the prisoner witnesses have given statements in favour of the Maharaja and out of the two who gave evidence against the Maharaja, one had to persuade himself to agree to a compromise with the Maharaja and the other could only get out of the compromise by his dogged persistence in his original demand.

5. I found during the proceedings of the Enquiry at its Patiala session that the Patiala side which was the only side represented before the Enquiry had got the privilege of cross-examining the witnesses by two counsels, first by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and again by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. This is a latitude not allowed to any party even though the case be conducted in the presence of all parties in any Civil, Criminal, or Political case. While here is an *ex parte* case, two of the best counsels of India are allowed to cross-examine unprotected and unrepresented witnesses.

6. The most of the business of translating into English of the vernacular evidence of the witnesses

was done by the Patiala Ministers namely, Nawab Layakat Hayat Khan, the Home Member of the Patiala State and Diwan Bahadur L. Pindidass, the Law Member of the Patiala State. No comment is needed to condemn the procedure.

7. During the cross-examination conducted by the Patiala counsels, they went to the length of asking whether the witness was willing to enter into compromise with the Maharaja and enjoining the witness to answer yes or no. This shows that witnesses were in the power and control of the Maharaja and were unprotected and unrepresented by counsels in all cases except one.

8. In my presence Mr. Fitzpatrick inquired of witnesses what redress they wanted; and I was feeling all along the proceedings during the day that he was there not so much for enquiring into the grievances as redressing them with an evident desire to settle the matter. As a matter of fact much of the time of the Patiala sessions was taken up in attempting to bring the Maharaja and the witnesses to terms; and in one case he himself attested in official capacity the arrangement arrived at.

9. With regard to certain counts of the indictment, the allegations whereof stood unrebutted in face of very formidable attacks by the Patiala counsels and which as a matter of fact appeared to be conclusively proved by supplementary statements brought out during the cross-examination, it appeared, as if Mr. Fitzpatrick was feeling uncomfortable and wanted the matter to be compromised. I refer to the cases of S. Amarsingh of Rurki and S. Harchandsingh Jaiji meaning counts 4 and 5 in the indictment. This showed the way the wind was blowing.

10. As regards S. Harchand Singh Jaiji's case, Mr. Fitzpatrick remarked that as the matter was compromised, he would make only a brief note on that count in his report. He thereby meant to say that he would not report on the guilt or otherwise of the Maharaja on that count. This is certainly surprising. Mr. Fitzpatrick's duty is confined to enquire into the substance of the allegations. These allegations are proved to the hilt by the arrangement arrived at by the parties. Statements of S. Harchand Singh and those of his wife and son still stand. They have not been withdrawn. They have stood in face of the cross-examination by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Mr. Fitzpatrick is bound to make a report on that count based on the record he possesses. In face of this situation, when he expresses a desire to skip over the count, I am afraid his intention as expressed is contravening the Government orders.

11. One Patiala prisoner witness S. Nanak Singh, the Ex.-O. I. D. Chief of Patiala, who was knowing everything and who was therefore an inevitable witness in the matter of Lalsingh's murder as well as who was a witness who could throw much light on other counts also, has been

made to escape from the Patiala Jail. It has been notified by the Patiala authorities that he has bolted, but I am in possession of documentary evidence to prove that he has been made to go away by the Patiala authorities. The reason was that he was not in a position to contradict what he had previously stated and if he stood by what he had said before, his evidence was sure to condemn the Maharaja. He was therefore made to go and the Enquiry Officer did not appear to have taken any notice of the incident. In this connection I wish to give publicity to my fears about the prisoner S. Nanak Singh, because it appears from the documentary evidence in my possession that he must be in the power of the Maharaja even now.

12. During the Patiala session of the Enquiry, Mr. Fitzpatrick himself and all the Patiala counsels were putting up in the Maharaja's Palaces as his guests, the Enquiry was being held in one of the Palace rooms, all the space around it was bustling with Maharaja's officers and men. Thus, with a nominee of the Maharaja presiding upon the Enquiry, the Maharaja's counsels being the masters of all they surveyed, the Maharaja's own servants acting as translators, the witnesses being prisoners of the Maharaja on the one hand and undefended by counsels on the other and all enjoying the hospitality of the Maharaja, it looked as if the whole thing was a Patiala show, if not a family affair of the Maharaja.

Considering all the above facts which came within my knowledge I have completely agreed to the view of the Indian States' People's Conference and the Punjab Riyasati Praja Mandal who have boycotted the Enquiry. As a matter of fact, when I was witnessing some of the incidents in the Enquiry held at Patiala, I was thanking our stars that we did not walk into the trap spread for us and we boycotted the Enquiry.

What next is the question. And I believe we owe it to the public to tell them what we mean to do after the boycott of the Fitzpatrick Enquiry. We wish to assure the public that the material already published in the Indictment is not the only thing in our possession. We are in possession of the solid documentary evidence bearing on all important counts and more; and that of such relevance, substance and authenticity and in such huge quantity that no person walking on earth can have any other decision but one, when he sees that all. We intended to produce all that before the Commission. That did not come. Now we are issuing a supplement to the Indictment in which some samples of this evidence will be published. We shall also write to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India showing the nature and quantity of evidence in our possession. And then I have no manner of doubt that the Commission of Enquiry is bound to come as a result of the force of the Fitzpatrick Enquiry and the additional over-

whelming documentary evidence that we promise to produce. The public is therefore requested to wait and see.

Lahore, }  
30th June 1931. }

AMRITLAL SHINTE.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**The Beggar Problem In Calcutta.**—The beggar problem, which has been engaging the attention of a number of public men in Calcutta, and over which a resolution was tabled in the local Council by a Swarajist member is going to be tackled in such a way as to rid the city of the nuisance. Last March as the result of a public meeting a committee was formed with Mr. G. Morgan as chairman and representatives of the Salvation Army, Bengal Presidency Council of Women and the European Association as members. The Committee is now said to have drawn up a scheme, which is stated to be receiving the Government's attention. The scheme suggests the creation of a segregation colony for beggars and involves a capital expenditure of Rs 1 lakh. It is proposed that part of the disused ammunition factory of Dum-Dum which at present can accommodate 2,000 persons be converted into such a colony. It is anticipated that more than 1,000 would not be in residence at any time. It is held that the number of beggars has been artificially swollen, and that the proposed segregation would act as a check on the immigration of mofussil beggars. The scheme involves the establishment of a "clearing house" where the beggars will be distributed. The Dum-Dum institution is not to contain lepers, for whom a separate colony is suggested. The teaching of beggar children is also suggested.

**Police Officers' "Specially Arduous Duties":**—The Director of Information sends us the following:—The Government of Bombay have extended the concession of compensatory allowances to the Police officers and men employed on specially arduous duties in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement at the following additional places:—(a) Dharasna, Ohharwada and Dangri in the Bular Taluka of the Surat District, (b) Bardoli Taluka in the Surat District, (c) Kapadvanj and Thasra Talukas of the Kaira District. The rates of allowances are as follows:—Deputy Superintendent of Police Rs. 150 per month, Inspector of Police Rs. 50 p. m., Sub-Inspector of Police Rs. 25 p. m., Sergeant Rs. 25 p. m., Head Constable Rs. 10 p. m., Constable Rs. 7 p. m.

**Need For Understanding:**—We heartily agree with the Editor of the *Social Reformer* in his "Suggestion to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru," writes the *Indian witness*. India certainly has a right to expect the "substance of independence." There is no reason why all should not go to the Round Table with settled convictions in this regard. It is not for us to enter the realm of "practical politics" but we believe it can be possible for responsible Indian leaders of all groups, to credit Government with sincerity in calling them together for consultation. What Government has done or has failed to do can be looked upon as its serious attempt to maintain order and not as an effort to defeat India's political hopes. There have been heroic sufferings and high intentioned endeavours. The time has come when useless suffering and unnecessary

measures should be obviated by mutual agreements. It can be done and India's highest ideals can be attained. There is need of much patience, but India has patience; there is need of much sympathetic appreciation of the views of others, but India has never lacked such appreciation; there is need of dependence upon Divine guidance, and, when has India in her best moments, failed to look beyond human powers for guidance.

**Christa Seva Sangha Ashram:**—The Secretary, Christa Seva Sangha Ashram, near Agricultural College, Poona, sends us the following for publication: "The Brethren of Christa Seva Sangha have pleasure in announcing that they are now the happy possessors of a large hall. Here, they will be glad to see friends for discussion and friendly intercourse. The daily papers, magazines, and other literature, as well as devotional books, are at the disposal of visitors, and there is always a Brother in charge to give information. There will be a series of lectures during the rains on Wednesday at 5-30 p. m. and Saturday at 6 p. m. The Wednesday night lectures are on literature—Kanerese Literature by Brother Sadananda, English Literature by Father Elwin, and French Literature by Brother Leonard. The Saturday night lectures are religious in character; the first was on June 28th on "Christ and Politics." On Thursday night the Brothers have their service of evening Sandhya at 7 p. m. followed by a conducted Meditation. All, Christians and non-Christians, are invited to attend. I should be grateful if you could make these facts known through the medium of your journal."

"The Most serious fault underlying British rule." A *Reuter's* telegram of the 18th June, says:—Rev. O. F. Andrews in an address to the Parliamentary Committee on India "mainly on Labour" criticised Sir John Simon's first report for "omitting to emphasise the most serious fault underlying British rule, namely, that race and colour prejudice had developed among rulers against Indians." While he stressed the faults of Indians in their own social system Mr. Andrews contended that this threw the whole picture out of a true historical perspective. Mr. Andrews added that if conclusions of the second volume were based on such unsound historical foundation they were likely to be one-sided and incapable of meeting the advancing life of the country. He paid a tribute to the education section of the report.

**N. C. W. I. on Patiala Enquiry:**—The central Executive Committee of the National Council of Women in India have sent us the following for publication:—The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of Women in India, are strongly of opinion that the Departmental Enquiry instituted to inquire into the allegations made against H. H. The Maharaja of Patiala by the Committee appointed by the States, People's Conference, does not command the confidence of the people of India and urge H. E. The Viceroy to institute a proper Judicial Enquiry into the matter. The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of Women in India authorises the Honorary Secretary to forward the above resolution to H. E. the Viceroy and copies of the same to the Press."

"On Living Up To Your Telegraphic Address":—The Secretary, Y. M. O. A. Calcutta writes: H. E. the Viceroy at Simla opened on June 20 the reconstructed Y. M. O. A. building, which with the new central hall and east wing

now added will in future be one of the principal landmarks of the town. Already in 1922 a large new wing was added to the original cottage a rickety structure perched insecurely on the hillside overlooking the summer capital of India, and threatening at any moment to descend into the bazar below. The reconstruction now completed provides a lecture hall to be known as the Birdwood Hall, seating an audience of 300, as well as thirty-seven bedrooms, a spacious billiard room, lounge, terrace, &c., Towards the lakh of rupees required for this scheme a sum of Rs. 14,000 was raised in 1927, the jubilee year of the Simla Y. M. O. A. and a further Rs. 25,000 was subscribed by Mr. W. O. de Noronha, Rais of Cawnpore. Special praise was given by His Excellency, in a speech lightened by humour, to Mr. Webb-Johnson, Solicitor to Government, for his services in raising a sum sufficient to admit of opening the new building without debt. "Mr. Webb-Johnson has of course the advantage," said His Excellency, "of knowing the depth to which the law will allow him to put his hand into other people's pockets, and you will agree with me that he is in more senses than one the perfect solicitor, a word whose lay definition you will find in Webster's dictionary as one who asks with earnestness." Lord Irwin also expressed appreciation of the fine work done for the Association both in Simla and in Delhi by its President Sir George Rainy, Member for Railways and Commerce. In conclusion he paid a tribute to the high ideals of Y. M. O. A. workers throughout India whose work he had seen, and to the faith and singleness of purpose with which they strove to achieve those ideals. "I noticed a day or two ago," he added, "in reading one of your reports that the Young Men's Christian Association's address for telegrams is the word 'Manhood.' It is of course not given to us all to live up to our telegraphic address, but I take it that no one here has any doubts that the Young Men's Christian Association goes the proper way about making men, in the best sense, of those who are fortunate enough to come within its influence",

**Action Under Press Ordinance:**—The Navjivan Press which continued to publish Mahatma Gandhi's weeklies "Young India" and "Navjivan" without furnishing security demanded by the Government under the Press Ordinance has been confiscated by the order of the Government.

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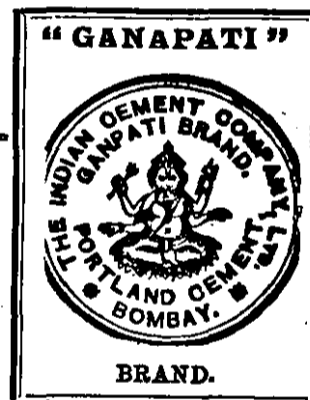
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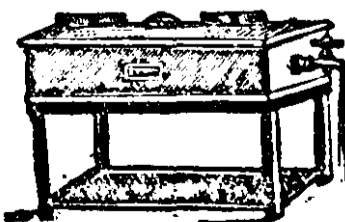
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Time:—4-30, 6-30, 8-15 and 10 p. m.

Gaumont Graphic No. 2003-4.

### NIGHT BRIDE

6 Reels, featuring,

MARIE PREVOST AND HARRISON FORD

Distributing Corp.

### RUNNING THROUGH THE RYE

2 Reels,

BARNEY GOOGLE.

F. B. O. Picture.

## EMPRESS CINEMA

Time:—3, 4-30, 6-30, 8-15 and 10 P.M. Sun. 10 a.m.

### TAMING OF THE SHREW

7 Reels, featuring,

DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS AND MARIE PICKFORD

United Artists Picture.

### GASPERS NIGHT OUT,

2 Reels, F. B. O. Comedy.

## THE ROYAL OPERA HOUSE

Time:—4-30, 6-30, 8-15 and 10 p. m.

### TELEPHONE GIRL.

6 Reels, featuring,

MADGE BELLAMY AND WARNER BAXTER.

A Paramount Picture.

HOMES OF OUR KING.

6 Reels, British Screen Producer.

KOKO GOES OVER

1 Reel, Ink Well Studio Cartoon.

THE

# INDIAN \* SOCIAL \* REFORMER.

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No. 46

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**A Welcome Step**—Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru have asked and obtained permission of the Viceroy to see Mahatma Gandhi, and Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawharlal Nehru in jail. They propose to put their point of view before the Congress leaders and "urge them in the interests of the country to respond to their appeal to enable the big issue of constitutional advance being solved in a calm atmosphere." Lord Irwin in granting them the required authority, has reiterated that it is his earnest desire and that of his Government, and also of His Majesty's Government, to do everything that they can in their respective spheres "to assist the people of India to obtain as large a degree of the management of their own affairs as can be shown to be consistent with making provision for these matters in regard to which they are not at present in a position to assume responsibility." Making allowance for Lord Irwin's preference for involved sentences, this is not far different from the "substance of independence" which Mahamaji desires and very nearly what Pandit Motilal Nehru wanted in his interview with Mr. Slocombe. It is a great pity that this mission should not have been thought of three months earlier for then the country would have been spared much of the pain and suffering which it has endured with exemplary patience. Perhaps, this is the price it has had to pay to convince the powers that be that it is quite serious in its determination to have the substance of independence. However, better late than never. Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru are admirably qualified for the task which they have undertaken. Mr. Jayakar was one of the earliest to appreciate the greatness of Mahatmaji's ideal and, despite differences of opinion, the relations between them has continued to be characterised by great personal esteem and affection. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru went all the way with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru up to the ill-fated Conference with the Viceroy, the break-down of which is still a mystery to us. It is understood that Sir Tej still adheres to the terms of the Delhi manifesto and will support the claim of the Congress to have its due share of

representation as the largest political organisation in the country. After Mr. Jayakar and he had seen the three leaders, it may be necessary for the latter to consult together among themselves as well as with their friends. We do not think there will be any difficulty about this, when an understanding is established. The whole country will await with eager solicitude the outcome of this public-spirited attempt on the part of Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

**Congress Changes in Bihar**—The *Leader* of Allahabad published in its issue of the 13th July a telephone message from Patna to the effect that Sir Ali Imam, ex-Law Member of the Government of India, had definitely joined the Congress movement, and that, his brother, Syed Hasan Imam who is to succeed the present dictator, Babu Deepnarain Singh, when he is arrested, had nominated Sir Ali Imam, as his successor in case of his being arrested. This naturally created much interest as all the three gentlemen named have held aloof from the Congress for some time past. Sir Ali Imam's adhesion was particularly noteworthy because of the high official position which he had held in the Government of India as a Law Member. It transpires, however, that Sir Ali Imam has joined under conditions. In answer to an inquiry by the Associated Press if the newspaper report regarding his joining the Civil Disobedience movement was correct, Sir Ali Imam, has sent the following telegram:—"I have accepted to succeed Mr. Hasan Imam as Dictator on condition that I shall have freedom to call off picketing and Civil Disobedience which I condemn as injurious to Bihar and Orissa Province, but strongly urge vigorous spread of Swadeshi. I am holding fast to Dominion Status creed." In other words, the Bihar Provincial Congress party has accepted as its President-designate, one who rejects the Independence goal and the civil disobedience method which are the two outstanding points of difference between the Congress and the Liberal Party. Messrs. Deep Narain Singh and Hassan Imam have evidently made no conditions. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the Congress Constitution to say whether there is an All-India authority which can object to a Province setting aside the Congress resolution both as to goal and method, without its sanction.

**Mr. Nekaljay's Statement**—We publish to-day with a few verbal changes the text of the statement which Mr. R. S. Nekaljay has issued on the recommendations of the Simon Commission for the representation of the Depressed Classes in the Legislative Council. Mr. Nekaljay is

a Justice of the Peace for Bombay City, has been a member of the Bombay Legislative Council representing these classes, and presided over the All-India Depressed Classes Conference held last April. His address on that occasion was a comprehensive review of the Antyaja problem from nearly all points of view. Mr. Nekaljay's main difference with the Commission is as regards separate electorates for these classes. The Commissioners, on grounds which seem to us to be very sound, decided that the interests of the Depressed Classes, present and future, would be best served by their being included in the general non-Mahomedan electorates with seats reserved in a certain proportion, with, in addition, the right of competing for more seats with the rest of the electorates. Mr. Nekaljay's argument for separate electorates amounts to no more than that because Musalmans are allowed separate electorates, therefore, Antyajias also should have them. Apart from the general objections to separate electorates which apply as much to Musalmans as to others, the Antyaja problem like the Brahmin-non-Brahmin one, concerns the internal economy of the Hindu community and is in process of adjustment. In Madras, the non-Brahmin party is steadily moving towards the elimination of its exclusive character. The same tendency is perceivable among Maharashtra non-Brahmins also. We confidently expect that the last vestige of untouchability will disappear from Hindu Society in the next five or at most ten years. The argument of the Simon Commission that separate electorates cannot but arrest this tendency which is already well-marked, is, therefore, quite sound. We agree with Mr. Nekaljay on his other points, namely, his objection to the certification by the Governor, the latter's power to nominate persons other than Antyajias, and the arbitrary fixing of the three-fourths proportion, proposed by the Commission. The Antyajias should have reserved their full proportion of seats according to population and no community should have any weightage in the Legislative Council.

**Sarda Act Amendment Bill:**—The Sarda Act has scarcely been in force for three months. The agitation against it is, on the face of it, factitious. Similar laws were passed in Indian States several years ago, and are in force today, without any protests being raised against them. Orthodox Hindus and Mussalmans, counting upon the nervous fears of the Government of India in regard to social legislation since the Mutiny days, have started the agitation against it. The Hindu agitation has practically died down. The weight of opinion, particularly women's opinion, is strongly for the Act, and orthodox men having realised this, have quietly allowed their protests to die out. Among Mussalmans unfortunately the agitation against the Act has been taken up and pressed on Government as a political issue, but among them also the weight of enlightened opinion, including women's opinion, is wholly on the side of the Act. In these circumstances it is a pity that the Council of State, at the instance of the Government of India, agreed to a motion to circulate for opinion an amending Bill, introduced by Mr. Surpat Singh, which virtually nullifies the provisions of the Act. This Bill proposes to permit marriages below the prescribed limits on a certificate being obtained from a civil court on the score of "conscientious

objections and peculiar family reasons" by parents and guardians. Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary to Government, instead of opposing the introduction of this Bill, moved that it should be circulated for opinion. The motion was carried. Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar strongly protested against the attitude of Government, which, he rightly said, would be understood by the public to portend the repeal of the Bill. "This disciplined strong Government," he said, "trembles whenever social obscurantists raised the cry of religion in danger."

**The Indian States Delegation:**—After various promises, the personnel of the Indian States Deputation to the Round Table Conference is reported to be settled. It is to consist of 13 members, and we are particularly pleased to see Sir Prabhaskar Pattani's name among them. His outspoken advice has not been relished by some of the ruling Princes and there was some fear that he may be left out. We are glad that wiser counsels have prevailed and we have in Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Mirza Ismail, Sir Manubhai Mehta and Sir Prabhaskar Pattani, four good men and true. The absence of the Dewan of Baroda's name is perhaps to be accounted for by the resolve of the Maharaja Gaekwar to attend the Conference. Dewan Krishnamacharya will, we think, be at the conference to assist the Maharaja. The outstanding figure among the Princes is the Maharaja of Bikanir. The inclusion of Dr. Rushbrook Williams as a representative of the States would have been a glaring anomaly.

**A Hasty Protest:**—The Council of the Western Indian Liberal Association was, we think, hasty in cabling a protest to the Prime Minister against the inclusion of representatives of the Opposition parties in the Round Table Conference. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were carried through by a Coalition Cabinet which, no doubt, greatly facilitated their passage through Parliament. It is from every point of view desirable that the views of responsible leaders of the Opposition parties should be met and answered at the Round Table Conference rather than that a scheme agreed to by Indian representatives should be exposed to the vicissitudes of desultory debates initiated by free-lances in Parliament. Mr. Baldwin's co-operation at the Conference, in particular, will be of inestimable value. In his speech in the House of Commons on the Viceroy's statement in November, he showed that he had a broad outlook on the Indian problem, and his high personal regard for Lord Irwin will secure for the Indian proposals a large measure of support both from his own as well as the Liberal Party.

**Hindu Gains of Learning:**—Mr. Jayakar's Hindu Gains of Learning Bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly on Tuesday. The Bill declares the gains of learning of a Hindu to be his separate property. The Select Committee has passed the Bill practically without change. Mr. N. C. Kelkar wished that provision should be made for securing repayment to the joint family of money spent on education, but the majority of the Committee did not agree, as they thought it would cause great harassment. It has yet to pass the Council of State, but as Government have not opposed the measure, it may not encounter serious opposition in that body.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 19, 1930.

## SATYAGRAHA AND SUCCESS.

Speaking in the Legislative Assembly the other day Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Junior), who represents the Bombay Liberals, observed: "I have never been the last to express my condemnation of the Civil Disobedience movement. I see clearly how it is going to end. Whatever its advocates may say, it is doomed to failure, and if we did not think that it was doomed to failure, then the majority of my honourable friends behind me would be with this movement." Sir Cowasji added that that is why his friends were prepared to adopt another method, namely, the Round Table Conference, "which, we know, has chances of success." Before we deal with the general principle of Sir Cowasji's argument we may call attention to an important fact. The Viceroy's statement of November in which the goal of Indian constitutional reform was explicitly stated to be Dominion Status, and the Round Table Conference was announced, was intended primarily to conciliate the Satyagrahis. We use the word in preference to Civil Disobedience, because, to our mind, the movement is much more than that. Indeed, Civil Disobedience is only a temporary phase and by no means an integral part of satyagraha. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry who, notwithstanding his political affiliation, never shrinks from speaking the truth, said as much at the meeting of the Liberal Federation in Madras. It is true that the Congress leaders wanted a definite assurance that the attitude of the Government at the Round Table Conference would be in favour of its formulating a scheme of Dominion Status, and as this was not forthcoming, they adopted their own line at the National Congress held at Lahore. The Round Table Conference is, then, not an original idea of Sir Cowasji's friends. As for its chances of success, he surely knows that Liberal leaders have declared that these depend very much on Congressmen being persuaded to send representatives to it.

The Government of India in their weekly summary of events to the Secretary of State have noted that the failure of the civil disobedience movement is giving rise to revolutionary violence in certain parts of the country. In their last weekly report they state that "it is reported that in Bengal the whole Civil Disobedience movement is on the decrease, but tendency towards violence is increasing and there are signs that the terrorist party may become more active." We are sure that Sir Cowasji does not look upon this as a wholesome sign,

but that is the alternative which Mahatma Gandhi foresaw that he had to face, and he sought to do so by means of the satyagraha movement. In so far as that movement has succeeded in keeping in check the violent revolutionary movement, it has achieved its main object, and cannot, therefore, be said to have failed. This is not all. The movement can claim that it has been successful in another respect. Non-violence, to use Mahatmaji's words, is the sheet anchor of the movement. And we have official testimony that it has in large part kept to this principle. "I freely admit," said the Home Member of the Government of India in the Legislature Assembly on Saturday, "that in the majority of cases there has been a method of non-violence though there are cases in which non-violence has completely failed." Mr. Haig tried to make out that this was a clever ruse on the part of Congressmen to place Government in a dilemma. "They rouse the sympathy of a large number of people, who would not ordinarily sympathise with the Congress, by the very fact that Government must either acquiesce or resort to methods of force". There is a third alternative which, of course, does not occur to the bureaucratic mind, namely, to make Government responsive and responsible to public opinion. If this alternative were adopted, the whole force of satyagraha will be available in support of instead of in opposition to Government. It is the inability even of a Viceroy of Lord Irwin's calibre to perceive this simple remedy, that constitutes the tragedy and is responsible for all the suffering and hardship of the present deadlock. This however, is by the way. Our purpose in calling attention to Mr. Haig's admission, is to show that the satyagrahis have succeeded in adhering to their non-violent principle in the majority of cases. As for the minority of cases in which they do not appear to have done so, many have been often wrongly imputed to them as they are really acts of onlookers. The few real cases of satyagrahis resorting to violence only show that while the spirit is willing the flesh is weak. Satyagrahis will be the first to condemn such defections. In these two important objects of theirs, namely, keeping in check revolutionary violence and maintaining non-violence, satyagrahis have succeeded. Wherein lies their failure? True, they have gone to prison without defending themselves and have been beaten with lathis and subjected to other hardships. But it must be remembered that the *satyagrahis* themselves fully expected to suffer and in suffering too, therefore, they have only succeeded in their object.

Sir Cowasjee spoke of the inevitable failure of the satyagraha movement because he has not rightly apprehended its objects. We have shown

above that so far from having failed, it has succeeded to a very considerable extent in three of its principal objects. It is succeeding likewise in its great objective of teaching the people to be masters of their own destiny. Self-government, whether Dominion status or Independence, cannot be worked except by a people trained in habits of self-reliance, by people who can sacrifice a small present good for a greater future good. "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" embodies the philosophy of the petty shop-keeper and not that of the sage or the statesman. Sir Cowasji said he and his friends would join the satyagraha movement if they were assured of its success. There are others, it may interest him to know, who hesitate to join the movement at this stage for the opposite reason. They feel that it has passed its crisis, and that to join it now would be to filch from those who have borne the heat and burden of the day the credit that should be wholly theirs. Sir Cowasji Jehangir may yet change his opinion regarding the inevitability of the failure of Satyagraha.

#### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND THE SIMON COMMISSION.

(MR. R. S. NEKALJAY, J.P.).

Of late there has been an insidious propaganda in India that all is well with Depressed Classes and that the Simon Commission has practically conceded all that the Depressed Classes legitimately claimed. I must confess, however, that for the first time in the history of British India a serious attempt has been made to grasp the Depressed Class problem. The Simon Commission acknowledges that the Depressed Class population should be represented in the Council by election. How far these recommendations fall short of the claims put forward by representative bodies of the Depressed Classes I shall presently show.

We are seven crores in a population of 33 crores. The Mohamedans are also not more than 7 crores of people, yet they are given representation in the Councils much more than what they can justly claim. Even the Simon Commission favours the Mohamedans and concedes to them the privileged position they hold by virtue of the Lucknow Pact of 1917. The Commission seems to have forgotten that this Pact of 1917 was the result of an alliance between the Moslem League acting on behalf of the Mahomedans and the Indian National Congress acting on behalf of the high caste Hindus. The caste Hindus robbed the seats that should have gone by right to the Depressed Classes and gave them over to the Mohamedans. If one reads the Indian Central Committee's Report it will be found from the Table given at page 41 that in Madras 6 seats, in Bombay 10 seats, in U. P. 15 seats, in Bihar and Orissa 10 seats, in C. P. 5 seats and in Assam 1 seat are given to the Mohamedans in

excess of that which they would be entitled to on a population basis. This is perpetuated by the Simon Commission. Besides, the Simon Commission proposes to give the Depressed Classes only 3/4 of the seats which ought to come by right to the Depressed Classes by virtue of their population. Even this is hedged in with a number of restrictions which will make the Depressed Classes subservient to the Bureaucracy. The proposal is to have only such people to stand for election as are certified by the Governor of a Province as representative of the Depressed Classes, the Governor having also the power to certify a non-Depressed Class gentleman to be a representative of the Depressed Classes. Even this proportion of 3/4 of the seats is divided into two parts, one half of the seats is reserved in the General Electorate and for the other half the Governor is to have for ten years power of nomination. He can nominate even a non-depressed class man to represent Depressed Classes. It comes to this that by election and by nomination non-Depressed Class people may come into the Councils on the Depressed Class ticket. In 1917 the Lucknow Pact ignored the existence of the Depressed Classes. In 1930, the Simon Commission acknowledges the existence of 7 crores of Depressed Classes and coolly hands over all the seats of the Depressed Classes to the Governor so that he might by means of his patronage maintain the dominating position in the Government of the Province. The power of nomination is limited to ten years but the power of certification is not so limited. So that the Governor by this certifying power will effectually eliminate for good all those who are not on the good books with the Government and bring in only those who would carry out his behests. And since he is to be given a further power of certifying non-depressed class gentlemen to represent Depressed Classes, he can effectually shut out our people from the Councils on some pretext or other despite our protests, as is done at present in Madras and Bombay. This is representation with a vengeance and we are asked to hail the Simon Commission as our saviours.

To understand fully the recommendation of the Simon Commission I would refer to the resolutions passed by the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Amraothi on 26th April 1930, and at which I had the privilege to preside:—

#### RESOLUTIONS.

1. This Conference of the All-India Depressed Classes urges on the Government to make statutory provision for a separate Electorate for the Depressed Classes in the Provinces and in the Central Legislatures with adequate number of seats according to their numerical strength, and if the Government were to give the Muslims more seats than they ought to get as per their numerical strength then the same principle should be applied in favour of the Depressed Classes. This Conference further urges on the Government to concede the right of taking part in the General Electorate to the De-

pressed Classes as is granted to the Higher Classes as per Landholders, Mining, Industry, Universities, Indian Trade and Commerce, European Trade and Commerce and the Planters.

3. This Conference urges upon the various provincial Governments to give up their policy of appointing non-Depressed Class gentlemen to represent the Depressed Classes on Legislative Councils and local Bodies.

5. Considering the Military meritorious services the Depressed Classes rendered to the British Government from times of East India Company up to the last great War, this Conference of the All India Depressed Classes expresses its dissatisfaction at the demilitarisation of the Depressed Classes and urges upon the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief to recruit them for various Indian Armies and to the Police Force. •

By these resolutions the Depressed Classes urged on the authorities :—

(1) A separate electorate with seats according to their numerical strength.

(2) If Mohamedans were given more seats the same principle of weightage to be applied in favour of the Depressed Classes.

(3) To concede the right of the Depressed Classes to take part in the General Electorate.

(4) To give up appointing non-Depressed Class Gentlemen to represent the Depressed Classes.

(5) To permit Depressed Classes to join the Army.

Simon Commission does not speak about the Army and the Civil Services. They made use of our man power when they were in need and now in peace time they seem to throw our request overboard.

They concede to Mohamedans a separate Electorate with weightage in their favour, because they can show the mailed fist, and forget to apply the same principle to a Class of people who deserve this privilege more than the Mohamedans. Their fear is, if a strong body of Depressed Class men, independent in their views were to come in the provincial Councils, they might use their voting strength in the Councils to secure large concessions for the uplift of the Depressed Classes in the shape of educational grants and representation in the service etc. They have kept us educationally, socially and economically backward and want to perpetuate that state of affairs for good. It looks like granting Provincial autonomy with certifying powers to the Governor.

I am therefore opposed to the recommendations proposed by the Commission as they do not enable the Depressed Classes to send up a sufficient number of their true representatives by un-restricted right of election. It is essential that the Depressed Classes should be given a separate Electorate at least for ten years with the right of taking part in the General Electorate if they are to make any headway to catch up the other communities in the political race. We have been deliberately put

behind every community since the time of Indian Councils Act of 1861 and we have a right to call upon the authorities concerned to remedy this state of affairs.

#### IN SEARCH OF PEACE.

The letter which has been addressed by Sir Tej Bahadur Saprú and Mr. Jayakar to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency's reply are published below :—

Simla, July 13.

Dear Lord Irwin,

We would beg leave to draw Your Excellency's attention to the political situation in the country, which, in our opinion, makes it imperative that some steps should be taken without any loss of time to restore normal conditions. We are alive to the dangers of the civil disobedience movement with which neither of us has sympathised, but we feel that in the contest between the people and the Government which has involved the adoption of a policy of repression and consequent embitterment of popular feeling, the true and abiding interests of the country are apt to be sacrificed.

We think it is our duty to our country and to Government that we should make an endeavour to ameliorate the present situation by discussing the question with some of the leaders of the movement in the hope and belief that we may be able to persuade them to help in the restoration of normal conditions.

If we have read Your Excellency's speech aright, we think that while Your Excellency and your Government feel compelled to resist the civil disobedience movement, you are not less anxious to explore every possibility of finding an agreed solution of the constitutional problem. We need scarcely say that we believe that with the cessation of the movement there will be no occasion for a continuance on the part of the Government of the present policy and those emergency measures which have been passed by Government to implement that policy.

We, therefore, approach Your Excellency with a request that you may be pleased to permit us to interview Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru so that we may put our point of view before them and urge them in the interest of the country to respond to our appeal to enable the big issue of constitutional advance being solved in a calm atmosphere. We desire to make it plain that in going to them we shall be going on our own behalf and we do not profess to represent either Government or any party. In taking this step if we fail in our attempt the responsibility will be ours.

Should Your Excellency be pleased to grant us permission to see these gentlemen in jail we shall request you to issue necessary orders to the Local Governments concerned to allow us necessary facilities. We further request that if necessary



permission is granted to us we may be allowed to talk to them privately without there being any Officer of Government present at our interview.

We further submit that in our opinion it is desirable that we should see them at the earliest possible date. Reply to this letter may be sent to Mr. Jayakar at the Hotel Cecil.

Yours Sincerely,  
TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.  
M. R. JAYAKAR.

#### VICEROY'S REPLY.

Simla, July 16.

Dear Mr. Jayakar,

I have received your letter of 13th July in which you and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru state your desire to do all in your power to bring about return of peaceful conditions in the country and ask for permission to approach Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

With this object I had occasion in my address to the Legislature on 9th July to define the attitude of myself and my Government both to the civil disobedience movement and to the constitutional issues. We consider that the civil disobedience movement is doing unmixed harm to the cause of India and many important communities, classes and parties hold the same view. With their help, therefore, Government must continue to oppose it by all means in their power.

But you rightly recognise that we are not less anxious to see the achievement of the solution of the constitutional problem by agreement among all interests concerned.

It is evidently not possible for me to anticipate the proposals that will be made by the Government of India after they have had time to consider the Statutory Commission's Report or by the Round Table Conference and still less the decisions of parliament.

But I made it plain in my speech that it remains my earnest desire, as it is that of my Government, and I have no doubt also that of His Majesty's Government to do everything that we can in our respective spheres to assist the people of India to obtain as large a degree of the management of their own affairs as can be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they are not at present in a position to assume responsibility.

What those matters may be and what provisions may best be made for them will engage the attention of the Conference but I have never believed that with mutual confidence on both sides, it should be impossible to reach an agreement. If, therefore, you believe that by the action proposed you may be able to assist in the restoration of normal conditions in the country, it would not be right for me or my Government to interpose any obstacles to your efforts.

Nor do I think that those who have stood aside by side with my Government in steadily opposing the civil disobedience movement and whose co-operation I so much value would wish me to do so. On hearing from you, I will accordingly ask the Local Governments concerned to issue the necessary instructions which will enable you to make your public-spirited attempt in the cause of peace in India.

Yours Sincerely,  
IRWIN.

#### SIR FREDERICK SYKES' CONFERENCE.

At a conference of representative men held in Poona on Wednesday His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes spoke as follows:—

My primary object in calling you together is to hear your views rather than to express my own, and I will therefore pass as briefly as I can over the main facts of the situation in order to show where I shall welcome your advice. As we all know, we have reached a very important stage in the consideration of India's new constitution. One of the things relevant to that is the report of the Simon Commission, and I am to start for Simla this week in order to attend a Governors' Conference on its recommendations. I have already made a study of the Report with the aid of my Government, and I think I am in a position to express the views of this Presidency. But I feel that some direct contact with non-official opinion would be useful before I go to Simla in order to test and to supplement the views already before me. We shall not have much time to go into detail on this subject, and I would like to confine any discussion to the broader issues, which I think for our purposes may be divided into four groups:—firstly, the franchise and the electorate; secondly, the constitution of the Provincial Government; thirdly, the constitution of the Central Government; and fourthly, the relationship between the Central and the Home Government.

There are some, I know, who say that the Simon Report is already dead. With all deference to them, I do not think so. It was probably never meant to go all the way: but every one of the questions raised in that Report has got to be answered somehow, and it will be of very great assistance to every student to have the issues stated and discussed in a logical manner. The Report may well be regarded as the carefully planned foundations on which we now have liberty to build.

That, however, is not the only purpose of this Conference: we have also met to concentrate on certain practical aspects of the situation arising out of the approaching Conference in London. This, as we all know, is to form the bridge which is destined to lead India from the old to the new. The Report of the Simon Commission is one of the great pillars of the bridge. It is a situation of intense practical interest and importance, and the first question in everyone's mind at the moment must be "What are we going to do about it?" Here I need hardly

remind you of what the Viceroy has himself told us about the nature of the Round Table Conference and how any agreement arrived at will be effective in determining the nature of the measure to be placed before Parliament. The main thing which I have to stress is the vital necessity of preparing a more or less agreed scheme to represent the Indian case, and of eliminating beforehand as many as possible of the points of disagreement. In order to do justice to their case, the Indian representatives must know whom they speak for and to what extent any proposal will have the support of their own interests or communities or the agreement of other parties.

All this will need very careful spade work involving consultation, negotiation, compromise, and there is none too much time left, since, owing to the unhappy spirit of distrust and unrest which has lately disturbed the country, not very much constructive work has been in progress. It would be a deplorable thing if, for want of the necessary preparation and agreement, any main part of India's case were allowed to go by default. I do not yet know who will be the delegates to the Conference, but I presume that as soon as they are selected they will wish to get into touch with local ideas and opinions as quickly and effectively as possible, and we have to consider how discussion can best be organised in a way which will succeed in securing or bringing out the points of agreement. I want you to tell me how you think you can help in all this, and how you would suggest that Government might help. What we need is a plan of action.

There is yet another very practical question which arises out of the last, and that is, how to restore an atmosphere in which all this immensely important work can have a chance? We all know and deplore the estrangement which has lately existed between certain sections of opinion and the Government. We shall also, I think, as just men, recognise that in its origin it was not of Government's seeking but was forced upon them by the voluntary action of others. I am not, however, today concerned to apportion the blame. What I have to say, and what you will all recognise, is that it is very important indeed that we should all cease to be at cross-purposes as soon as possible in order that everyone may be free to concentrate on the real work before us. I should like to know from you what the general feeling is on this subject. If it is merely a case of withdrawing the various measures which we so often hear described as "repressive," I need only say that all those measures have been taken to meet a definite situation, and that the Government have not the slightest desire to go on employing them when the cause for their use has ceased to exist. You may be able to throw some light on the possibility of a guarantee that this is so being given and observed. But if civil disobedience is to persist unless and until His Majesty's Government abandon their entire scheme for giving a

constitution to India by agreement and discussion, then the situation is more intractable, and I would ask you, if you do not approve of such an attitude, to suggest any ways in which the circle of conflict can be narrowed, and those who wish only that India should obtain her constitution in an atmosphere of mutual goodwill may be helped to do their best without interference with their peace and liberties. But I earnestly hope that such an impasse will not continue, and that we shall yet find every section of public willing to give their best abilities to the service of India at this juncture.

#### THE STARTE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the educational, economic and social condition of the Depressed Classes and of the Aboriginal Tribes in the Presidency has been published.

The Committee was appointed in November 1928. The Members of the Committee were:—Mr. O. H. B. Starte, I.C.S., (Chairman), Dr. P. G. Solanki, M.L.C., Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.L.C., P. R. Chikodi, Esquire, M.L.C., L. M. Deshpande, Esquire, M.L.C., Lt. Col. Burfoot, Salvation Army, Bombay; A. V. Thakkar, Esq., L.O.E., Servants of India Society; A. A. Thorat, Esquire; Rao Saheb J. K. Mehta, Dangs Diwan and D. A. Janvekar, Esquire, M.L.C. Mr. Janvekar died and in his place Khan Saheb A. M. Mansuri, M.L.C., was appointed.

The terms of reference were:—"To enquire into the educational, economic and social condition of the Depressed Classes (untouchables) and of the Aboriginal Tribes in the Presidency and to recommend measures for their uplift."

The Report deals in detail with the problem of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes in the Presidency excluding Sind. The problem of the Depressed Classes arises largely from the peculiar position they are made to occupy amongst the people of the Presidency. They form a large part of the total population as in the Presidency proper they number about 1,476,000 out of a population of 16,012,342. It is difficult to define exactly the position of the large body of people. Notwithstanding the fact that it has the culture of the Hindu community, notwithstanding the fact that it observes the religious rites prevalent in the Hindu community, and recognises the sacred as well as the secular laws of the Hindus, and celebrates the Hindu festivities yet as a mere touch of the Depressed Classes is held to cause pollution which the orthodox Hindus are taught in the name of religion to avoid as sin, the Depressed Classes are obliged to live in a state of isolation from the rest of the community.

The problem of the Aboriginal Tribes is not essentially different from that of the Depressed Classes. In both cases the difficulty arises from the fact of isolation from the main body of the

community. But the sense of servility which has been noted above as one aspect of the problem of the Depressed Classes is absent in the Aboriginal Tribes. Rather they are characterised by a pride of race despising the culture of the other communities.

#### EDUCATION.

Dealing with the question of education the Committee note that there has been steady progress. In the year 1927 there were 59,693 Depressed Class children in Primary Schools against 30,212 in 1917. This advance is largely due to the policy of Government requiring the admission of the children of the Depressed Classes in the common schools conducted by public authority without distinction of caste or creed. The policy of admission to Common Schools has unfortunately not been applied in all places. Consequently in the primary schools the results regarding the admission of Depressed Classes have varied from locality to locality. Progress in this matter of entry into the common school has depended mainly on the firmness or otherwise of the Educational or Deputy Educational Inspectors. The Committee show instances where though the villagers have threatened a boycott of the school when the Depressed Class children were admitted, the Educational Authorities have remained firm and carried on the school with the Depressed Class children only until the others yielded and sent their children back.

"The relative merits of the separate schools for the Depressed Classes as against the admission of these classes into the ordinary schools has taken a prominent place in our deliberations," say the Committee. The principle of common schools must be preferred to that of separate schools and the Government Circular of 1923 has struck the right line of action. The Hartog Committee came to the same conclusion when they said that they are strongly of opinion that the policy of the mixed school is the right one. The system of segregate schools tends unnecessarily to emphasise rather than reduce the difference between the Depressed Classes and other Hindu castes.

The majority of the Depressed Classes have during the enquiry expressed themselves in favour of separate schools. Nevertheless, the Committee strongly advocate common schools and to make this system a success they suggest an admixture of staff. "We consider that the time is ripe for a more frequent interchange of teachers between the common schools and the separate schools. We are of opinion that if more Depressed Class teachers are placed in the common schools, the entry of the Depressed Class children in these schools will be greatly facilitated."

#### ECONOMIC CONDITION.

"One of the reasons why the Depressed Classes have remained in their degraded condition is their poverty and the consequent want of economic independence without which they cannot be expected to rise in social status and free themselves from the

many injustices to which they are subjected" say the Committee. The Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes are heavily indebted and the rates charged to them by the moneylenders are very high. The main reason for these high rates of interest is not that they are Depressed Classes or Aboriginal Tribes but that they have very little real property capable of being given in security and advantage is taken of their isolation and ignorance of accounting. This indebtedness can only be slowly removed by an improvement in their social habits.

#### RECRUITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICES.

The Depressed Classes labour under many disabilities in seeking for employment in Government service. It is not only the question of lack of education which stands in their way but also the general prejudice against them. The Committee emphasise the need for more recruitment of the Depressed Classes in the Police Department and urge that the present bar to their recruitment in the Army should be removed. Referring next to the higher appointments to other Government ranks, the Committee note with pleasure that Government have recently appointed a person from the Depressed Classes as a Deputy Collector. The existing orders of Government are sufficient in regard to the recruitment of the Backward Classes to Clerical posts in all Departments if properly carried out.

#### HOUSING OF THE BACKWARD CLASSES.

The Committee deal also with the question of the housing of the Backward Classes and suggest that Housing schemes for them, especially for the Depressed Classes and the wandering tribes should be promoted. And in this connection they draw the attention of the Municipalities to the housing of their conservancy staff.

Special emphasis is laid on the question of migration to towns. "We would draw attention" say the Committee, "to the influx of the Depressed Classes into the towns and cities. This influx is mainly due to the fact that caste prejudices are less strong in towns and cities than in villages and hence a Depressed Class person has less difficulty in breaking through tradition and obtaining work. The Committee are of opinion that the Depressed Classes have benefited by this migration and that it should be the duty of the Backward Class Officer to promote migration.

#### TEMPERANCE.

There is a good deal of untouchability within untouchability in this Presidency. This complicates many questions relating to their life, especially the provision of the water-supply. The question of the use of liquor, and other intoxicants, the Committee point out, affects the social and economic condition of all Backward Classes to a great extent. Almost all the castes comprising all the three groups of Backward Classes and forming more than one-fifth of the total population form a great part of what are called drinking classes in the phraseology of the Excise Department. It is a patent fact that a

large part of their hard earned money goes to the drink-shop specially if the allurement of a liquor or toddy shop be very close to their door.

The Committee therefore advocate certain changes in the present policy of the Excise Department including the re-introduction of rationing system failing which certain other changes like restriction of the hours during which shops are kept open, closure of shops on certain holidays, reduction of the number of shops etc. The Committee are not unmindful of the fact that complete prohibition if introduced within a short period is likely to cause disturbance to the State and lowering of the moral tone of drinking classes.

The various proposals put forward by the Committee involve an annual expenditure of about Rs. 3,70,000.

#### ALLAHABAD LADIES FIGHT FOR NATIONAL FLAG.

Mrs. R. S. Pandit, daughter of Pandit Motilal Nehru, and President of the Students' Association, in a letter from Allahabad dated the 9th instant writes :—

We have been trampled upon and many of us are injured but our flag flies merrily on the spire of the Government College. Inquilab Zindabad !

But let me tell you from the beginning. This morning at 6-30 I went to the Modern High School to find it surrounded by mounted policemen. Our boys were inside the school. The Inspector gave me message from Dr. Ghose, the head-master, offering me a compromise. He agreed to let the boys do our bidding, i.e., hoist the flag etc. With Mrs. Uma Nehru's consent I accepted—we went in, hoisted our flag—sang the flag song and made speeches. Everything passed off well. Dr. Ghose and Dr. Weir, Vice-Chancellor and Mr. Tinker all watched from the veranda.

#### A SUDDEN CHARGE.

After this the Government College opened at 10 A. M. Mrs. Uma, Mrs. Shyam Kumari Nehru, Miss Krishna Nehru, Mrs. Indra and myself were present. The scene in the College grounds was worth seeing. Being the first day a number of parents had come with their sons. These good people were so afraid their boys would join us that they held their hands and would not let them stir from the verandah ! It was pitiable. On the other hand our boys were offering the flag badges and Gandhi caps to the students and asking them to wear these. Punctually at 10-30, the time fixed for our ceremony, I hoisted the flag and addressed the boys. After my speech Mrs. Uma Nehru got up. When she was speaking, suddenly—we were all sitting on the bare ground—there was a trampling of nailed boots and shouts of "damn them—knock them down," and before I knew what was happening I was on my back with a nailed boot on my stomach—confusion reigned. Somehow I struggled up blind with anger and excitement and

pain, my mouth full of blood (I received a knock on my tooth) and reached the flagstaff as Mr. Tinker stretched out his hand to pull the flag down I caught hold of the stick and said : "Don't you dare lay a finger on this—get out of here"—He took a step back and our boys immediately surrounded him and started shouting "jais"—He began to call for help. I immediately gave the flag to one of our volunteers and rushed to Mr. Tinker's side. By this time poor Mrs. Uma had also struggled up and she pushed her way forward and, with Mr. Tinker between us and the angry crowd behind, we got to the verandah. I give below the conversation as far as I remember :

Mrs. Uma :—I demand an explanation for your charge on us :

Mr. Weir :—You have no right to hoist your flag in our grounds—get out and hold your meeting outside and we won't interfere.—

Mrs. Uma Nehru :—Certainly not. I refuse to move until every detail of our programme is carried.

Mr. Weir :—Then we shall force you to go.—Turning to me—we can put you under arrest immediately. I suppose you understand that.

Self :—Perfectly. You can arrest me just as soon as you like.

Mr. Weir :—I won't arrest you or anybody—what's the use of challenging me—you know none of you want to be arrested but I insist on your clearing out with these boys.

Self :—I shall go only when any work here is done and the boys will remain until such time as I order them to disperse.

Tinker :—You have probably forgotten me—but I remember you since you were a small girl and I am pained to see you here—taking hold of my hand—now take my advice young lady and don't create disorder.

Self :—Please don't try to be friendly Mr. Tinker. Do you expect me to make friendly gestures in this condition after I have been brutally knocked down by a man acting under your orders.

Mr. Tinker : If women will push themselves forward they will have to put up with this. Who is the person in charge of Allahabad city? I want to speak to him.

Mrs. Uma :—I am the dictator. You can say what you like.

At this stage an angry mob came up the steps and tried to force their way into the office. Mr. Tinker ordered the door to be closed. I said if you leave the door open I myself will guard you and not allow a single boy to enter but if you close it I can't keep the crowd back. Mr. Tinker looked rather surprised but ordered the doors to be kept open. I sent for Miss Krishna Nehru and two other lady volunteers and we placed ourselves in front of the office and I appealed to the students to remain calm and go back and continue their meeting. The boys began to disperse. Mr. Tinker

looked surprised. Mrs. Uma then told him she would now go back and finish her speech and he could do his duty. He phoned the police and we sent two volunteers to hoist another flag right on top of the College building. I must mention Miss Indira's very plucky defence of the flag. She was badly trampled upon and hurt and crying with pain and shock but not for one minute did she allow the flag to bend. She clung on it all through the charge and attack. Miss Krishna received a nasty blow in her side. Mrs. Shyam Kumari's arm was slightly injured, Mrs. Jawaharlal fortunately escaped. I don't know how Mrs. Uma was knocked down but not hurt. Some of the boys were badly trampled upon.

#### PUNDIT SUNDERLAL'S MOVING APPEAL.

At this stage Pundit Sunderlal arrived. We told him all that had happened. He made a wonderful and moving appeal to those students who had remained aloof and were watching events from the verandah. The scene that followed was little short of marvellous. As he appealed one by one the students hung their heads and came and stood with us until only those boys were left on the verandah whose parents were with them and every man and woman had tears in their eyes. It was a sight I shall never forget. After this we dispersed having announced that a similar ceremony would be held in the College daily.

The doctor saw Miss Indira immediately. Fortunately, the bruise is external only.

#### "THE LEGION BOOK."

The following circular letter, which has evidently been sent to many persons in this country, speaks for itself. Apart from the fact that Indians have no part in the benefits of the Fund, which is "in aid of the British Legion," the use of the names of His Majesty and the Prince of Wales in the manner of the circular, seems to be hardly respectful to them:—

Dear Sir,

June 23rd next is the birthday of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales and I am most anxious that by this date 100,000 copies of the Legion Book should have been sold.

If this figure were attained His Royal Highness would be greatly gratified and would much appreciate such a welcome form of birthday gift, of which all replies to this letter will be considered a most valuable part.

In a world-wide appeal where many weeks elapse before answers can be received, it is impossible to entirely obviate the risk of duplication and therefore if you have by the time you receive this, responded to a previous letter of mine, please pass this one on to a friend.

This appeal can never be repeated, and in answering it not only will you be helping a cause which is particularly dear to the heart of the

Prince of Wales, but you will also be helping something in which His Majesty the King has shown a personal interest, and about which he has expressed the wish that is stated on the accompanying prospectus.

Actually there are still remaining a few copies of the limited edition at Five Guineas.

Will you please make your cheque payable to The British Legion Book Fund.

St. James's Palace, S. W. } Yours very truly,  
4th June 1930. } LIONEL HALSET.

The Order Form runs as follows:—

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#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Religion or Folk Lore:—**The Catholic *Examiner* comments adversely on the following resolution said to be passed recently at a gathering of Ulster teachers. "That, inasmuch as it would appear from a consideration of the proceedings at a recent meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland that certain parts of the Bible are unreliable, and as we object to teach legendary folk tales under the guise of religion, we ask the local Education Committees to suspend the giving of Bible instruction in the transferred schools until the theological experts have decided what parts of the Bible are worthy of credence."

**The Best Minority Safeguard:—**Mr. M. Ratnaswami, late President of the Madras Legislative Council in an address to the Catholics of Trichinopoly, said: "It is a common question nowadays heard and discussed among Catholics: 'What will be the future of Catholicism, of Indian Christians in the future which is bound up with the progress of democratic self-government in this country? How will Christianity and Catholicism fare?' they ask 'at the hands of a Swaraj Government, at the hands of a Government which will be largely Indian and which will be mainly democratic. How will they fare at the hands of the majority communities?' My answer is that the treatment which any individual receives from the society to which he belongs, or the treatment which any minority community may expect to receive from the majority communities depends upon the service which that individual or that minority community is able to render to the country; in other words, the treatment that we shall get will depend upon the service we, Catholics, we Christians, are able to render to our people and to our country. That is the only test by which the right of a minority community to exist will be tried. That is the test which will be applied,

If we, Catholics, are able to render social service to the country, if we are able to do all that we can to further education, to relieve medical distresses, if we are able to do something to relieve the economic poverty and misery of the country, we shall not only be tolerated, we shall also be encouraged and given a fit place in the public, social and political life of the country. Therefore it is by the service that we are able to render to our people and to our country that we shall be judged, and it is therefore up to us, all, as groups, or individuals to render the best that we can to the country."

**A Vice Chancellor's Protest:**—Mr. O. R. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University, has resigned as a protest against the repressive policy of Government. In his letter to the Governor of Madras, who is ex-officio Chancellor of the University, Mr. Reddi says:—"The measures taken by the Government to crush the Civil Disobedience movement are akin to terrorism, for which there can be no justification. What is the need for police assaults on peaceful Satyagrahis who not only do not resist arrest but offer themselves cheerfully to be arrested. There has also been an epidemic of firing in different places. In connection with the Jallianwallah Bagh incident, Mr. Montagu declared in Parliament that whenever firing was resorted to, an impartial enquiry should be held. A Commission of officials and non-officials, the Hunter Commission was appointed to inquire into the Punjab incidents ten years ago. Enquiries of a similar character are not held now. The statements of respectable eye-witnesses like Mr. Devadhar and Mr. Tyabji are ignored; and police action is uniformly eulogised by Government, as though there are no truthful men outside the official ranks. Nor have Government shown the consideration due to the unmistakable manifestation of opinion in India in favour of the principle of Dominion status, by which alone the economic exploitation and the terrible degradation of the people could be arrested. Organised business, organised labour, the peasants in so far as they are awakened and organised, are all as much in this movement as the intelligentsia. What more solid expression of opinion do Government desire before they honour their pledged word to India? The part that women have come forward to play in this struggle marks a new era in Indian history—women of the highest type and rank. Chivalry is added to patriotism as a motive force of the nation. In our presidency, the rural classes Kammas, Kshatriyas, Vellalas and Reddies, many of them substantial landlords, are facing risks and dangers with unflinching courage and undergoing tremendous sacrifices. Your Government is reducing Statutory local bodies to a condition of departmental subservience and taking away from us the few real liberties we have been enjoying for some years past. Even during the non-co-operation movement, such modes of repression were not employed. And thus repression grows day by day. Terrorism aims at reducing people to a state of fear and cowardice and killing their spirit. It would if it could, destroy what little character we have managed still to retain in spite of our tragic history. It is, I think, the clear duty of all Indians irrespective of their political affiliation, to rally round and foil this attack. Even those who differ from Congress have to recognise that it is the greatest laboratory of national character installed in India and that it has taught Indians the art of organisation and discipline and spiritualised political agitation by incul-

cating the spirit of love and non-violence. The sacrifices of my countrymen and countrywomen make it impossible for me to continue in my present position. I find the Vice-Chancellorship neither a pleasure nor honour in the midst of these agonies."

**Nationalist India and the Drink Traffic:**—A Special correspondent writes to the *Hindu*:—"The Grand Lodge of the Scotland International Order of Good Templars have submitted a memorial to the Prime Minister, and Mr. Benn protesting against the injustice and folly of allowing the interests of drink traffic to complicate the problem of maintaining goodwill and co-operation of Hindus in the establishment of a system of Government in full accord with their highest ideals. While recognising the great services rendered by Britain to India and acknowledging the sincere desire of His Majesty's Government to promote such conditions as would ensure the exercise of political freedom, the memorial expresses deep concern that Nationalist India, in regarding abstinence and prohibition as powerful aids in preparing the people for self-Government, has grave reasons for believing that the authorities are determined to maintain an unrelenting opposition to the demand for Prohibition. The Memorialists submit that, so long as the drink traffic is forced on the people of India, they will have reasons to doubt the sincerity and goodwill of Britain in maintaining control of their affairs."

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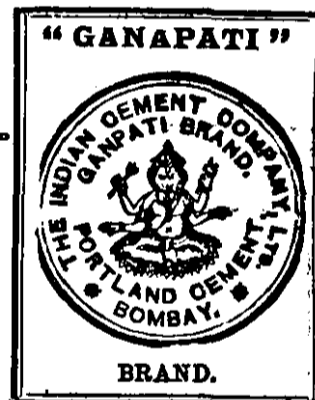
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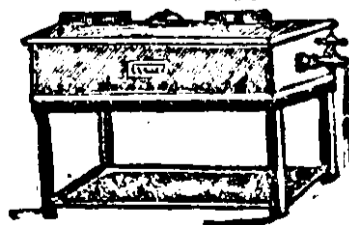
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No. 47

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Jayakar-Sapru Mission:—**The mission of peace which Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru have taken upon themselves as a patriotic duty, had a bad start. On Sunday night Mr. Jayakar suffered a cruel domestic bereavement. On Monday Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru arrived in Bombay. The same evening the two made their plans and on Tuesday evening they left for Poona. On Wednesday and Thursday they had long interviews with Mahatma Gandhi at the end of which they issued the following statement to the Press: "We visited Mr. Gandhi yesterday and to-day and had prolonged interviews with him. We laid before him all the facts in our possession. He has given us a message in writing for Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, which we are taking to Allahabad." They were to leave on Friday for Allahabad to meet the two Pandits in jail. In our comments last week on the mission, we suggested that Mahatma Gandhi and the Pandits should meet to consider the situation and their duty on the present occasion in all its bearings. We trust that this will yet be arranged. Indeed, other leaders also will have to be taken in consultation before a definite settlement is agreed upon and a general amnesty is necessary as a Special Congress or at least a sitting of the All-India Congress Committee, many members of which are in jail, may have to be held. It is obviously difficult to carry on delicate negotiations when the principal persons concerned are in jail several hundreds of miles from each other. The fact that Mahatmaji has given a written message to the Pandits shows that he is satisfied that there is room for further negotiation. So far the mission has been a success and we congratulate Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej on it. Pandit Motilal Nehru is unlikely to oppose a settlement provided there is a chance of one which his party can honourably accept as a sufficient recognition of its great sacrifices and sufferings during the last few months. Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru are too keenly conscious of the immense moral value of the satyagraha movement to countenance any proposals which do not give full credit

to it for all that it has done and can yet do for the country's uplift. Certainly, there is no chance of the public approving a settlement which appears to "let down" the men and women who have cheerfully sought and borne suffering and hardships in the plenitude of their faith in the justness of the national cause. We cannot engage in any discussion at this stage, whether here or in London, as to whether Indians are a nation and whether they are capable of self-government. The only matter for the Conference is how soon the transitory provisions which may be found necessary can be dispensed with and India stand forth before the world as complete mistress of her own destiny.

**A Maharaja on the Present Situation:—**The Maharaja of Bikanir rendered memorable service during the progress of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms by publicly repudiating in London the mischievous allegations of Lord Sydenham and other ex-Governors of his type that the Ruling Princes and the Indian Army would resent the admission of Indians into the inner councils of the Government of India. His Highness has rendered a no less important service on the present occasion. In the course of an interview accorded to a representative of the *Associated Press*, the Maharaja bore testimony to the widespread and far-reaching nature of the national awakening. "I own a house and spend a month or two every year at the seaside in Bombay, admittedly the present storm-centre in India," said His Highness, "and though I was ill for part of the time, yet throughout my stay there last May and June I kept my eyes and ears open and was able to go about and see things for myself, and I also met frequently several local moderate and Liberal friends amongst the British Indian leaders. I can thus claim to speak with some authority based on first-hand knowledge and personal observation when I testify to the extremely grave situation and the unmistakable depth and force of the widespread national awakening. The movement has taken a firm hold on people of practically all classes and communities of Indians, at least in the Bombay Presidency, including a very large percentage of the commercial community, and even those who do not entirely see eye to eye with Mr. Gandhi and others politically." The Maharaja added that the political discontent was aggravated if not, indeed, inspired by the hardships to the commercial community consequent on the economic policy of Government. He specially mentioned the forcing of the 18 d ratio on India, whose consequences in the complete dislocation

of trade and industry were not confined to British India, but were manifest in purely commercial and totally non-political circles even in Indian States. Much of the economic loss attributed to the satyagraha movement had its origin really in the fiscal policy represented by this measure.

**A Well-Intentioned Mistake:**—The Maharaja spoke in well-deserved terms of praise of the patriotic attempt of Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to establish contact between Government and the Congress leaders in jail and expressed his cordial wish for their success. But when His Highness proceeded to improve upon their own conception of their attempt, he made a serious, though perfectly well-intentioned, blunder. The Maharaja said: "The only point about which I disagree with them is where they have modestly stated that if they fail in their attempt the responsibility will be theirs, for I make bold to say that they will leave no stone unturned, and if their attempts now fail the responsibility for the failure of such private negotiations will solely rest on the shoulders of those Congress leaders who might take up an impossible position or are found to be obdurate, and such unreasonable attitude must surely result in rallying once again on the side of the British Government the Liberal and moderate leaders as well as the commercial community and many others who would indeed be justified in the circumstances in coming to the conclusion that the Congress leaders were merely bent on destruction all round." This is a position which the Congress leaders or, for that matter, the general public cannot accept. The former did not ask for the mediation of the two gentlemen. They have not agreed to be bound by their award and, in fact, this is not a question of arbitration between rival litigants. If the Maharaja's argument is right, the Congress leaders may well say that this is a trap into which they are unwilling to walk. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who arrived in Bombay on Tuesday, might or might not have had the Maharaja's remarks in view, but his statement of the position of himself and Mr. Jayakar in this matter, must clear up any possible misunderstanding. The interviewer called Sir Tej Bahadur's attention to the popular belief that His Excellency the Viceroy had authorised him and Mr. Jayakar to negotiate with Mr. Gandhi on certain terms and asked whether there was any truth in such a belief. Sir Tej Bahadur emphatically denied the suggestion and emphasised that he and his friend represented neither the Viceroy nor any political party in this mission and that it was solely their most earnest desire for peace that had induced them to undertake this momentous and delicate task. Mr. Jayakar was even more explicit on the point. He told the representative of the *Hindu*:—"I can only say, I am making this effort in a spirit of humble service. If I succeed, the gain will be my countrymen's: If I fail the misfortune is mine."

**Sir Ali Imam's Dictatorship:**—We commented last week on the peculiar circumstances attending the acceptance of the leadership of the Behar Provincial Congress party by Sir Ali Imam. The Provincial Congress Committee issued last week a statement which disposes of any doubt in

the matter. Mr. Brijkishor Prasad, on behalf of the Behar Congress Committee, said: "The fact is that Sir Ali, of his own accord, expressed his desire to Mr. Hasan Imam to join the Congress movement and also his readiness to accept the dictatorship of Bihar after Mr. Hasan Imam was sent to jail. Thereupon Mr. Hasan Imam sent a wire to Mr. Deep Narain Singh, the present dictator, informing him of the fact and desiring his permission to nominate Sir Ali. This telegram was sent with the knowledge of Sir Ali himself. There was no question of any condition and Sir Ali made no condition when he made the offer to Mr. Hasan Imam. There could be no question of calling off the civil disobedience movement and picketing. The Congress Committee of the province is working the Congress programme vigorously and with success. Civil disobedience is the main programme of the Congress. If Sir Ali had any idea of calling off picketing and civil disobedience in his mind at the time he made his offer to Mr. Hasan Imam, about which nobody knew anything, Sir Ali was entirely mistaken. Under the Congress constitution the dictator of a province or of a provincial Congress Committee itself has only to carry out the programme of the All-India Congress Working Committee."

**Swadeshi or Boycott:**—Sir P. C. Ray opened the Swadeshi Exhibition in Madras on the 15th instant. In the course of his speech, he said:—"I have disliked the word "boycott" and I have always avoided in my speeches and writings the use of this term. Boycott means a resolve not to use the foreigner's manufactured goods, so that he may be financially a sufferer. By bringing pressure to bear upon his pocket he may be brought to his senses and made to grant concession. "Boycott" is thus for a specific object and the object being gained its "raison d'etre" ceases and it is called off; whereas "Swadeshiism" is based upon pure love of one's country-made products. I am Swadeshi and Swadeshi is my religion and it has been my life-long end to manufacture those articles which I have to import from foreign lands. Political consideration does not sway me." The distinction is an important one. Swadeshiism, as Professor Ray said, is the love of things made in one's own country, whereas there is an element of aversion, if not hatred, in boycott of foreign things. Further, while the swadeshi feeling is an incentive to the promotion of home industries, the boycott sentiment does not lead beyond the non-use of foreign goods. It is nevertheless the fact that "boycott" is a more popular cry than "swadeshi." "Boycott," which often sounds like "By God," is the slogan of many boys' processions, and "boycott of British goods," which Mahatma Gandhi deprecated, is imprinted on labels issued under the authority of the Bombay Congress Committee. We, like Professor Ray, naturally prefer the sentiment underlying "Swadeshi" to that of "Boycott." Nevertheless, as he recognises, the latter has certain temporary and provisional uses. "Swadeshi," in course of time, will be understood in a territorial rather than in a racial sense, all who establish industries in this country, under Indian laws and contribute to the Indian revenues, irrespective of their race and colour, being entitled to the same protection as Indian nationals.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, JULY 26, 1930.

NATION AND NATIONALITY.

Mr. A. M. K. Dehlavi, the late President of the Bombay Legislative Council in the course of a communication published in the *Times of India* on Wednesday, observed: "After all the Muslims, really speaking, are not a community but a nation with its own religion, its own traditions and its own history totally distinct from all other communities." If he had used the word "nationality" instead of the "nation," he would have been more nearly right, apart from the fact that the history of the Muslims for at least four hundred years, that is, since the establishment of the Moghul Empire, has differed in no material particular from that of the rest of the Indian population. In a very timely book entitled "Nationality: Its Nature and Problems"\* Dr. Bernard Joseph takes occasion to point out the difference between "Nation" and "Nationality." A "nation" in the proper sense of that term, he observes, is a group of persons who constitute the population of a single State. Indian Muslims at no time constituted either the whole or the majority of the Indian population and, therefore, they cannot be called a nation. A nation may embrace several nationalities and, as Viscount Bryce has pointed out, a nationality may or may not also be a nation. "The people of Great Britain are a nation including three nationalities: English, Scotch and Welsh, which are parts of a larger British Nation." The Indian Muslims' claim to be even a nationality, is open to the criticism that it is not associated with a distinctive homeland which is peculiarly its own or even the memory of it as in the case of the Jews. The correct description, therefore, would be that Indian Mussalmans are an Indian community like Indian Christians, having been recruited like the latter largely by conversions from among Hindus. Religion alone does not constitute a nationality. "Religion cannot be regarded as the essence of nationality," writes Dr. Joseph, "inasmuch as it does not coincide with the boundaries of nationality. The case usually is that members of any one religion belong to different nationalities and are from time to time the bitterest enemies, and conversely members of the same nationality belong to different religions." The fact that Indians profess different religions, therefore, is not of itself a bar to their constituting a single nationality and, when they acquire self-government, a single nation.

Dr. Joseph attaches more importance to language than to race and religion as a factor of nation-

\* Published by George Allen and Unwin, Museum Street, London. Price 10 s. 6 d.

ality. But even language is not the essence of nationality. The Swiss are a nationality despite their three languages and the Scotch and the English are distinct nationalities although they both speak English. Nevertheless, a common language is a powerful influence in nationality. Referring specifically to India, Dr. Joseph commends Mahatma Gandhi's proposal to make "Hindustani" the lingua franca. He thinks it is possible by an intensive effort to spread the knowledge of English beyond the ranks of the educated class of the population among the masses within a century. But he is of the opinion that it would be preferable from the point of view of nationality to pitch upon one of the principal languages of the country, Hindustani, for the purpose. This is the view which is gaining ground even among those who believed in English becoming by general consent the language of inter-provincial intercourse. The spread of Hindi has been carried on for several years past as a part of Mahatmaji's programme and has made much progress even in South India. Hindi literature embodies ideas already familiar through their own vernaculars to all parts of India and the acquisition of the script, vocabulary and the grammar, which is not very intricate, is all that is needed to make an average Indian feel at home in Hindi. Dr. Joseph fully recognises the hindrances in the way of Indian nationality, and emphasises popular education as the quickest and most effective remedy for them. "This process of nationalization," he adds, "will also have much to expect from a single Government truly Indian in character." Dr. Joseph concludes his chapter on India, with a suggestion. He misconceives the aim of Indian nationalists to be to mould into a single whole the many millions of the inhabitants of this country. This is not and has never been the aim of Indian statesmen. From the earliest times, they have rejected the policy of forcible assimilation and consistently followed that of freedom for each group to evolve according to its own genius. That is how India has come to be the anthropological museum, which she is, of all the ancient religious communities—Jews, Syrians, and Parsis. This is also the policy of modern Indian nationalists, and it is the same which Dr. Joseph explains in the following passage:

One cannot, however, help wondering whether Indians would not be better advised, making use of the unities which already exist within several groups, to pursue the course of fostering the natural development of the principal groups of India into a number of distinct and friendly nationalities. Certain it is, in the light of the experience of other nationalities, that such a course would be much more likely to succeed and in much less time.

The conclusion to be drawn from Dr. Joseph's study of the subject of nationality, is that in the ultimate analysis nationality is a psychological more than a physical condition. He takes up each single possible factor, only to reject it as not of the essence of nationality. "Not this," "Not this" is his verdict on each particular fact. Nor is "nationality" a mechanical aggregation of all or several of these factors, for groups which have been disparate have become a nationality, Germany, Italy, the United States and Russia being the most conspicuous examples. The common factor in all cases is the Will to be one. Where that Will exists, all other factors are subservient to it. This Will has been most often created among groups by such outward stimuli like oppression, repression and other concomitants of foreign conquest and foreign rule. "In Europe," observes Professor Zimmern, "nationality is an instinct which has been stung into morbid and acute self-consciousness by political oppression." Dr. Joseph explains that the essential elements of nationality may exist though the sentiment of nationality be entirely dormant, and it is by stirring this dormant sentiment into wakefulness that oppression renders aid in the process of the formation of nationality. We see this process going on before our eyes by the way in which the lathi charges are hammering out a unity of sentiment among all communities and interests. Dr. Joseph's chapter on "Oppression as a factor of Nationality" is of great current interest. It may be placed side by side with Mr. Gregg's books on the ethics and psychology of non-violence. Dr. Joseph writes:—

Groups are driven to unite either by the influence of some elder or prophet preaching national unity, or by the sovereign dictates of a common monarch; or, as has been indicated, by oppression which soon cuts short trivial differences and causes of estrangement, and consolidates various groups into a more or less homogeneous entity.

In India we have all three factors at work, the first and the last directly, and the second indirectly.

#### THE PRICE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

(BY J. C. KUMARAPPA.)

One of the great misfortunes of our age has been the segregation of religion from the every day business of life. As a result of this many people, even accredited leaders, while they are clear as to the course of action they should take in private life, seem to be in doubt as to how far they should go in advocating their ideals in matters of public interest, especially in politics. Perhaps it is in this divergence in the application of ideals that we should look for a reason for the accusation levelled at the Christian Church by the Zoroastrian divine, Dr. M. N. Dhalla, in his book, "Our Perfecting World," (Oxford University Press)

when he says, "With the outbreak of war in a country, the Church is always seen keeping its mission of peace in abeyance and converting herself into a docile ministrant of war." This is unfortunately only too true. Because of vested interests the Church has not had the moral courage to resist evil even unto death.

In the course of a personal letter a young missionary friend writes concerning his attitude to the Satyagraha movement: "So many are really with you. But it is not easy to give active support. Many cannot risk deportation. I am perfectly willing, indeed anxious, for imprisonment in the cause of India; but I am not responsible for a leper home, or a hospital or a school."

Are we to count the cost in doing right? Christ gives an emphatic, No. If our commitments prejudice our action we have to shake them off. Nothing should be allowed to come in our way of realising our ideals. "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." We are in the world but we ought not to be of the world. Although we may use organisations as tools we should ever be on the watch not to let them dominate and make us inseparable parts of them and enslave us. These organisations have such a fascination especially to the Western mind that there is always a danger of our being buried in them. These are devices to enable us to carry our ideals to a larger field and they should not be allowed to hinder or stultify our higher self. Is this practicable in this century of large organisations? What is Gandhiji's reply? The capital invested in Navajivan Press has been cast aside as dust when it threatened to stand in the way of truth. Here is a practical example. Should we not expect such an uncompromising standard amongst our religious leaders?

Then, again, to refrain from a course of action dictated by the 'inner voice' because of commitments shows a lack of faith. Who is responsible for these institutions—Leper homes, Hospitals etc.—God or man? If God, then it is rank arrogance on the part of man to feel that the work will suffer if he should be deported. If man is responsible, then it is as well the work should be closed down.

Satyagrahis regard this struggle as a religious one and look up to all who profess to be religious leaders for guidance—either in the form of criticism or in the form support. But for religious leaders to sit on the fence at a critical time like the present is to fail in their mission. We have to be prepared to be persecuted for righteousness' sake if we strive to attain our ideals.

**An Interview with Mahatma Gandhi.**—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar had interviews with Mahatma Gandhi at the end of which they issued the following statement:—"We visited Mr. Gandhi yesterday and today and had prolonged conversations with him. We laid before him all the facts in our possession. He has given us a message in writing for Pandit Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru, which we are taking to Allahabad."

## ALL-INDIA COUNCIL OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

### THE SITUATION.

The All-India Council of Indian Christians views with grave concern the rapid developments of the present situation into a deadlock. The large majority of our community do not belong to the Congress Party, and do not subscribe to the present methods of Civil Disobedience for political purposes. We are, therefore, in a position to understand clearly the spread of the movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi beyond the bounds of the Congress Party to very wide outstretches in every direction among men and women of all other parties and no party. The movement is no longer a Congress Movement; it is steadily becoming an All-Indian Nationalistic Movement.

On the other hand, we can well understand the Government in the responsibility it feels to maintain the law of the land. In the discharge of that difficult duty the Government has thought it necessary to employ physical force, and to promulgate various ordinances. Allegations have been made that the violence and physical force used by the police on several occasions have been far more excessive than the exigencies of the situation demanded. In our opinion the promulgation of ordinances and employment of other extraordinary methods were altogether unnecessary, and had been the means of aggravating the situation and making it more critical. The difficulties of the situation have been great. But the more powerful and organised a Government is the more does it stand condemned for employing methods which cannot bear the scrutiny of the highest principles of the Christian civilisation. However that may be the results are obvious. The Nationalistic Movement has grown in strength and extent. Even if the external demonstrations of it are stamped out by the present methods, we are absolutely convinced that India has now reached a further definite and determined stage in her attitude towards the British connection from which it cannot by any manner of means recede.

### DOMINION STATUS.

It is our observation that India has in the last three months indicated in the clearest way and in substantial unanimity that her place in the British Commonwealth should be that of a Dominion and that immediately. India has indicated this in the most arduous of ways, the way of suffering and self-sacrifice.

This has been further elucidated since the publication of the Simon Commission report. The universal chorus of disappointment with which it has been received was because the scheme set out by the report was not based on any outline of a Dominion Constitution. On the other hand, if adopted, it could work out no approach to Dominion Status in any measurable period of time. In

Statement on present situation adopted at the Meeting of the Council held at Lucknow, July 11th-13th, 1930.

November last, His Excellency the Viceroy definitely spoke of India being placed on the road to Dominion Status. The Commission would place India on a road entirely different from it.

### THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS OF JULY 9TH.

We appreciate most highly the earnest and sincere anxiety of H. E. Lord Irwin to find a solution to the present tragic situation in the country. We should have been happy if he had gone the whole length desired by the leaders of all the important parties in the country as regards the scope of the Agenda of the Round Table Conference, and so terminated the impasse. But we see from His Excellency's Address of July 9th that in the present situation in Britain he is unable to go so far.

At the same time the Viceroy has now reiterated the assurance (a) that the direction of India's constitutional advance is decidedly towards Dominion Status, (b) the Simon Commission report will be only one of the documents which the Conference will have before it as a body which is free to deliberate on its own agenda, and (c) that whatever the Conference arrives at as its common mind will be the basis for what His Majesty's Government will place before Parliament. This statement should be given its full value in the light of all that has happened and been said in England in the last nine months and more especially after the publication of the Simon Commission report.

### THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

Our All-India Conference which met in Lahore last December welcomed the proposal of a Round Table Conference. We believe that the solution to the constitutional problems of India can be found only at a Conference which all the chief interests concerned are adequately and acceptably represented. We do have the faith that His Excellency Lord Irwin will recommend for participation in that Conference persons who are competent to express the view of the various important political parties and who are thoroughly acceptable to them.

While we do welcome the Conference, we wish to make certain points:—

(a) The mind of India as regards the main issues has already been indicated through the way of suffering. It is "Immediate Dominion Status with transitional safeguards." This should, therefore, be laid down as the limiting scope of the Round Table Conference within which and around which all the other problems great and small should be worked out. Now that the Viceroy has signified that he cannot give any pledge, the Round Table Conference should itself lay this down as the definition of its scope.

(b) But we fail to see how even the most carefully constituted conference doing the wisest and most progressive work can produce anything acceptable to India if the present deadlock is not terminated before the Conference. Moreover, some of the best minds in the land and many of those who have real influence over the minds of the great masses of



the people, are now in prison. No conference can be said to be really representative of India which does not include or at least does not, at all important points, carry the approval of those persons. We, therefore, add our voice to those many who have already urged the Government and Mahatma Gandhi to terminate the situation. To prolong it any further will be to sacrifice the interests of the country.

(c) In the situation we feel it our responsibility to do every thing we can toward the re-establishment of mutual confidence and peace. We, therefore, resolve to appoint a delegation to carry on negotiations in consequence.

(d) Whatever may be the precise formula on the basis of which the present situation is terminated, we feel it our duty to our country and to the third largest community in it which we represent, to lay it down as a mandate that the representative invited to the Round Table Conference should ask the Conference itself to lay down Dominion Constitution as the main basis on which all other problems of internal and external relationships and responsibilities as, e.g., of safeguards of even the most weighty character such as the question of the Army, should be worked out.

(e) If the present situation is not terminated peacefully, the Council will meet again to decide the course of action as to participation in the Round table Conference or not.

#### THE MINORITY PROBLEM.

The natural and abiding security of a minority community is in the confidence and goodwill of all the other communities along with whom it makes up the Nation. The essential condition for securing and holding such confidence and goodwill is in clear fact that the minority community is in every sense identified with the national aspirations and ideals of its country. Where a minority is above all suspicion in regard to its identification with the nation any help or assistance which may come to it because of the political relationship of its country with a foreign nation, however necessary it may be in certain stages of the history of the country, can only be of a temporary nature. Any advantage which may come from the presence of an outside authority ought to be secured sooner than later from internal adjustments on a basis of generous and open confidence. In regard to this the attitude of the majority is obviously of determining importance. It should be such as to win the ready confidence of at least all the moderate elements in the minority.

We endorse the view of our All-India Conference of Lahore 1929 that the community which we represent will gladly agree to an entirely democratic arrangement throughout the country in which there is no special concession to any community.

As a second best, we would agree to the system of reservations, but we look with extreme disfavour at the system of Communal Electorates, and we would have to advise our community not to accept it even if it be offered. And we do appeal to all other

communities at this hour of unparalleled national crisis to rise clear out of that plane of suspicion where our country has been repeatedly ruined in the past and to agree on the system of reservations.

Even the system of "Reservation for Minorities" is not free from problems of difficulty. We have our own views about them which we shall state at the proper time and occasion. Meanwhile, we shall go so far as to submit that for the purposes of the main task of the Round Table Conference, the minorities should be willing to agree to a fairly reasonable adjustment providing in the constitution for its automatic revision from time to time in the light of actual experiences. We confess to grave concern that the great possibilities of constitutional advance through the Round Table Conference might be jeopardised by the obstinacy of the extremists in the various communities. While we have spoken frankly as to our opinion regarding the minorities, we must with equal candour appeal to the majority community so to determine their attitude toward the other communities as to win their confidence and dispel all their suspicions that the minorities may not have fair play or opportunity for a full expression and development of their culture and heritage. We trust that principles of moderation and mutual confidence will prevail and that a firm and reliable agreement will be arrived at among the representatives of the communities before the Conference meets.

Realising that many of the disabilities of the minorities arise in the process of administrative discrimination, we believe that the very effective relief may be found through arrangement on the lines of the Minorities Department of the League of Nations which operate not through Legislatures or the Judiciaries, but by the employment of authoritative "influence" which whenever necessary is supported by mobilised public opinion. We believe further that the arriving at of such an arrangement will obviate the necessity for the statutory provision of any mathematical ratios in the legislatures or in the public services.

We are confident that our own community especially the rising generation, is well aware of the fact that the place of a minority in a nation is its value to the whole nation and not merely unto itself. That value depends on the quality of its life, the standard of its preparation for life's various activities, the strenuousness with which it throws itself into all avenues of useful service and the genuineness with which it seeks the commonweal. We are well aware that in the peculiar social condition in India even with all such values as we have indicated there are and will continue to be unmerited hardships falling on individuals and groups. But we record our conviction that while many of such hardships and disabilities will be met by such administrative devices as Public Service Commission and by reservation in the Legislatures and Councils, the real solution is to be found in the positive constructive method of the community straining every nerve to

make itself qualified, efficient, useful and even indispensable to the nation.

Issued over the signatures of :—

1. (Rev.) B. A. Nag, (M L.C., President, All-India Council).
2. (Mr.) K. T. Paul, (B. A., L.T., O.B E., Salem, South India).
3. (Dr.) J. R. Chitambar, (M.A., LL.D., Lucknow).
4. (Mr.) K. L. Rallia Ram, (Ex-M.L.C. President, Punjab Indian Christian Conference).
5. (Dr.) D. S. Ramchandra Rao, M.D., (Member. Mysore Assembly and Council, Bangalore).
6. (Rev.) A. Ralla Ram, B.A., (Allahabad).
7. (Mr.) A. S. David, M.A., (Ajmere).
8. (Mr.) S. C. Mukerji, (Ex-M.L.C., M.A., B.L., Calcutta).
9. (Canon) S. K. Tarafdar, M.A., (Ex-M.L.C., Bhagalpur, Bihar).
10. (Rev.) Joseph N. Mukand, (Lucknow).
11. B. L. Rallia Ram, (Hony. General Secy., All-India Council).

#### ALL-INDIA MUSLIM CONFERENCE.

Lucknow had seldom witnessed a bigger gathering of Mussalmans than the one seen on the 20th instant in connection with Muslim Nationalists' Conference at the Gangaprasad Hall.

A large number of visitors had to be refused admission for lack of space. Several Muslim ladies watched the proceedings. Dr. Ansari presided and prominent among those present were Syed Hasan Imam, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad. Mufti Kifayatulla, Moulana Ataulah Shah Bokhari, Haji Nawab Ali, Moulana Kutbuddin Abdul Bari, Mr. Tasadduq Sherwani, Sheikh Mushir Husain Kidwai, Moulana Hussain Ahmad, Mr. Muhammad Ismail, Mr. Mujibur Rahman, Mr. Shamsuddin, Moulvi Tufail Ahmed, Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim, Maulana Ahmad Said, Choudhury Khaliquzzaman, Mr. Abdul Bari, Shaik Mirza Abid Hussain, Mr. Karrum Raza and Syed Mustafa Raza.

Mohamad Ismail, M. L. C., moved the following resolution: "This conference of the Nationalist Mussalmans of India expresses its sense of gratitude for the retrograde and reactionary character of the recommendations of the Simon Commission as it has helped to cement the political unity of the people of India in general and Mussalmans in particular and has given a fresh proof of the fact that the solution of our internal differences can best be achieved by mutual adjustments and not by intervention of an interested third party." The mover quoted extensively from the Second Part of the Simon Report to show how the recommendations were retrograde and reactionary. He was followed by Raja Nawab Ali who again expressed regret for having been connected with the Simon Commission.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman moved the second resolution which ran as follows:—"This Conference reiterates the opinion that in the extreme circumstances when a people who have been denied the just and legitimate rights and have exhausted all resources of protest by means of representation in the press and platform and public demonstrations the only way to focus the attention of Government and people to their age-long grievances is by means of mass action such as general strike, movement of non-co-operation or a campaign of civil disobedience and the responsibility for the far-reaching effects of such mass action when it is peaceful and non-violent on the one side and harsh, violent, callous and even brutal on the other side can hardly be disclaimed by Government and laid at the doors of the injured and down-trodden people.

"This Conference, however, considers that after the demonstration of the unparalleled spirit of determined resistance shown by the people in face of the methods of frightfulness practised by the agents of Government; after the proof of the strength born of ready and willing sacrifices made by the nation and after this certainty India has attained the stature which precludes her being bullied into submission we should not be unwilling to consider any terms of honourable settlement if they are based on complete Dominion Status. The Conference, however considers that no settlement will be acceptable to the country unless the Congress participates in it."

Mr. Khaliquzzaman moving the resolution said the first portion of it was obvious truism. There was therefore, little to say about it. The second portion enunciated under what conditions true representatives of Mussalmans could participate in the Round Table Conference. The first essential was that the basis of discussion should be Dominion Status constitution for India. Secondly Mussalmans would participate only if the Congress was a party to it. Congress, he added, was the only organised political party in India. A settlement arrived anywhere would be of tangible value in India only if the Congress was a party to it or it met with the Congress approval.

Otherwise the settlement would be worse than useless. He was aware there were some Mussalmans and some Hindus who were anxious to go to the Round Table Conference. Of course such people would go whether the Conference was useful or useless. It was for Hindus and Muslims alike to assent unequivocally that such people represented nobody. He was sure Hindus would disown such self-seekers promptly. He would appeal to nationalist Mussalmans to take equally prompt measures. The narrow vision of communalists had had enough part to play and it was time for Nationalists to assert themselves and say "You have no business to stigmatise Muslims of this generation eternally. Let not the future generation point the finger of opprobrium at you and say you were men who deliberately aided in the process of

keeping India in bondage longer than was otherwise possible."

Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim seconding the resolution said it was idle for Mussalmans to expect extra-ordinary concession from the British. They would never get it and even if in her own ignoble interest Britain made large promises she was not in a position to deliver the goods.

Mr. Abdul Bari moved an amendment to the effect that Mussalmans would join the Round Table Conference, only if the basis of discussion was Independent India and only when all political prisoners in India had been unconditionally released and all repressions suspended.

In a vehement speech he detailed the measures adopted by the Government at Peshawar, Bombay, Lucknow, Patna and other places and said it did not appear to him that Britain was anxious to keep long connection with India which Dominion Status connoted.

Mr. Tassaduq Sherwani advising Mr. Bari to withdraw his amendment assured him that Congress would not agree to participate in the Round Table Conference unless all the political prisoners were released.

After heated discussion the amendment was withdrawn and the original resolution was carried without opposition.

Mufti Kifayatullah then moved a resolution congratulating all the patriotic Muslims who have gone to jail in the present struggle for freedom and expressing sincere condolence to the relatives of the martyrs who had sacrificed their lives for the country's cause. "Further, the Conference, in view of the sacrifices made by Mussalmans in N. W. F. Punjab, Bihar, Bombay and other Provinces in the struggle for freedom refutes the baseless statements made by Government and interested persons that Mussalmans have not participated as a community in the cause for the emancipation of their motherland."

Mufti Kifayatullah said it was a libel on Muslims to say that in the struggle for freedom they of all people had kept themselves aloof.

Mr. Tassaduq Sherwani supported the resolution and hoped at some future time Hindus might not take up this parrot cry of Government and treat Muslims accordingly. He would urge upon Muslims to give the lie to this sort of talk by joining the civil disobedience movement in large numbers.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### THE DESH SEVIKAS.

Mr. G. S. Kalyanpur writes in the *Free Press Journal*, Bombay :

"Do you know," questioned a friend of mine the other day, as we were trudging along the congested street leading up to the Congress House, "that a little Vaishya child, born far back in the year 1869 at Porbandar, in Gujerat, has today grown to a "Mahatma" to work a miracle; nay, to transcend

history itself, by awakening a slumbering nation, and goading its womanhood to assume a heroic role in the struggle for freedom?"

I could at once make out that he was referring to Mahatmaji and the activities of the lady volunteers in the movement started by him. I had heard and read much about the national work carried on by these "Sevikas," but I was at a loss to know how exactly and when, they had organised themselves to carry on their work in a well-ordered manner. My curiosity in this direction had been tickled, and I dropped in at the Congress House to meet the leader of the "Sevikas," Mrs. Gosasp Behn Captain, a tall, slim lady of 46, and Mrs. Hansa Mehta, the newly elected President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, both of whom impressed me greatly with their ready wit in conversation and a cheerful disposition. For over two hours I felt as if I was listening to an interesting lecture of a history professor as the two veteran workers at Bombay narrated to me individually, the history of the "Rastriya Stree Sabha," an old organisation, of which the "Desh Sevika Sangha" is a part and parcel.

It was exactly a decade ago, I was told, during the early days of the national struggle, that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu initiated the idea of organising a "Stree Sangha" or Union of ladies dedicated to national service. The idea met with Mahatmaji's approval and within a short time, an organisation known as the "Rastriya Stree Sabha" was started, with Mrs. Naidu as the President, Mrs. Gosasp Behn Captain and Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale as the Vice-Presidents, and Mrs. Perin Behn Captain and Mrs. Rattan Ben Mehta as the Secretaries, with the object of striving for the political emancipation of India's womanhood and for carrying on Khaddar propaganda. The appeal sent by the President and Mahatmaji met with a hearty response from a number of educated as well as other ladies, residing in the city and outside, and the work they carried on enthusiastically, by way of national propaganda, during the years 1920 and 1921 was met with appreciation from all quarters.

The city of Bombay was keen on Khadi propaganda, from the beginning and the 'Khadi Vasthra Bhandar' started here by the "Rastriya Stree Sabha" was being assisted by about three hundred lady workers doing embroidery and other work. A fund was started by them, which totalled over a lakh of rupees and the Tilak Vidya Shala and the Antyaja School or Depressed Classes School of Matunga were being financed and managed by them. And though the movement was fast losing ground, during the later years there was never a slackening in the enthusiasm of the principal workers of this league.

During the early days of the movement's revival, last year, Mahatmaji sent an appeal again, calling upon the ladies to contribute their share in the national struggle. And to decide how they were to assist in the campaign, two meetings were called. by

Mahatmaji at Dandi which were attended by Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Jaishree Rajjee, Mrs. Ganga Behn Patel, Mrs. Gosaap Captain and Nurgis Captain and several other veteran lady workers of Bombay as well as of other places. It was resolved at the conference that the picketing of liquor and cloth shops should entirely be taken up by women, though the delegates from Gujerat and some other centres raised at first an objection against liquor picketing by ladies, firstly on the ground of the risks it involved and also on the ground that it was the province of the Labour Union in Gujerat.

As a preparatory move to the launching of this programme, Mrs. Banker, Mrs. Rajjee and others sent round circulars calling upon ladies to respond to Mahatmaji's call by enrolling themselves as volunteers. But at this juncture, the Rashtriya Sthree Sabha intervened, saying that the organisation work came within its own jurisdiction, and it selected three ladies—Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Mrs. Hansa Mehta and Mrs. Jaishree Rajjee as co-opted members of the Sabha who, owing to a hearty response of the Bombay ladies, were able to organise, within a short time, the "Desha Sevika Sangha," as a supplementary body, with about 700 members representing all communities.

The object of the Union has been to strive for national freedom by righteous and non-violent methods, by boycotting foreign cloth and British goods, by encouraging home industries and by eradicating the vice of drink. Each member, while enrolling, has to take a solemn oath that she would wear khaddar alone, or, in its absence, Swadeshi cloth, that she would buy only Indian goods, that she would spin at least a pound of yarn for every six months, and, as far as possible, try to produce Khaddar from her own yarn for personal and family use. Each volunteer has to wear an orange-coloured Khaddar saree, a white Khaddar blouse and the Sangha badge. All the members are taught first-aid and Indian Economics. The whole body of the members is divided into four main classes:—

(a) Those that are prepared to undergo imprisonment, personal injury or insult come under class "A" attending to liquor picketing and some time to cloth picketing, when called upon.

(b) Those that are prepared to undergo imprisonment and not any personal risk which picketing at liquor shops involves, come under class "B", and attend only to cloth picketing.

The minimum age for enrolment in these two classes is fixed at 18, and girls under this age are given work of a different nature.

Most creditable, I am told, is the work which these liquor picketers have been doing. There are 23 shops in Bhuleshwar and 15 in Girgaum, picketed by them in batches of two every evening, from 4 to 9 p.m. The rest of their time is spent in other work like assisting the kitchen department of the Congress, attending the Charkha class, working

in the Congress Hospital, etc. For every batch of six or seven volunteers, there is a leader appointed, whose duty is to gather the members of her batch at the Congress House each morning, to record the names of the picketers when they are sent out, to accompany and leave them at their proper stations, supervise the work in the ward assigned to her and at 9 p.m., when the work closes, to go to every shop where two of the "Savikas" would be working, and accompany them home, and return to the Congress House to give a report to the Captain, who would, all the while, be waiting, to give instructions and to supervise about the safety of all. It is a pleasure to see these picketers leaving the Congress House, batch by batch in motor carriages, and stationing themselves at the shop entrances, plying their "takli" all the time and humming national songs. When a customer would approach the toddy-shed, the Sevikas would appeal to him, with folded hands, by way of a prayer, drawing his attention to the evils of drink, and the sweet persuasion would, in most cases, bring him round. Of course, there have been cases of abusing, as one can gather, but, I know, that in many instances, where the customers would be stubborn, the shopkeepers, most of whom, I am told, have been all the way polite, would come to the rescue of the picketer by informing his client that he would not sell any toddy in the presence of his "sister."

(c) The work of the "C" class members is to go from house to house, preaching the gospel of Swadeshi and abstinence, and to record Swadeshi pledges in each family. A record of each member's work would be examined by the Captain every day. It is ladies with little children to look after who come under classes other than the first two.

The fourth class is known as the "Charkha Section" and is responsible for a good deal of constructive work which the Congress has done. The members who have mainly taken up tutorial work, go house to house preaching the value of Khaddar propaganda, enrol members from each family, and start classes of spinning in every 'Chawl' where a teacher would be sent every afternoon to teach all the processes of spinning, carding, etc. Spinning wheels and cotton are being provided, free of charge, by the "Rashtriya Sthree Sabha" and the spun yarn taken back to be woven into khaddar, at the weaving establishment which is in charge of the Union.

The Desha Sevikas have been forging ahead, day by day, in the national struggle; and one great point about their union is that it is free from all communal differences, notwithstanding its representative character—a fact of which the leaders of the Union are immensely proud.

"I am really proud of this institution," declared Mrs. Hansa Mehta to me while parting, "for the admirable work it has done and for the spirit which its members have shown. I never expected that there would be this great awakening of India's womanhood in this century."

### WOMEN'S VIEW OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS.

Mrs. M. E. Cousins writes in the current number of *Street Dharma*:—Things are very dark in India just now, but all hope it is that darkest hour which precedes the dawn. The political tension occupies the attention of everybody almost to the exclusion of affairs in which interest was formerly taken. People seem to feel that it is no use lopping off branches if the root is diseased, and so they have directed their thoughts and actions to getting direct control over their own national laws and finances. Some women are breaking the Salt Law as a symbol of protest against a form of government which allowed an exorbitant tax to be levied against the mandate of the people's representatives by the Viceroy's power of veto. At least forty such women have been during the past month imprisoned for this cause and for breaking the Section that forbids free speech and the holding of meetings and processions. These are in north and south, east and west, all notable women of good character and well-known for their interest in constructive nation-building such as Srimati Satya Devi of Delhi, Mrs. Mitra, Srimati Durgabai, Srimati Lakshmi Narayan of Andhra, in addition to those mentioned last month, though it is invidious to mention any names. Mrs. Captain and Mrs. Munshi of Bombay by their quick wisdom have saved numbers of dangerous situations in the impasses which are daily occurring in Bombay City. Mrs. Gandhi moves freely through the country with her band of ardent propagandists, picketing drink shops and foreign cloth shops. She has had a royal welcome everywhere, especially in Imperial Delhi. It is impossible to summarise the resurgence of a nation, especially of the country people. In small towns one sees boys and girls busy with the takli, men and women eager to spin, spinning classes starting every-where and adults feeling the joy and fascination of creating homespun cloth, spinning one of the threads of India's freedom,—its economic self-reliance. The Simon Commission Report has come and received the kind of welcome the Commission itself got. Its conclusion that the women of India have not shown themselves good enough citizens to merit self-government is utterly false. We shall analyse this in our next issue. Its recommendation to create a second army for India, women repudiate with all the force at their command. When already the military expenditure in India absorbs 45 per cent. of its total revenues, the idea of extra military allocations becomes preposterous. The whole thing is behind the times in psychology and it is special pleading in which through a quite human British bias every fact gets its angle twisted to reflect the desire of the Superior Seven to retain British domination. Meanwhile the forces of law and order continue wielding the lathi and shooting the gun against unarmed resisters. Cruelty of the most shameful kind has been inflicted by the police on salt raiders, and satyagrahis generally, attested by

Doctors and men such as Mr. Deva-thar, whose word no one but an "authority" would challenge.

Women have taken their full share in all the struggle and received their wounds of honour, but inflicted none. No country in the world has ever so incredibly carried out the injunction "hatred ceaseth by love." People wait prayerfully from day to day for the gesture of conciliation, for the word "Shanti" coupled with freedom. The Women's International League of Peace and Freedom is making special efforts in London, America and Geneva to secure self-government for India. Their Resolution sent all over the world is "They urge the British Government to make a definite announcement that the object of the Round Table Conference is to formulate a scheme for full responsible government for India." Other British Associations are working very hard in England to bring about Indian peace. Mrs. Graham, President of the Commonwealth of India League, wife of the Labour Minister of Industries, is tirelessly urging the government both publicly and privately to give India full Dominion Status. Dr. Annie Besant and Mrs. H. Sen have been addressing meetings of the House of Commons, but no gleam of light yet pierces the governmental darkness.

### DEPRESSED CLASS CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS.

A Bombay Government Press Note says:—

In a press note issued in 1923 the Government of Bombay declared it as their policy that no disability should be imposed on the children of the depressed classes in the matter of receiving education in schools managed with the aid of public funds. They accordingly directed their educational officers to see that no such disability was imposed on depressed class pupils.

The report by the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, on the working of these orders for the year 1928-29 makes interesting reading.

In the Bombay Division, admission was not refused to children of the depressed classes in the schools under the control of any local body except those under the District Local Board of Ratnagiri. The President, District Local Board, Ratnagiri has been asked to take steps to remove the disability caused to the depressed class children in the matter of their admission to the schools concerned. Mr. B. K. Gaikwar, a member of the District Local Board, Nasik has made certain allegations to the effect that depressed class children are not allowed to sit along with other pupils in some District Local Board schools of the Nasik District and these allegations are being enquired into.

There were no cases of refusal of admission to schools of children of the depressed classes in the Northern Division except in the Ahmedabad and Surat districts. The schools in question in the Ahmedabad district meet in temples, dharamsalas or private rent free house and the village people

generally object to the admission of depressed class pupils on religious grounds. The people of the villages concerned were, however, warned by the District Educational Inspector, that they would lose the benefit of their schools if they did not change their attitude. As a result of this warning, the villagers subsequently withdrew their objection to the admission of depressed class pupils.

In the Surat District feeling in this connection is changing. Only one case (viz., that in Delad in taluka Olpad) in which depressed classes withdrew their children from school owing to the indirect pressure of advanced classes was reported. The people are being persuaded to act according to Government orders and it is hoped that they will withdraw their objections.

The Educational Inspector, Northern Division, observes that instances occur where depressed class pupils themselves offer to sit outside for fear of social boycott and in such cases, no pressure is exercised, since it generally results in the withdrawal of depressed class pupils from schools.

There are no primary schools managed by local authorities in the Central and Southern Divisions and Sind where admission is being refused to children of the depressed classes.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**The Late Mr. S. K. Brahmandkar:**—The death of Mr. Brahmandkar, the son-in-law of Mr. Jayakar, occurred on Sunday the 20th July. He took a keen and abiding interest in the affairs of the several charitable and educational institutions of his community, especially the Pathare Prabhu Relief Fund, the Pathare Prabhu Charities, and the Pathare Prabhu Social Samaj. Mr. Brahmandkar was a promising young man and his loss is felt by a wide circle of friends. We convey our heartfelt sympathy to his family in their great bereavement.

**Protestants and Catholics:**—The *Catholic Leader* does not look with favour on the formation of an Indian Christian Nationalist Party including both the sects. It observes: "We wonder if permanent union with Protestants even for political purposes would be of any advantage to the Catholic community. It is true Government looks upon Indian Christians of all denominations as one body and they may not adequately safeguard their interests unless they work jointly for the achievement of common ends. But it seems to us this union must be casual and temporary, for the differences between Catholics and Protestants, based on antagonistic religious convictions, are wide and fundamental. On such questions as marriage and divorce, State prohibition, relations between the Church and State, eugenics, birth control, Catholics and Protestants are not in agreement. There are many social and political questions which are connected with religion and on which these two communities are divided into opposite camps. Further, there is a danger lest the general belief of non-Christians that Catholics and Protestants hold more or less the same creed may be strengthened by such organisations. We must not also forget that Protestantism owes its origin to a revolt against the traditional teachings of Christianity and against the

centre of authority. Even in political matters there is nothing which binds us in particular to the Protestants in contradistinction with Hindus and Mahomedans, except that the Government has placed Christians of all denominations under one and the same category for practical political purposes. Therefore, we are inclined to question the wisdom and expediency of a permanent organisation for Catholics and Protestants."

**A Sentence Commuted:**—A resolution of the Government of Bombay states that under the powers conferred on him by section 402 of the Criminal Procedure Code Act V of 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to commute the sentence of four months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 or in default further one month's rigorous imprisonment passed on 7th July 1930 by the Resident Magistrate, Kurla upon Mrs. Lukmani at present confined in the Thana District Prison into those of simple imprisonment of the same terms. The Superintendent, Thana District Prison has been ordered to place Mrs. Lukmani in Class A.

**Devadasi System Abolished:**—The Maharani Regent has abolished the Devadasi system in all state temples in Travancore. The order will be in force from next Malabar year.

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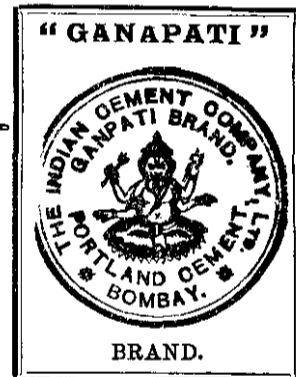
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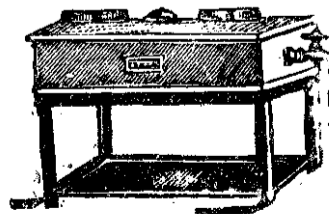
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Vol. XL.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1930

No. 48

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**The Round Table Conference:—**The Round Table Conference which as originally announced was to be one between His Majesty's Government and representatives of British India and Indian States, has been enlarged so as to admit representatives of the two Opposition parties in Parliament. The Prime Minister defended this extension on the ground, which we had suggested, that it will facilitate the later discussion in Parliament. Sir Austen Chamberlain wanted the Simon Commission also to be represented but the Prime Minister said that "at the moment" Government were definitely of opinion that it was undesirable to invite Sir John Simon to join the Conference. It will not be surprising if, under pressure from the Conservatives and Liberals, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald finds good reason for reconsidering this point also. Then, again, suggestions are being made in the English Press that the Dominions also should be consulted on the question of Indian constitutional reform. Some one may yet propose that all the European nations should be requested to send their representatives also, as they are all more or less interested in exploiting India. America, too, may claim to have a voice as Great Britain owes her a large sum of money and the effect of self-Government to India on British credit is a matter of concern to her. It is quite obvious that there are people in England who would be glad to reduce the Conference to a ridiculous farce. The Viceroy and the Labour Government are, no doubt, earnest about helping India to secure a substantial measure of self-Government, but what chances are there of their being able to do so against the massed opposition of vested interests?

**The Jayakar-Sapru Conversations:—**After two interviews with Pandit Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru in Allahabad Central Jail, Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru were entrusted with a letter to Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Jayakar took it to Poona while Sir Tej remained at Allahabad. The inconvenience of carrying on delicate negotiations in this manner, is obvious. We urged last week that the Congress leaders should have an opportunity of meeting together to discuss the situation. A similar

suggestion was made in Parliament last week. Meanwhile Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has stated in a Press Note that he and Mr. Jayakar have recommended the same course, and they do not expect any difficulty in the way of the necessary permission being granted. The position of the supporters of the Conference has meanwhile become involved in the factious attempts in England to make its composition unpalatable to the Indian public. The attempt to force Sir John Simon on the Conference has apparently been foiled, but it has produced a very unpleasant feeling in this country. The postponement of the Conference to November is another sign that the British Government does not find its path easy in this matter. The Jayakar-Sapru mission cannot but feel itself handicapped by these developments. The Congress Working Committee which is sitting in Bombay has taken no formal notice of the peace talks but it is certain that the members, among whom are present Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Abul Kalam Azad and Deep Narain Singh, have had informal consultations about it. The strong fight which the Opposition leaders in England are putting up to be represented at the Conference shows the great importance which they attach to it. The deputation from India will have its work cut out to counter the machinations of English party politicians and retired Anglo-Indian officials in collusion with the syndicated, capitalist Press.

**The C. P. R. Iyer Interlude:—**Two days before Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru visited Mahatma Gandhi in Yeravda Jail, the public were surprised to read in the *Times of India* a message to the effect that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer had interviewed Mahatmaji in jail. Since the Slocombe interview, the authorities have refused permission to applicants to visit Mahatmaji. Pandit Motilal Nehru after waiting three days had to leave Bombay without getting the requisite permission. The Government of Bombay promptly contradicted the statement about Sir C. P. Ramaswami's interview, but the *Times'* Ootacamund correspondent repeated his statement with further particulars. "I saw Sir Ramaswamy Aiyar on July 22nd," he wrote, "and he confirmed that he had an interview with Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu in the Yeravda Jail. On the 19th when I interviewed him he told me that he was expecting a letter from Mr. Gandhi that day about the compromise and promised to give me its contents. He told me yesterday that he was allowed to see Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu only for one hour and that, while Mrs. Naidu had no objection to the

compromise, Mr. Gandhi wanted at least some sort of personal assurance from his Excellency the Viceroy that his demands would be met. Questioned again as to what attitude Mr. Gandhi would take with regard to the Sapru-Jayakar interview, he said that Mr. Gandhi would refer them to the Nehrus first and would give his decision later." Six days later, an *Associated Press* message conveyed a categorical denial of the alleged interview from Sir C. P. Ramaswami. "I never saw Mahatma Gandhi in the Yeravada jail," he said. "If any correspondent wired to that effect to his paper it must have been due to a misapprehension of what I said. I saw Mrs. Naidu at the Yeravada jail and there was a conversation regarding Mahatma Gandhi and his attitude." The *Times of India's* correspondent has not seen fit to explain how he came to misapprehend so grossly the purport of what he heard from Sir C. P. Ramaswami.

**Foreign Missions In China:**—The Chinese Republican Government have issued orders prohibiting the establishment of primary schools, kindergarten or normal schools for Chinese students by associations organised by persons not of Chinese nationality. The Chinese Government have also prohibited, it would seem, the public preaching of Christianity. The Rev. Dr. A. R. Kepler who supplies this information to the *Dnyanodaya* regards these orders as an attempt to "supress" Christianity. The same gentleman adds that "the significant fact is that although many of the leading personalities in the Government are opposed to these measures (not a few of them are themselves Christians), nevertheless they are helpless, and becoming increasingly so in the face of the growing radicalism and power of the local Tangpu or Local Party Headquarters." It is inconceivable that Christian Ministers, however strong the pressure may be from Party Headquarters, would agree to measures having for their object the suppression of Christianity. The more probable explanation is that the Chinese Christians feel as several Indian Christians do that foreign Christian Missions are in effect operating as agencies for the dissemination of the political and cultural influence of their respective countries. They perhaps agree with the Party Headquarters in holding that "cultural invasion, as an implement of the imperialistic powers for the exploitation of China, is more dangerous to the existence and development of the Chinese people than political and economic exploitation." This is the reason advanced by the Executive Committee for the measures referred to. In the Madras Presidency, the other day, an American Missionary was obliged to leave the country because he entertained Mr. Reginald Reynolds who has been an appreciative student of Mahatma Gandhi's movement. We are not aware that the Missionary Journals published any correspondence from any Missionary on the incident. If the Chinese Government were sure that an undertaking such as all foreign Missionaries uncomplainingly give in British India will be observed with equal strictness in China, they might have been content with it. But the European or American Missionary in Asiatic countries feels it his duty to make the people ashamed of their heritage and surroundings as the first step towards converting them to the special brand of Christianity intended for

subject nations. No national government can afford to let this sort of undermining propaganda to be carried on particularly when the country is still in the transitional stage from an autocratic to a free regime.

**The Patiala Enquiry:**—As might have been expected the Patiala Enquiry has excited interest in England. In the House of Commons, on the 24th instant, Mr. Wedgwood Benn informed Mr. Marley that he had not received any information from the Government of India regarding the progress of the Patiala inquiry. Mr. Marley urged the necessity for expedition in view of the fact that the Maharaja of Patiala would be attending the Round Table Conference. Mr. Marley pointed out that the inquiry had closed on the 14th June. Mr. Benn said that the inquiry had opened on the 9th June and he had no further official information. The charges against the Maharaja having been publicly made, they have to be proved or disproved at a public enquiry. Mr. Fitzpatrick's opinion of them is at best purely personal. It is obvious that the presence of the Maharaja at the head of the Princes' deputation in London before the matter is fully and finally cleared up, will be a source of embarrassment rather than help to Government as well as the Princes. We have already pointed out that it is unfair to burden the Maharaja with this great responsibility at the present stage.

**The "Gramani"s:**—We have received three issues of a new monthly magazine published in Nagpur with this name. Village reconstruction has been very much in the air and is only temporarily obscured by the *satyagraha* movement. It is pleasing, therefore, to note that journals are being started to discuss rural problems. The *Gramani* is "devoted to the study of village self-government and village civics in India," and is conducted in the English language in view of its All-India appeal. The first numbers are of a high standard. A comparative study of rural problems in different parts of the country, is sure to prove interesting and successful efforts made in one province will be an incentive to similar work in other provinces. Other journals devoted to a like object are mentioned in the cover page of *Gramani*. They are the Calcutta Municipal Gazette, the Madras Panchayat Bulletin, Pally-Swaraj Bengalee monthly, Gram Sevak Marathi monthly, Local Self-government Gazette Marathi Weekly, and Municipal Gazette, Marathi fortnightly. Of the three Marathi journals, two are published in the Central Provinces and Berar. The annual subscription for the *Gramani* is Rs. five and it is the organ of an association of that name whose object is to promote and spread village self-government or Gram-panchayats all over the country. The address of the Association and the Journal is Civil Station, Nagpur.

**The Dowry Evil:**—The Munshiganj correspondent of the *Bengalee* reports the self-immolation of a young girl of 16 to save her parents from pecuniary embarrassment in consequence of having to get her married. She poured kerosine oil and set fire to her clothes. Cases of this kind have been occurring for several years past and it is high time that Hindu leaders took strong measures to prevent their recurrence.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, AUGUST 2, 1930.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS TO  
THE FORE.

A notable development within the last few days, is the sudden emergence of the Indian Christian community from comparative insignificance to a position of leadership in the national movement. The community numbers less than five millions of the 220 millions of the population of British India. It is divided sharply into Catholics and Protestants, and the latter again into many denominations. Till a few years ago, it was inclined to follow politics in the separatist spirit and pin its faith to separate electorates. From this danger, it was saved by the influence, be it said to their credit, of thoughtful leaders like S. K. Datta, K. T. Paul and Rallia Ram who clearly foresaw that the effect of a policy of isolation and segregation would be detrimental to the spiritual no less than to the material interests of the community. The Christian Missionary in this country represents the spiritual side of Western civilization and we are glad to acknowledge that, in the present national struggle, the best of them have, in all the ways open to them, striven and are striving to promote a settlement of peace and goodwill between the British and Indian nations. Some of them have shown the way to the political government by themselves voluntarily making way for Indian leadership in the administration of their missions. It is due to the wise co-operation of Indian Christian leaders and thoughtful missionaries that the relation between Indian Christian leaders and the Missionaries today is one largely of confiding comradeship and not one of suspicious antagonism. There are, of course, several exceptions, but we are writing of what we have known and seen, and it is our impression that the best Christian, and especially British, Missionaries are behind Indian Christian leaders in their zeal to uphold the ideals and advance the purposes of Indian nationalism.

The breadth of view and largeness of spirit of the leaders of the community, are abundantly clear in the great manifesto which they have issued on the present situation and which we published in full in last week's *Reformer*. With the issue of that statement of their attitude towards Indian nationalism they have at a single stride placed the Indian Christian community in the very forefront of the movement. The squabbles of majority and minority communities, they have swept aside by the simple and yet grand declaration that the importance of a community in the nation must be proved not by the strength of numbers but by the strength of its service and sacrifice in

the national cause. "We are confident," they declare, "that our own community, especially the rising generation, is well aware of the fact that the place of a minority in a nation is its value to the whole nation and not merely unto itself. That value depends on the quality of its life, the standard of its preparation for life's various activities, the strenuousness with which it throws itself into the avenues of useful service and the genuineness with which it seeks the commonweal." The signatories to this stately document are all Protestants. But the same wise thoughts were expressed by Mr. Ratnaswamy, the Indian Catholic leader, in a recent address to his co-religionists at Trichinopoly. We reprinted his observations in the *Reformer* of the 19th instant, but we may quote a sentence or two here. "The treatment which any individual receives from the society to which he belongs, or the treatment which any minority community may expect to receive from the majority communities, depends upon the service which that individual or that community is able to render to the country; in other words, the treatment that we get will depend upon the service we, as Catholics, we Christians, are able to render to our people and our country. That is the only test by which the right of a minority community to exist will be tried." No community, majority or minority, can flourish as a parasite, at the expense of its neighbours.

The formation of the Christian Nationalists Party in Bombay is thus not an accident. It is the logical outcome of the ripe thought of the community as voiced by its best esteemed leaders. The Party has been very active in enlisting the support of members of the community and in order to help them to learn at first hand the inspiring principles of Indian nationalism, it is arranging a series of addresses in Bombay. The first of these addresses was delivered by Mr. J. C. Kumarappa of the Gujarath Vidyapith on Wednesday. Mr. Kumarappa, we may mention in passing, gave up a lucrative career as a highly qualified Accountant in Bombay to serve the national cause. He is one of the best-read and most thoughtful of the younger generation of Indian Christians. We publish the first third of his paper to-day. The rest will follow in the next two issues. In this address, Mr. Kumarappa stands forward as the representative of the distinctive, Indian culture and outlook as against the culture and outlook of the West. He describes with rare insight the root ideas of Indian evolution, and shows that Mahatma Gandhi's movement but seeks to bring India from straying in alien and ill-understood paths to the high road of India's natural instincts and cultural genius. It is this fact, namely, that the Gandhi movement is in line with the national genius

which accounts for the spontaneous manner in which the masses everywhere have responded to it. But the especial value of Mr. Kumarappa's paper is that it shows that not only is the Gandhi movement in the direct line of Indian tradition but also that it is in close accord with the principles underlying the teachings of Jesus Christ. It is thus doubly interesting as an exposition of the root ideas of Indian culture and as a linking-up of those ideas and that culture with the mind of the great Teacher of Nazareth. Mr. Kumarappa's paper is a very important contribution to the religious no less than to the political thought of our day.

#### THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF PARVATIBAI ATHAVALE.\*

In the *Indian Social Reformer* of December 6th last year, we noticed the English translation by Dr. Justin E. Abbott of the autobiography and verses of the seventeenth century Maharashtra poetess and saint, Bahina Bai. He has done a like service to the English-reading public by his English translation of the autobiography of Parvatibai Athavale of the Poona Hindu Women's University. We have named the two books together not only because they owe their English garb to Dr. Abbott but because there is a striking resemblance between the two careers. Three centuries have made little difference in the root characteristics of the two daughters of Maharashtra. Their early hard life of poverty, their struggle to find freedom of self-expression, their perseverance through great difficulties in the pursuit of their purpose, show that it is the same rock out of which their characters are hewn. Bahina devoutly adhering to the faith and practices of a rigid orthodoxy, sought and found freedom for her spirit in the fear religion of Bhakti. Parvatibai's object, curious as it seems, was the comparatively minor one of acquiring a working knowledge of the English language. She was one of three sisters who, married while they were yet children, all became widowed before they reached their teens. Their father while on a visit to Poona was present at a famous debate between Shastris on the question of the remarriage of Hindu widows, which was hotly debated in the middle of the last century owing to the movement of reform started by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Parvatibai's father was satisfied from what he heard that the custom preventing the remarriage of Hindu widows had no authority in the Shastras. At their home in the village of Deorukh in the Ratnagiri district, young Dhondo Keshav Karve was a frequent visitor with his friend, one of Parvatibai's brothers. Karve was then a widower. Let Parvatibai tell what happened. "Once my father asked Professor Karve why he did not remarry. Professor Karve replied, 'if I can find a young Brahman widow, willing to live with me in my

simple manner of life, I would be willing to marry her. If I cannot find such an one I have determined to remain unmarried the rest of my life.' My father replied, 'If such is your determination, why not marry our Baya (Parvatibai's widowed sister)?' Professor Karve answered 'if your daughter is ready to marry me, I see no difficulty in the way'. Our father then went personally to Sharada Sadan (Home for women then newly started by Pandita Ramabai) in Bombay and said to Baya, 'Professor Karve, a holy Brahman, is willing to marry you. If you consent to marry him, it will not be displeasing to me.' Baya consented, and thus inspired by my father's desire the widow remarriage took place".

The marriage brought about in such a matter of fact way had far-reaching consequences. Professor Karve's sympathy with the lot of young Hindu widows was not exhausted by redeeming one of them. He formed a plan of establishing a Home for Widows. Meanwhile, he had persuaded his young sister-in-law, Parvatibai, who had also been left a widow with a little son, to train for a Teacher's certificate and when the Home was opened with eighteen girls in a hut at Hingane, she joined it as a teacher and life-worker. Professor Karve was full of the subject of the sad lot of Hindu widows and he imparted his ideas to his sister-in-law. People thought that Parvatibai would also get remarried like her sister under Professor Karve's influence. Her own mother protested to Mrs. Karve, her elder remarried sister, "If Parvati should follow your example, it will mean a stain on our family. Rather than that, it would be better for her to go on the pilgrimage (to Benares) and die of cholera." Parvatibai at the time shared her mother's views, and it was only because of the facilities which Poona offered for the education of her seven year old boy that she agreed to go and live with the Karves. This is by the way. One of the duties of Parvatibai as a teacher of the Widows' Home was to collect subscriptions for its maintenance. This system which originated in Poona is responsible for building up many great institutions like the Deccan Education Society with its Colleges and High Schools, the Poona Seva Sadan with its many branches, the Servants of India Society and the Hindu Women's University. The work of collecting subscriptions is a tedious one and requires for success inexhaustible patience and infinite capacity to bear bores gladly. Parvatibai had her full share of such experiences and more than her full share, for at that time women taking part in public movements was a strange thing, and she was not only a woman but also a widow!

#### IN SEARCH OF ENGLISH.

By and by, Parvatibai was deputed for collection work to places where Marathi was not spoken, and she found that her lack of English was a great handicap to her. She decided to overcome this, by acquiring the language. She was advised that she could do this best most quickly by placing

\* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

herself in surroundings where English was spoken. At the suggestion of Dr. Khandvala, she formed the idea of joining the Convent School at Bandra. It was the first or second time that I met her then. But she found that she did not make much progress there owing to the great distance of age between her and the other pupils—she was 43 while the average in the class was perhaps 10 years. She next tried the Scottish Mission School in Bombay where she remained for three years. But here too she did not make much progress in her cherished object. "I became," she writes, "able to read a little English but I made no progress whatever in speaking English, and the great desire I had, that through a knowledge of English, I might do better work for the Home, found little encouragement." It was next suggested that she should live in an English family for some months, but she found no English family to take her in. It then occurred to Professor Karve that if Parvatibai was sent to a foreign country where English was spoken, she, besides picking up the language, would also have the opportunity of seeing several institutions. With Professor Karve to have an idea is to put it into effect. It was soon resolved that Parvatibai should go to America to learn English in her forty-eighth year. Owing to the World War, it was unsafe to go to England in 1918, and that is why America was chosen.

Mrs. Parvatibai started on her long voyage to San Francisco in the care of Professor Dharmanand Kosambi who, with his daughter and son, was also going to America to take up an engagement at Boston. She was utterly unused to Western ways and her vegetarianism led to her being practically starved during the voyage. Dress was another cause of trouble. The clothes which she had bought in Bombay proved to be unsuitable and ineffective in the climatic conditions of the voyage. The shoes particularly were a torture. She had never before worn European shoes, she says, and they seemed so heavy to her. Professor Kosambi purchased another pair for her at Colombo but they were no better. She preferred to go barefoot to enduring the torture of her shoes. In the true spirit of service, Parvatibai advises every Indian woman about to go to a foreign country, to practice at least for three months the wearing of European shoes before going aboard the steamer! Much water, however, has flown under the bridge since 1918, and an Indian who wears her Indian sandals, will nowadays provoke no comment either on board the ship or in foreign countries. Even European shoes need not be a torture if they are made to fit easily and are not too high. As the result of her privations, Parvatibai was ill practically all throughout the voyage. She became worse at San Francisco and Professor Kosambi had to leave her in charge of the Young Women's Christian Association there as he had to take up his duties at Boston. Professor Kosambi had left instructions that if Parvatibai did not recover soon, she was to be sent back home. The

thought of returning to India without fulfilling her purpose of learning English, was a vexation to her. But fortunately her health improved and as her financial resources were slender she had to find some work to maintain herself. "If I remained unemployed," she writes, "according to American Poor Laws I should be turned over to the British authorities and sent back to India, and the expense of deporting me would be collected from my friends in India. I consider such a fate worse than death, and I have to thank God for delivering me from it."

#### STRUGGLES IN AMERICA.

The first job which she found was in a Home for aged and pensioned Missionaries in Oakland. Her work there was to keep the dining room, chapel, and library swept and dusted, washing the dishes of the dining room and keeping the window-panes clean. The custom in America, she says, is to have a separate dish for every course, and each aged and pensioned missionary, of whom there were evidently forty in the Home, used about ten dishes at every meal. Parvatibai had thus to wash 400 dishes each day and with her other duties, she was continuously at work from morning until night. The retired missionaries attempted to convert her to Christianity. They said, she writes, "unless you accept Christ neither you nor your country can be saved." Her constant answer was, "Teach me English. I shall then be able to compare your religion with mine, and I shall surely accept the religion which is true." But the proselytising efforts of the retired missionaries, was too much for her. "In this Missionary Home of Peace," she says rather bitterly, "I found I got no peace." She was determined never to give up her religion, whatever happened. It is impossible to read without emotion the mental anguish of this Hindu widow alone in a distant foreign land. "When my daily tasks were over," she writes, "I used to go to my room to rest my mind, and then I read the twelfth chapter of the Bhagavadgita, and then, I prayed, 'O God, Krishna, here in America thou alone art my Saviour.' With this prayer I used to go to sleep. I was in the Home of Peace but ten days, when in a most marvellous way the way opened to leave it."

#### WITH INDIAN STUDENTS.

Three Indian students, who were from Poona and Bombay and spoke Marathi, at the instance of Dr. Hardikar, called on her and took her to live with them. "At twelve o'clock" she writes, "I saw three handsome Indian students approaching and it seemed to me as though Krishna had assumed the form of Brahmadeo, Vishnu and Shiva, and had come to give protection to this lowly widow from another land. As I met these Indian students my eyes filled with tears." The students pressed her to go and live with them but, she adds, "being somewhat acquainted with the financial condition of Indian students, I told them to call and see me occasionally, and not add to their financial burdens



by having me with them." The students, however, insisted and she went to live with them at Berkeley. Parvatibai acted as cook and housekeeper for the students who did everything they could to make her feel at home with them. But the purpose for which she had gone was not being fulfilled. "I received very little sympathy," she writes, "from these Indian students in regard to the purpose for which I had come to America. They used to say to me, 'why did Professor Karve send one of your age to America?' "I thought these boys would teach me English, but they had hardly time for their own work, let alone teaching me. Being in America one would think I would learn English by the direct method of hearing it spoken, but in the house I heard nothing but Marathi, and I seldom had the opportunity of going outside." Parvatibai got into touch with Professor Gokhale of Indore who was living at Schenectady, New York. The railway journey occupied six days and cost about Rs. 450 which the Professor sent her. Parvatibai's vegetarianism, ignorance of American customs and unfamiliarity with the English language, were also causes of much inconvenience. She secured a position as dishwasher in a large hospital, the duties of which nearly killed her. Then she took service in a family which treated her kindly. She was very happy there when some Bengali student called on her and upbraided her for bringing shame on Indians by doing menial work in an American family. Parvatibai protested that there was nothing dishonourable in it, but somehow she seems to have yielded for the time being to his offer to collect enough money to pay her passage back to India. He left the family in which she was serving and was waiting at the Y. M. C. A. in New York, when some other Indians intervened and it was decided that she should not be sent back against her wishes.

#### IN NEW YORK.

Parvatibai's experiences in New York were of a pleasant character. She gives an interesting picture of an Irish woman who was devoting all her spare time to collect funds for the Irish Cause. Having heard of the movement to boycott British goods in India, this woman organised a boycott of British tea among her Irish neighbours, and sent the sum saved to Ireland. Parvatibai was a delegate to the Industrial Conference of Industrial Workers at Washington where she met Mr. N. M. Joshi. Thereafter Parvatibai stayed with a family consisting of a mother and daughter interested in philanthropic work who were very good to her. She returned to India in 1920 making a short stay in London and Paris.

The story of Parvatibai's life is another proof, of which there are so many nowadays, of the indomitable spirit of Indian Womanhood. One cannot help feeling that with a little previous preparation, she could have been spared much of the hardships which she underwent. But these hardships themselves bring out the vital elements of character.

#### NATIONALISM.

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA).

Two thousand years ago a learned lawyer went to a simple carpenter of Nazareth and with reference to the command "Love thy neighbour as thyself" asked him 'who is my neighbour?' I need hardly remind you how that question was answered by what has come to be called 'The parable of the good Samaritan.' To-day the nations of the world are asking 'Who are our neighbours?' What shall the answer be?

To enable us to answer this question it will be necessary to examine the instincts and emotions that regulate relationships between man and man. It is in these elementary relationships that we can find the embryo of motives that sway international politics; as after all a nation is but an aggregate of individuals. We may even go still further and trace it to the instinct to animals, as man is basically an animal. The animal instinct with the touch of the divine becomes love. Take the divine element out of it and we revert back to the crude animal again.

Amongst animals we find what is generally termed 'the herd-instinct.' Gregarious animals get together either for safety as in the case of a flock of sheep or for purposes of an attack as in the case of a pack of wolves. Man is a gregarious animal and he exhibits both these forms of herd-instinct. Thus we find two distinct types of Nationalism manifesting themselves to-day. One we shall call 'Sheep-flock Nationalism' and the other 'Wolf-Pack-Nationalism.'

Unfortunately upto now 'the wolf-pack-nationalism' has been the only type that has drawn the attention of our philosophers and seers. This is but natural. The prodigal son and the ne'er-do-well of the parents generally receive greater attention. The hatred and pugnacity bred by this type has been a great deal in the forefront during the last century and a half and more especially during the last few decades particularly in European civilization. We shall in our turn survey first this wolf-pack-nationalism and then turn to the other form.

In the early stages of social organisations several families banded themselves together and formed a tribe under a patriarch. Later this expanded into a race and when confined within a geographical limit became a nation. The spirit of unity that binds a nation together is nationalism. The tribe and the nation often form units with a central loyalty to a person or persons or to each other. Thus the simplest elementary constituent to which the compound Nationalism can be reduced is love that holds together a family. The crude love of a father who is a robber drives him to deprive others of their property so that his children may be fed and clothed. This love is mingled with a

An address delivered before the National Christian Party, Bombay on Wednesday the 30th July.

large measure of selfishness and is not of the noblest kind. This limited affection is embodied in the prayer:—

'O Lord, Bless me and my wife,  
My son John and his wife,  
Us four and no more.'

Amongst nations we still have thieves that rob the traveller, strip him of his raiment, wound him and depart, leaving him half dead as in the parable above referred to. Our own country is in this half dead state today. Harder the struggle for existence narrower and more self-centered their outlook becomes. The earlier inhabitants of Europe had to contend with hostile elements of nature and became primarily a hunting people and developing their prowess in other directions with the advance of years. We notice individualism, a form of selfishness, is strongest wherever natural environments are poor; and when this matures into nationalism it assumes a very narrow form. The early Greeks who were mostly fishermen and hunters founded a civilisation based on the individual. They were not willing to sacrifice any part of their individual freedom. The same is true of the bleak northern and western Europe. We trace this zeal for freedom and unwillingness to submit to authority even in religion. Martin Luther and the reformers were northerners. The so-called democratic government is also a product of that influence of the north and the west. While the north developed individual farmsteads we find the more temperate climate in the south of Europe encouraged the development of village units. Isolated farmsteads are not so conducive to the development of social attributes in man as villages. In this manner the northern and western nations of Europe developed a strong selfish outlook.

As society began to settle down the hunter's prowess began to assume the form of Imperialism; and European Civilisation became a political civilisation. These nations have evolved a predatory and mechanical nationalism which enables them to prey upon other nations not sufficiently organised to take care of themselves. It is this type of Nationalism that Rabindranath Tagore has in mind when he says "The political civilisation of the west is always watchful to keep the aliens at bay or to exterminate them. It is carnivorous and cannibalistic in its tendencies, it feeds upon the resources of other peoples and tries to swallow their whole future." And feels that "the spirit of conflict and conquest is at the origin and in centre of western nationalism." We look in vain for something of the elements that go to compose the noble traits in human nature. It is purely a political soulless machine. It represents power devoid of ideals. We find nothing of the spirituality that marks the divine in man. Nationalism has been exploited for purposes of Mammon worship. The rituals are abhorrent and nauseating. As Tagore puts it "the vital ambition of the present civilisation of Europe is to have the exclusive possession of the devil." The country has

been glorified at the cost of Humanity. This insular and virulent type of nationalism has set nation against nation and has lowered man below the level of even brutes. It has not hesitated to enter the sacred precincts of the Church and to subordinate the claims of religion to those of commerce. In many instances it has made a handmaiden of religion to work out its prelatory designs.

In society no individual can have absolute freedom. Each one has to surrender a part of his rights for the common good of all. This principle is applicable in international affairs as well. But at present we find each nation claiming absolute sovereignty for itself, to do as it pleases with little or no interference from others. This outcome of nationalism is the cause of the peril of international peace. Every nation looks upon every other nation as a possible enemy. One enters into a secret treaty with another against a third and this underhand diplomacy is fraught with danger. It may explode any moment, as it did in 1914, and result in a large scale massacre and wipe out the civilisation of the West. Bertrand Russell says "England has hitherto always been the decisive factor in preserving that state of anarchy which our grandfathers called 'the liberties of Europe'." His remedy is international socialism and formation of large self-contained states like America and Russia, where people will not need to cross the boundary to satisfy their wants. In this he appears to forget the fundamental characteristic of human nature to crave to have that which is not easily obtainable. If states can be self-contained as regards necessities they can not satisfy all wants of the people. What we need is not complete segregation but interdependence on a voluntary basis. In the nature of things all states cannot be miniature worlds producing all the things other states are producing, and no international government can ration out the good things of the world as he suggests. As long as this insatiable greed for others' goods continues and as long as the ideals of the people are not raised to one of service rather than one of acquisition it is not possible to dream of peace. Nationalism is harnessed to the self-interest of imperialists. Even England herself is not responsible for the blood stains on her hands. It is a handful of vested interests that by the control of the press etc. spoon feed the public into believing what they are driven to do is done freely in the interests of the country and of the world. For cultivating this dangerous kind of nationalism ignorance as regards the outside world and a supreme conceit about themselves is necessary in masses. How well these two requisites are supplied in Great Britain we know only too well. The British nation is fooled into believing that it is a democratic country while it has actually very little conscious control over its foreign policy. The average Britisher knows next to nothing of other countries apart from what he is told in the newspapers which are controlled by vested interests. In

Europe it will be hard to find a more secular people with an insular mind than the British and so the masses there afford ready material for the manipulations of the financiers.

In the United States of America, which does not depend quite so much on its external trade, the conditions are not quite so bad. The schools are the hot-beds of nationalism. Every morning before the school starts they have a flag salutation even before they have had time to think of their God. You can hardly find a Church which does not display the Stars and stripes in a prominent place in the edifice. Nevertheless and in spite of his bragging the Yankee is neither so conceited nor so narrow in his outlook on the world as the Britisher. They won't be far behind long if they advance on the high road of Imperialism at the rate they are doing now. Germany and France are not to be easily beaten.

This narrow nationalism has polluted the very air of the West and it threatens to inject its poison also in the East. Its goal is gain and not growth. Man lives to eat and lives by bread alone. This is the philosophy behind Western nationalism. Until this is changed it will be futile to expect any kind of peace in international affairs. The League of Nations is but an eyewash. If we desire different results from Nationalism we have to change the outlook from Capitalistic greed and consequent piracy. Mere Socialism will not solve the problem, it will only substitute proletarian greed and piracy for the capitalistic variety. Even Carl Marx thinks that tropical countries are legitimate booty for European States because of the latter's "Superior civilisation". What can be done when such arguments are advanced by Socialists of the rank of Carl Marx?

Western Nationalism is based on Politics and that in turn is controlled by Finance. It is devoid of ideals and follows a lower standard of ethics than the average citizen. Religion is not allowed to look into the dealings of a nationalist and is kept at a respectful distance. The cry is my country right or wrong. Politics runs in water-tight compartment and is based on duplicity. The creation of that mentality is on hatred, avarice and envy. It does not hesitate to use any conceivable method to attain its end. It has been the springhead of wars, persecutions and oppression. Even a bit of a nation like Belgium has had to dip its hand to the elbow in Negro blood. The soul of Europe is drowning in a sea of human blood. Unless Europe wakes up before it is too late it will perish and civilization will be a thing of the past. The guilt for all this will rest with those who consciously nurture this wolf-pack-nationalism amongst a harmless populace.

Sweden and Norway seem to be exceptions to the imperialism found in the rest of Europe.

## THE PLACE OF MONKS IN THE PRESENT MOVEMENT.

(By a Monk.)

The present political movement, starting as it did only in April last, has broken down the prison walls of different provinces and reached the farthest corners of the country. It has become an All-India agitation and has awakened the sons of the soil to a National consciousness. One of the most remarkable features of this movement is the awakening of women whose wonderful work in this connection has given a great impetus to it. The awakened India today calls back to one's mind the prophetic pronouncement of the patriot saint of India. How beautifully he narrates the picture of the Modern India that loomed large before his eyes more than thirty years ago. "The longest night", speaks the great Swami Vivekananda in one of his speeches in India, "seems to be passing away, the sorest troubles seem to be coming to an end at last, the seeming corpse appears to be awakening and a voice is coming to us. Like a breeze from the Himalayas, it is bringing life into the almost dead bones and muscles, the lethargy is passing away, and only the blind cannot see, or the perverted will not see, that, as she is awakening, this motherland of ours from her deep long sleep..... None can resist her any more; never is she going to sleep any more; no outward powers can hold her back any more; for the giant is rising to her feet."

Of course, the bureaucratic Government have left no weapons unhurled to crush it out. These have no doubt added considerably to the suffering and miseries of the people and widened irrevocably the gulf between the rulers and the ruled. But these, on the other hand, have not only proved a panacea for all communal evils that had been infecting the Indian atmosphere for some time past, but are now acting as blessings in disguise. Now, the Hindus and Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians are all harmoniously united in the service of their motherland. They, knowing themselves to be Indians first and Indians last, are ready to present a united front to the Government that has long ceased to be British but in name. Such re-actionary forces of a Government far from doing any harm conduce to the proper growth and development of a movement. The administration of a Curzon, an Irwin is never detrimental to a country's cause but it serves as an incentive to a strong national consciousness.

In these days of sweeping persecution and prosecution it is natural for a nationalist to invite the people of all creeds and denominations to rally round the banner of the nation. He would desire one and all to join the fray and fight to the finish. Some of them seeing the monks take no public part in it may even ask, why should the monks seek solitude at such a critical moment; why should they not join us, is there no place for them in this movement; is not their life a sacrifice on the altar of welfare of the motherland?

It is quite natural for a nationalist to interrogate in the way and the answer to the query is not far to seek. The different limbs in a body do not function in the same way. Each has a different part to play and each in its place is the best. To think is the work of the brain while to translate the thoughts into deeds is the work of the hands and other organs of action. Thoughts and deeds supplement each other. Thoughts, when intense, transform into actions. Every movement is a manifestation of some healthy thought-force that work in the atmosphere of a country for ages. The atmosphere is full of thought-pulsations, good or bad, which, travelling like light-waves for hundreds of years, meet an object or objects that will vibrate in unison with them. The present political movement is not a sudden outburst, but a mature manifestation of similar thought-forces of the selfless souls of India in her different ages. India is a believer in the immortality of souls. The body dies but the disembodied soul lives and moves thereafter. The soul of a Dadabhai and a Deshbandhu, a Tilak, Gokhale and a Lajpat Rai still exists and inspires millions of people of the country with a unique patriotic zeal.

Theory precedes practice and thought, deed. Thought-force is the very life and spirit of all activities. The act of contributing to the world of healthy thoughts and ideas is in no way an insignificant service. In any walk of life whatsoever, it has an important part to play. The monks, who are given to the contemplative life, are no doubt the fittest persons to carry on this onerous task. It is they who have, as yet, kept the Indian world of thought alive. Can it be a fact that the monks who consider their life an oblation on the altars of welfare of the world, do not pray for the well being, peace and prosperity of their country and country people? Should any one believe, the monks who are true to themselves, and true to God, are not true to their country and country-people who feed and foster them in every way? It is one of their first and foremost of duties to pray for the good of all. Believe, they bless you, all and sundry, from their seats in the mountain caves and forest recesses. May you all be blessed with muscles of iron, nerves of steel and above all a resolute will that helps you to bear up all the troubles and trials of your life—is their heart's prayer. Believe, it is their thought-force that intensifies all healthy atmosphere, social, political or religious of a country. Theirs is to work with the spirit of a thing. All healthy changes social, political or religious are but the manifestations of spiritual forces. Let them be in their respective places whence they can work miracles. Only be aware of all sorts of temptations and allurements that may occasionally tempt you away. Beware also of the iron hands in velvet gloves of your Government. Forget not your vow, sink you therefore the spirit of differences that eats into the vitals of nationalities, into the lake of oblivion

for ever. Be one and pure. For, unity is purity. Remember that "this national ship of ours" exhorts the illustrious Swami Vivekananda on another occasion "Ye children of the immortal bliss, my country men, has been plying for ages, carrying civilization and enriching the world with its inestimable treasures. For scores of shining years this national ship has been ferrying across the ocean of life and has taken millions of souls to the other shore, beyond all misery. But to-day it may have sprung a leak and got damaged through your own fault, or whatever cause it matters not. What would you who have placed yourselves in it do? Would you go about cursing it and quarreling among yourselves or would you not unite together and put your best efforts to stop the holes? Let us all give our heart's blood to do it. If we fail in the attempt let us all sink and die together with blessings and not curses on our lips."

#### NATIONALISM AND PURDAH.

Saturday, the 19th of July, witnessed one of the most unique sights which Patna had seen in recent times. The women of Patna have taken enthusiastically to the movement for Swaraj. For the last two years on and off public meetings and demonstrations have been held, for ameliorating the condition of women in this Province, and this movement may be said to be spontaneous enough. Anti-Purdah, Sarda Act, Widow Remarriage, All-India Women's Conference and such other movements engaged their attention ere this and have gradually made them self-reliant and take a broader view of their work and duty. The Stri Sammilan, Child Welfare, and other movements under official auspices have, also contributed their mite not to a small extent in this respect.

A militant but at the same time humble and peaceful spirit, showed itself when at the call of Babu Rajendra Prasad, about a score of women some still in purdah, belonging to the highest and aristocratic families of Patna came forward for picketing foreign cloth shops at Patna. All fears of nervous breakdown, hysteria, fainting, soon vanished, and armed with National flags, they faced the ordeal, with a tact and patience, which was the admiration of all. Large reinforcements from other secluded homes soon came in and the campaign was successfully concluded with honour and glory.

There was a demonstration at Patna and Patna City, by a large number of women headed by Mrs. Hasan Imam. This large party went out in several cars, and in the more important places marched on foot preaching swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods. Large crowds followed and cheered them, crying Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai, *bideshi mal haram*, and other slogans.

The leaders of the movement had decided to bring out a large procession of ladies to give vent to their feelings at the continued repressive policy

of the Government as also to show their sympathies with their brothers and sisters in jail.

A very large number of ladies, accordingly, had gathered at Syed Hassan Imam's place in Fraser Road. They may be estimated at about a thousand, and they came all the way from Patna City, Fatwa, Dinapore and other neighbouring places. They came in cars, gharries, busses, and on foot. Those who had not the national tricolour flags were supplied with these by Mrs. Sami, and soon the whole place was a sight for gods, with the sea of national flags waving on all sides in all their glory—

“Ten thousand saw I at a glance,  
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.  
I gazed—and gazed—but little thought  
What wealth the show to me had brought.

The procession started with Mrs. Hassan Imam first carrying a National flag. At each step more women came in, and by the time the procession had reached Chhajju Bagh, it was a sea of flags and human heads. The women forming the procession stood in the middle in a long line, while on both sides an immense number of men estimated at over ten thousand followed them on both sides. Stout ropes were stretched on both sides and held by volunteers, to keep the procession and the sight seers from getting mixed up. As regards the women who were there, it will be sufficient to say that there were “the Coloub's lady and Judy O'grady” there was Mrs. Imam, the richest and most cultured lady in Patna and there was Sonia Kaharin, too, having got an evening off for once, after her daily drudgeries. Every gradation of society was represented there. There were Beharee and Bengali, Marwari and Punjabi ladies, there were young girls and old women all infected with a supreme albeit novel enthusiasm. A heavy shower drenched them near Chhajjubangh, but they walked on. More women were waiting for them at the East end corner of the Lawn, and they swelled the procession into unmanageable proportions, and only the enthusiasm and determination of the women, a large number of whom had never walked such a long distance before in all their lives, carried it through. From the Lawn it entered the main road of Bankipore, and the shops and houses on both sides were full of sightseers, while the verandahs, windows, and housetops, were full of peeping figures behind the purdah bars. National songs were being sung all the way, interspersed with cries of Mahatma Gandh-ki jai, Rajendra Babu ki jai, Hasan Imam ki jai, Swatantra Bharat ki jai, Hindu Musalman ki jai, Bideshimal choro, Bideshi mal haram, and Bharat Mata-ki-jai. From the main road, the procession came through Govind Mittra Road, to the Nichli Sarak and thence to Bhawar Pokhra, where it terminated at the Park where a meeting was held. It halted before Sir Fakhruddin's house and the Hon'ble the Minister with some of his friends were seen observing the procession from the roof of his house. The ladies waved their National Flags, and lustily shouted Down with Imperialism, Down with the

Ministry, Come down and lead us, but the Minister, observed a spinx-like silence with a smiling face.

It was a mammoth gathering at the Park. Voices were hoarse and throats were dry, but Bande Mataram was sung amid pin-drop silence. A short exhortation from Mrs. Hassan Imam to observe the Swadeshi vow, and to boycott all British goods terminated the meeting.

The police were nowhere to be seen, but our friend Mr. Abdul Khair was somewhere, to be sure. Mr. Jayadev the A. S. P. was standing near a car, with some prisoners in purlah. Nobody saw Rai Sahab Maheshwari anywhere, at one time a batch of Lal pagries, was seen and it was feared that they were going to stop the procession, but it presently was found that the constables were escorting a batch of under-trial men from the courts. One Inspector (Debrabate Babu) was seen in plain dress, guarding a bike, but he even was lost somewhere in the huge gathering.—*The Behar Herald.*

#### PREVENTION OF CHILD MARRIAGE ACT.

Mr. M. M. Alam Khan, M.A. (Cantob.), Bar-at-Law, says that he has been in correspondence with “some prominent leaders of Muslim public opinion regarding the Sarda Act.” He has sent us the following extracts from the communications of some of them for publication of which he has secured their permission. One thing that he thinks, the extracts show clearly is that Mohammedan opinion is by no means altogether opposed to this Act. Some of the extracts are from the letters of prominent ladies.

Sir Sultan Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, writes:—

“I cannot understand the agitation by the Mohammedans against the Act. Originally, Mr. Sarda introduced a Bill which would have affected the Hindus only. The Mohammedans themselves got it extended to the Mohammedans. Then, while the Bill was pending in the Assembly no protests were lodged by the Mohammedans. There may have been some feeble voices here and there but it was almost negligible. It is mainly after the Bill was passed into Act that agitation by the Mohammedans was started.

“I entirely disagree with the agitation against the Act. Very few Acts are perfect. Every Act is liable to modification and this Act also may be modified in the light of future experience as to its working.

“In my opinion, there is no justification for holding that Muslim marriages contracted in violation of the Sarda Act will be void. The Act does not say so nor does any Section of the Contract Act justify this view. Personally, I would be surprised if any court took a violent view as the *Muslim Out-look* suggests.”

Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani writes:—

“My views on the subject are notoriously pronounced. I supported the Bill in the Assembly and I opposed the propaganda against the Act to the best of my ability. The propaganda of the Maulvis in the name of Islam is most mischievous. Educated Muslims...must come forward and counteract the mischief.”

Mrs. Atiya Begum, a lady distinguished in public life in Bombay Presidency, writes:—

“Islam is the greatest reformer, if one were to comprehend its dictates, but because the so-called

ve forgotten the religious laws of Islam, ig rocked hither and thither, rudderless and sinking lower and lower at every adverse propaganda against the Sarda nce of this. That such laws should passed and forced by the legislatures e are utterly lacking in self-reliance, e are incapable of doing anything for

when such laws are passed, it is the progressive people to support them by le means. But to hold meetings and e children's marriages as was done in Lucknow by the so-called leaders and an act deserving of profound contempt der to think that such specimens of e called Muslims. Such pernicious inhuman and intolerable and those who ought to be completely shunned by

yun Mirza writes :—

icated Muslims are beginning to marry young. If the Sarda Act is cancelled a great hardship on women. The did the Hindu widows a great favour ng *sati*. Life to innumerable Hindu edan women is an intolerable burden institution of child-marriages. Let us overnment will side with the down—The *Leader*, Allahabad.

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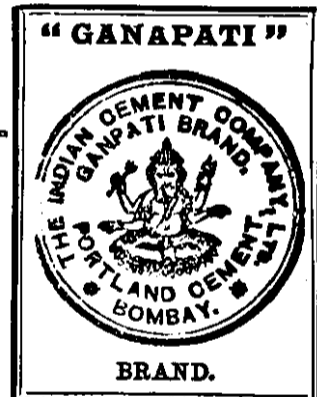
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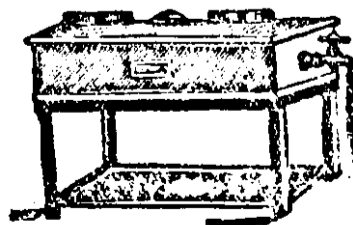
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Vol. XL.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1930

No. 49

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**Peace Conversations:**—The peace conversations with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawharlal Nehru are progressing slowly. Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the originators of the idea, had, after their interview with the two Pandits in Naini Jail, written to the Viceroy suggesting that the three Congress leaders should be given facilities for meeting and discussing the proposals. Nothing was heard for some days of the outcome of this recommendation but it was stated at the beginning of this week that the two Pandits would be brought down to Yerravda, and that they would begin their consultation with Mahatma Gandhi on Friday (yesterday). On Friday, however, an Allahabad message stated that the Pandits were still in Naini Jail and no instructions had been received as to their journey to Poona. Red tape has evidently got stuck somewhere. But it seems to be settled that the meeting is to take place. Mr. Jayakar told a press representative that he has not been asked to be present at the meeting and that he would not attend without being invited, presumably, by Mahatmaji and the Pandits. It is difficult to see how the results of their conversation will be communicated to the Viceroy unless Mr. Jayakar or Sir Tej Bahadur or both are at Yerravda to follow the discussion. The arrest of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in Bombay, is not likely to affect the course of the peace talk. The Pandit is a fervent supporter of the peace idea, and he is far too great a man to allow a personal affront to colour his attitude to a public question. The feeling amongst the Congress rank and file, as distinguished from the leaders, is rather strong against a calling off of civil disobedience. This is due to a large extent to a misapprehension. The immediate objects of civil disobedience are the ordinances which will, of course, cease to be operative simultaneously with their violation. The salt satyagraha will, of course, not be renewed pending the outcome of the Round Table Conference. We doubt if the Congress leaders would go so far as to agree to participate themselves in that Conference, but we think it quite possible

that they may desire the non-Congress parties to attend it, and as a sign of goodwill, agree meanwhile to slow down demonstrational activities pending the results of the Conference. The boycott of British goods and other constructive activities will not be suspended but rather intensified, but as they are not items of civil disobedience, Government, it is thought, will not object to them. This course, it is thought, will enable the Liberals and others to secure better results at the Conference than if the Congress leaders themselves were to take the principal part in it. The release of political prisoners will, we think, be expected along with the suspension of civil disobedience.

**Overdoing Processions:**—Some of the present day activities of the Civil Disobedience party are not in the line of the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. We may take it that Mrs. Kasturbai's wise observations at the Desa Sevika Sangh on Tuesday are perhaps not far away from Mahatmaji's view. Mahatma Gandhi himself, she is reported by the *Free Press Journal* to have said, had always advocated that the picketing of foreign cloth and liquor could always be done more successfully by women than by men, because women had more endurance and will to suffer than men. Women of Bombay had given a very good account of themselves but they had to do a lot more. When the Great War was going on in Europe, the women there had contributed so much to the struggle that the men had only to fight on the fields. "She did not personally approve of their taking a leading part in the processions and meetings. They must devote themselves to constructive work. If they could not picket, they should card and spin at home and induce others to do the same. She felt that this work was more useful than the show made by women in the processions. Instead of wandering and going to cinemas and theatres, they had better spend their time in spinning and weaving. May God give you the right direction and make you contribute most to the work of winning National Freedom!" We can not agree that endurance and will power are distributed according to sex. But Mrs. Gandhi's remarks about processions have a wider application than she gave to them. Processions have a distinct place in politics, and the value of such a procession as that held in Bombay on the day of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, cannot be overestimated. It showed to the world that India was determined to win her freedom by non-violent means and that she honoured the apostle of *ahimsa* as her leader and guru. But the

procession, if it is to be of value, should be sparingly used and only on very important occasions. To have a procession almost every other day and for almost any reason, is to cheapen the significance of this highly valuable mode of mass demonstration. Judging from our experience in Bombay of late, we sometimes feel inclined to think that our politically-minded citizens spend most of their time on the road. To sit down and do a solid piece of work requires some amount of training in concentration, and this is not less helpful to our political progress than the strength of legs which enables people to walk long distances at a slow pace without any idea other than that of swelling the crowd.

**The Patiala Enquiry:** The Foreign and Political Department has issued the following communique: "His Excellency the Governor-General issued a communique to the Press on the 9th of May, 1930, to the effect, that he had entrusted the Hon. Mr. J. A. O. Fitzpatrick, Bar-at-law, Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States, with making a full enquiry into all the charges contained in the publication "The Indictment of Patiala." Mr. Fitzpatrick, in conformity with the instructions issued to him duly conducted his enquiry. Since the authors of the publications refused to appear before him with their witnesses, it was not possible to subject their statements to a test or cross-examination, but in the course of the proceedings Mr. Fitzpatrick recorded the statements of 145 witnesses and examined 430 documentary exhibits. He has now submitted his report to the Government of India, and as a result, the Government of India have satisfied themselves that the evidence fails to substantiate any charges made against His Highness the Maharaja in the publication "The Indictment of Patiala," which are shown to have been the outcome of a deliberate conspiracy between certain individuals and public bodies with the object of vilifying His Highness, and disgracing him in the eyes of his subjects and of the Government of India." Indian public opinion has, from the first, disapproved of the departmental method of dealing with grave charges brought forward by a Committee of public men, as the result of a lengthy enquiry, against the Maharaja of Patiala. The Government are not satisfied with absolving the Maharaja but accuse the accusers of being parties to "a deliberate conspiracy between certain individuals and public bodies with the object of vilifying his Highness, and disgracing him in the eyes of his subjects and of the Government of India." If this is the fact, it is the clear duty of Government to expose the conspiracy and take prompt measures to bring the conspirators to book. In fairness to the Maharaja as well as to the persons and public bodies who are charged with being engaged in a deliberate conspiracy, Government should publish Mr. Fitzpatrick's report and the evidence of the witnesses who appeared before him.

**Foreign Jurisdiction in British India:—** The site in which the famous session of the National Congress was held in Surat, it was said, was technically French territory. There seems to be a similar locality in Masulipatam, known as Frenchpet. The Masulipatam correspondent of the *Hindu* writes: "Considerable sensation was created here by an official despatch understood to have been

sent by the local French Agent in reply to orders from Pondicherry authorities regarding the exercise of proper jurisdiction over Frenchpet. This correspondence passing since July last is said to be the sequel to a search made by the British police in Frenchpet on 6th July in the house of Dr. Vijayasradhi, son of the late French Agent and a prominent citizen, without permission or knowledge of the authorities concerned before hand. Orders have been received directing the local Agent to intimate the decision of Pondicherry authorities regarding the question of jurisdiction to the local officers concerned. Mr. N. Sitharamaswami, Agent, approached the police authorities here in his usual French uniform with Republican insignia and presented the order both in original and translation. The order stated briefly that proceedings to be taken by the British police against Frenchpet residents or French police against British India residents ought to be taken only with mutual permission and when searches and such other things should take place both police should be present on the scene. It concluded that if such etiquette be not observed, matters might go to the notice of higher authorities."

**Payment of Members:—**The system of payment of members is now prevalent in all the Legislatures of the world. Its adoption in 1911 in Great Britain undoubtedly helped the growth of the Labour Party in the House of Commons. It has now come to be recognised as an essential feature of democracy. Its adoption in this country is necessary to give reality to the representation of the masses, and particularly of the backward classes. The allowances given at present are not sufficient to encourage capable but poor men from embarking on a political career. The bureaucracy professes contempt for the professional politician though it is not clear why one who devotes his time and talents to politics and receives a remuneration for so doing, should be regarded as engaged in a less meritorious occupation than one who, for a similar consideration, metes out justice, or collects taxes, or carries on the routine of red-tapism in one of the many departments of the administration. The growth of true political parties in the country will be much assisted if members are assured of an income to make them independent of official or party patronage. This is a matter which closely concerns the backward classes whose representatives in the Legislatures can be neither independent nor effective so long as they are financially handicapped in the discharge of their duties.

(Continued from the Leader Page).

offered to take it by two, the Commissioner did not let it go. The circumstances connected with the use of lathis, after the emphatic assurance given to Messrs. Lalji Narauji and Mody that no force would be used, the calling of the Home Member without the knowledge of the Commissioner of Police by some one whose name was not disclosed in court, but about which shrewd guesses are being made, and the use of force after consultation between the Home member and the Commissioner, are facts which require and will no doubt receive more investigation than the Chief Presidency Magistrate has devoted to them.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 9, 1930.

## THE CONGRESS AND THE COURTS.

In another article we give a resume of the proceedings relating to the procession organised by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in commemoration of the late Lokamanya Tilak on Friday the 1st instant, the tenth anniversary of his death. The Magistrate delivered his judgment on Thursday convicting all the accused. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the four ladies were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. one hundred or to suffer fifteen days' imprisonment in default of payment. The rest were condemned to three months' imprisonment. We may say at the outset that the four ladies arrested had no more committed the offence than the forty others who were released and as there was absolutely not an iota of evidence that they played any but a passive part in the procession, there is no justification whatever for convicting them. It is true that they did not offer any defence, but that did not absolve the Magistrate, morally if not legally, from satisfying himself that they were guilty of the offence with which they were charged. More than one case has come to our notice in which persons convicted of offences relating to civil disobedience during the last few months were not even present on the scene where and at the time when they were alleged to have broken the law. The case of Mrs. Lakhmani is a recent instance. In such cases, we think that the observance of the Congress policy of offering no defence under any circumstances, is a direct incentive to the propagation of injustice and untruth, and is, therefore, incompatible with the underlying principle of satyagraha. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and the other accused in the present case followed the Congress policy of non-participation, but Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya contested the legality and equity of the Commissioner's order and raised, as the Magistrate admitted, several important issues. These have no doubt been set aside by Mr. Dastur in his judgment, but they nevertheless throw a flood of light and may still have important consequences on the course of events. Mr. Vallabhbhai in a feeling message given to the public says that "the nation must continue to compel Government to expose its real nature in full nakedness, and by daring all such lathi attacks and shooting, win its way to freedom." This does not relieve every Indian of his duty to expose by all legitimate means perversions and violations of the law as it stands by those who claim to be the guardians of law and order.

In this connection, we strongly feel that those who have been sentenced to fines ought to pay

them and not waste their time in jail out of a fanciful regard for their colleagues and comrades. They can do more to help the cause out of jail than inside it. Mr. Vallabhbhai himself remarked on coming out of Sabarmati jail a few weeks ago that there are no lathi blows in prison where one leads a protected life. We say that no one who claims to be a leader has any excuse for avoiding the stress of public life by seeking avoidable occasions of going to jail. Nowadays, frequent references are made to the Irish movement and it is useful to refer to what the Irish leaders thought of this matter. "Michael Collins", writes one of his comrades in an account of the struggle, "was at all times against the idea of men staying in prison who had important work to do outside. When one of his best Intelligence officers, Tom Cullen, was arrested, he sent him word to give bail and come out. But so strong was the feeling against anything that might seem like knuckling under to the English, that Tom refused to stir till he got the order in writing from his Chief. He got it, in Mick's uncompromising language." Allowing for the basic difference between a non-violent and a violent movement the idea underlying the Irish leader's view, holds good for Indians also. Pandit Malaviya did a public service in participating in the proceedings, which is, in our opinion, at least as valuable as that of Mr. Vallabhbhai and others in refraining from doing so. We are sorry, however, that the Pandit has preferred to spend a fortnight more in jail to paying the fine of Rs. 100 imposed on him. The Pandit's time is far more valuable than several thousands of rupees, and we can only regard his decision as the outcome of a strange inversion of values. We hope he will yet reconsider his decision. The four ladies also should be got out of jail by their fines being paid. All of them are active social workers, and the loss of their services in their respective spheres cannot be compensated for by any benefits that may be supposed to accrue to the public from their incarceration. It is mere affectation to imagine that one does not recognise the authority of the present system of Government, so long as one has no objection to submit to the rules of the jail, and to insist on their being observed in the spirit and intention of their framers.

The Magistrate in his elaborate judgement seems to argue that the order of the Police Commissioner could not be impeached on the ground of its being not justifiable on any reasonable grounds. In the present case, the procession sat on a public road for full fourteen hours obstructing the traffic while it would have passed on in less than half an hour if it had not been prevented by the Police! Even when the leaders

(Continued in the 2nd column of the 2nd Notes Page).

### THE TILAK DAY PROSECUTION.

On the 1st August ten years ago died Lokamanya Tilak, the great Maharashtra nationalist leader. The day has since been commemorated by popular demonstrations such as processions and public meetings all over the country. In pursuance of this practice, the Congress Executive in Bombay decided to lead a procession on Friday, the 1st instant, through the city starting from Chowpathi beach where the Lokamanya's body was cremated. The decision was announced in the Press. Thereupon the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Healy, wrote to Mrs. Hansa Mehta, President of the Bombay Congress Executive Committee, known as the "War Council", pointing out that "in view of the trouble and the dislocation of traffic which these processions cause, it cannot be allowed to enter the Fort area and that steps will be taken to prevent it from so doing." An official Press Note issued the same evening, from which the above is quoted, proceeded to point out that "in the event of a disturbance occurring, the responsibility will be solely with the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee." The procession left Chowpathi according to programme at 4-30 P. M. and arrived at the outskirts of the Fort area at 5-30. Finding its entry into that area barred by a strong Police force, the whole procession, which included forty or fifty women, squatted on the road and remained sitting there all the night, the Police barrier being maintained by reliefs at intervals. Early morning on Saturday the Home Member of the Government of Bombay, Sir Ernest Hotson, arrived at the Victoria Terminus Railway station from Poona, and the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Healy, met him there. After a few minutes' conversation, Mr. Healy came over to where the procession was held up and arrested Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, acting President of the Congress, and other members of the Working Committee of the Congress and the Bombay Provincial Committee who were present at the time, and forty of the women who were in the procession. The Pandit, Mr. Vallabhbhai and the other men were removed to the lock-up at Esplanade Police Court. Four of the arrested women were also detained in the lock-up, and the others were released shortly after they were arrested. The arrested persons are:— Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Acting President of the Indian National Congress; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a member of the Working Committee, and Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University; Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani, Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, and Dr. Hardikar, also members of the Working Committee. The other accused were—

Mesars. S. D. Palekar, Ramakant Mehta, (Secretaries of the Bombay Congress Committee);

Babubhai Zaveri, Editor of the "Congress Bulletin," Mr. H. V. Venkatram, K. J. Narayan Iyer, Miss Maniben Patel (daughter of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel), Mrs. Ratanben Mehta, Mrs. Harnam Kaur and Mrs. Amrut Kaur.

The accused were charged under section 143 Indian Penal Code, with being members of an unlawful assembly.

The case came up for trial before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. H. P. Dastur, on Saturday. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and eleven others of the accused, following the usual practice of Congressmen, declined to participate in the proceedings. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, however, cross-examined the witnesses for the prosecution and addressed the Court with a view to showing that the order of the Police Commissioner, restraining the procession from entering the Fort area, was arbitrary and illegal, and that there was no offence committed in disobeying it. Mr. Vallabhbhai and he had offered to take the procession by fours and even twos, so as to keep the road clear for traffic, but the Commissioner had refused to vary his order. According to the latter's own admission, there was not much traffic and no chance of obstructing it in the Fort area after 7-30 p.m., and yet the procession was held up the whole night, even after mid-night when there was no traffic worth-mentioning. The reason given in the order namely, dislocation of traffic, was utterly inadequate to justify the action of the Commissioner. The Pandit wanted to know from the Police Superintendent who was in the witness-box what the population of the Fort area was, with the object, evidently, of suggesting that only a small minority of Europeans objected to the procession. But the Magistrate would not allow the question. The Magistrate, however, plainly said that he did not think that the order of the Commissioner was in the proper form, and that it was more a request or suggestion than an order as required by the law. The Commissioner himself seemed to accept this view. He was called later to the witness-box and to a pointed question from the Magistrate whether the charge against the accused was one of disobeying his letter to Mrs. Hansa Mehta on Friday or the oral order to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel on Saturday morning on the spot, Mr. Healy said that it was the latter. The law empowers the Police Commissioner to give orders under such circumstances either in writing or orally. At about 7 a.m. on Saturday Mr. Healy, after his conversation with the Home member on the terrace of the Victoria Station, had told Mr. Vallabhbhai that the procession was an unlawful assembly and that if it did not disperse, the leaders would be arrested and the others dispersed by force.

When the Magistrate resumed the trial on Monday, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya called attention to the intervention of the Home Member and maintained that the prosecution was not a Police but a political prosecution. The processionists and the Police had faced each other for fourteen hours without anyone being arrested or any force being used. It was after Sir Earnest Hotson's arrival and conversation with the Police Commissioner that the procession was declared an unlawful assembly, the leaders and four of the ladies in the procession arrested and a severe lathi charge made on the volunteers. The Pandit wanted to call Sir Ernest Hotson to give evidence but the Magistrate suggested that he should first get all that he could from Mr. Healy. The Police Commissioner gave his evidence with perfect candour and detachment. He said he had neither informed the Home Member of the incident nor invited him to come down to Bombay. He knew who did, but he would not like to reveal the name unless required to do so by the Magistrate, who promptly replied he did not require it to be done. The Commissioner further said that he had spoken to the Home Member about declaring the procession an unlawful assembly and using force to disperse it. He did so because he liked to share his responsibility with some one. He added that if the Home Member had disapproved of the use of force, he would not have used it.

On Wednesday the nationalist dailies startled the public by publishing a remarkable correspondence between Sheth Lalji Naranji and Mr. H. P. Mody, both eminent members of the Bombay Commercial community, relating to an interview which they had with the Police Commissioner at 1 A.M. on the 1st August. They had called on Mr. Healy to request him to modify his order, but he did not see his way to do so. He, however, told them that there was no intention of doing anything more than merely preventing the procession from proceeding along Hornby Road. Mr. Mody thought that, that was not possible, and that if the crowd persisted in disobeying the order, a situation would be created in which it might be necessary to use force. It appeared, however, that Mr. Healy did not apprehend any such trouble, as he said that he was not going to use force even if the crowd did not go away. This is Mr. Lalji's version which Mr. Mody confirmed in his letter, as correctly reproducing what transpired at the interview. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was quick to grasp the significance of this correspondence and appeared before the Magistrate and requested him to call Messrs. Lalji and Mody as Court witnesses. Mr. Dastur declined but expressed his willingness to call them as defence witnesses if the accused so desired. Mr. Vallabhbai Patel and the other accused dissented from the Pandit's course of offering defence and in deference to them the latter withdrew his application.

## NATIONALISM.

### II.

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA.)

Leaving this kind of nationalism which is demarcated by geographical boundaries we shall pass on to another slight variant of this. If we define nationalism on a broader basis as the force of cohesion that holds together people of the same culture and ideals then we can see it in operation amongst the Semitic religious units as well. The followers of the Prophet of Mecca transcended geographical, economic and political limitations and founded a brotherhood of black and white, prince and peasant, the sage and the savage. This nationalism was almost tantamount to internationalism. It fell short of it as it was limited to co-religionists. Their zeal was not selfish greed of others' property but was one of a much nobler type of bringing into the "true faith" erring races of mankind. In their cohesion they put to shame the adherents of the Christian Church, the teachings of which do not square with its practice to this day. Even the "one touch of nature which makes the whole world kin" fails in the Christian Church. In Travancore they have different cemeteries for Europeans and Indians. The colour and race bar is strongest amongst protestants. I am here referring to groups and not to individuals. I need hardly mention South Africa and the United States. The Christians have not had strength of character and experience to lift themselves above the influence of the wolf-pack nationalism of their respective nations. Such totally unchristian and pagan songs as "God save the King" find an honoured place in most Church Hymnals. Every sentence of this song breathes of violence typical of Wolf-Pack-Nationalism. Recently I have seen a good deal of correspondence in Bombay papers as to the use of this song as a 'full stop' on every imaginable occasion. I have nothing to say against anyone singing their national songs provided the spirit behind those songs is one of love. In this case no bitterness will ever be created. I should certainly object to songs, whether foreign or Indian makes little difference, which are inspired and are calculated to inspire feelings of violence and hatred. On this ground I would suggest, if I may, that at least in places where entrance is by payment of a fee these kinds of songs should not be inflicted on the patrons. To say the least it is in bad taste and has a very objectionable educative influence.

Amongst Muslims their national allegiance is secondary. Religion comes first. Before the claims of religion everything else has to give way. We Christians may well learn this lesson of brotherhood in practice from our Muslim brethren.

This group-feeling amongst the Muslims, while free from the selfish motives of Western Nationalism yet partakes somewhat of the nature of the Wolf-pack-nationalism as the hunting was to increase the fold though not for selfish ends. Both geographically and by type this motive power falls



naturally between the European aggressive and selfish nationalism and the Asiatic passive nationalism.

Now we pass on to consider what we mean by Sheep-Flock-Nationalism. In Asia the adhesive force between individuals of a group has been directed towards a different object. Hence it is that practically all writers have failed to recognise the activities of the same human energy which manifested itself in Western countries as 'Nationalism.' The Eastern lands emphasised the social elements as against the political. This power has been used to organise society to withstand attacks from without rather than molest those outside the group.

When nationalism works in an aggressive form it results in Militaristic States which enforce discipline and give rise to spasmodic eruptions of war. On the other hand, when the same force is directed into passive channels it evolves out social structures which elicits discipline by moral and social pressure. Nationalism has taken the former course in Europe and the latter course in Asia.

In ancient China and Japan we had a strong Nationalism which looked on the rest of the world with supreme contempt; but no imperialistic greed marred its policies. It was a self-conceit and a feeling of self-sufficiency without the hunter's prowess mingled with it.

Unfortunately of recent years Japan has accepted the Wolf-Pack-Nationalism as its creed. But we still have hopes that her true self will yet assert itself and reach after permanent growth rather than be enamoured of a momentary glimmer of power. China is still on the fence and there is every hope that she will retain her attitude of non-aggressiveness in international affairs which has characterised her since time immemorial. The nationalism of both these countries is the outcome of the instinct of self-preservation, as in the case of a flock of sheep. The Chinese variety bears very close resemblance to the Nationalism of India. So we shall not stop to study it as we shall be considering India at closer quarters.

It is in India that we find the cultural manifestation of nationalism most distinctly. The various functions of nationalism which are undertaken by political and economic organisations in the West has fallen to the lot of religion in India. Hinduism has assumed all the disciplinary functions of a State. It is largely due to this unification by culture of the diverse elements which have gone into the composition of the people of Hindustan that our land had been able to withstand and preserve its culture and civilisation to this day in spite of innumerable foreign invasions. This cohesive force accounts for the solidarity of a territory almost continental in dimension and in contents. Westerners and even missionaries who have spent their lives in India, have not been able to grasp this fundamental difference between their society and ours. They often accuse Hinduism of harbouring within its boundaries

customs and regulations which will not measure up to the standard of an idealist nor stand the light of day. They constantly institute comparisons between the practices of what they understand to be Hinduism and those of Christianity to the former's discredit forgetting that Hinduism is a Political-Economic-and Religious unit while Christianity, which they place on the other side, is purely a religion. This is on the face of it a comparison of unequals. I do not for a moment suggest that religions can be compared in so far as they represent individual predilections and experiences but I do feel it is wrong to draw parallels between two unlikes. If one wishes to compare one should compare it with the practices under civil and criminal laws which regulate society in the West.

The effect of foreign invasions on society as a whole has been very little. Most of our former invaders have themselves been absorbed by the Hindu Society. It is only the virulent nationalism of Great Britain that has withstood the social organisation of our land. While all the foreign rulers of the past made their home with us the Britishers are merely birds of passage. You find this expressing itself in a thousand and one ways. England is the centre round which everything in India revolves. Even in such a simple thing as announcing the mail boats you will notice the mails that are coming into India are called "Outward mails" and mails that are leaving India are "Homeward" mails. What can be more absurd than this? Britishers have remained as a foreign irritant in our land. Our present struggle is the outcome of forces working within the organism to throw out the foreign particle which cannot be assimilated by our indigenous culture.

The caste system itself is the outcome of an attempt to organise the economic production of the country under the pale of religion. Its object was to afford room for production without the fever of competition. The social or political organisation of our villages aimed at excluding exploitation and acquisition at others' cost. Each artisan had a share in the output of the village to ensure his maintenance on a standard of living common to village life. There was no room for a Bever-mere combine for imperialistic purposes in that society.

The joint family system avoided individual accumulations of wealth and went a long way to equalise distribution and to make ample provision for dependants. It curbed to some extent the greed of any individual for worldly goods. It cultivated in members of a family the social sense rather than encouraged selfishness.

Far be it from me to hold up these institutions as being utopian. My purpose in referring to these is not to hold them up to us as goals but I mark them merely as mile stones in the progress of national unification and evidences of the discouragement of Imperialism in our civilization. They are not hitching posts for us to pull up to. We leave them behind as mile stones which we have passed but we

need to record them. The only use we can make of them is to learn from the trend of past events the way in which we have to shape the structure we are putting up now. Let us not build in places where we have not laid a foundation. Unless our future is in line with our past we shall crumble down the moment the stress and strain of life falls upon us. We have to excavate the debris of Western civilization that has covered up during the last century and a half our lay-out and discover where our foundations are truly laid. We cannot build on Western foundations. They have idealised acquisition and their nationalism has been dedicated to that end. In our land, renunciation has been the highest virtue and our civilization has been moulded with this background. If we wish to make our contribution to human welfare it will have to be according to our national genius. Gandhiji's greatness is in no small measure due to his being in complete alignment with our past traditions. A similar personality in the West may have passed unnoticed as he would not have commanded the allegiance of his nation. Tolstoy was but a voice in the wilderness. Hence in whatever we wish to do in way of reconstruction we have to trace the lines laid out in the past and build on those plans and not merely imitate the developments of other people however much of a short cut that may appear to be.

Wolf-Pack-Nationalism has no room for foreigners. But in India, our Nationalism has open arms for those foreigners who are willing to help with our domestic affairs. In this we differ from our neighbours, China and Japan. The West has never understood our attitude in this and has jeeringly told us that we have 'no political sense.' Let us thank God for this defect in us. I am very grateful to the Nationalist Christian Party, under whose auspices we meet to-day, for providing me with a ready instance to demonstrate what I have said. One of their Vice-Presidents is a British woman whom I wish to congratulate on having broken away from Wolf-pack tradition.

(To be concluded).

#### A SWADESHI DIRECTORY.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*,  
Sir,

The Swadeshi and Khaddar Board of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has published a Swadeshi Directory and it is having a rapid sale. The price is only three annas including postage. The sale proceeds will be utilized for creating a museum of swadeshi goods. Therefore it is decided to publish another edition soon. As the Board desires to make this edition a bigger one, all Swadeshi manufacturers are hereby earnestly requested to send their names along with a short description of their articles and the address of their agencies from where their products can be obtained to:

Dr. SUBODH KUMAR BASU,  
Secretary.

97, Ashutosh Mukherjee Road,  
Bhowanipur, Calcutta.

#### THE SALVATION ARMY AND PROHIBITION.

(By BRIGADIER DANA DAS.)

Perhaps there has never been a Christian organization which has gone down among the lower strata of humanity to the extent the Salvation Army has done. Salvation Army Officers, of all people, possess first-hand knowledge, through direct contact with the people, of the woes and degradation of humanity.

This knowledge forces them to the conclusion that a very large percentage of those woes and of that degradation is the result of strong drink, and because they are so intensely convinced of this they are out to smite the drink, hip and thigh, all the time.

When the Army started its work in 1865 total abstinence was looked upon by the majority of people as an utterly unnecessary inhibition, indeed it was a common subject of ridicule. Even to-day there are but few Christian communities which make total abstinence a condition of membership, but this is what the Army has done from the very beginning.

Not only does a Salvationist pledge himself against the use of strong drink, but even in dedicating his children to God he undertakes to keep from them all intoxicating drink; so it may be said that every new generation of Salvationists enters the world's field with total abstinence as an inborn principle.

In view of the prominence which is being given to-day to the question of prohibition it may not be out of place to make known how the Salvation Army appraises the Prohibition movement in America. Commander Evangeline Booth, a daughter of the Founder of the Army, and who has for the past twenty-five years been directing Army affairs in the United States, has just made a remarkable pronouncement upon this subject, some extracts from which are here given.

"The Salvation Army stands wholly outside politics and controversy and is well aware that its support of Prohibition is not approved by many friendly newspapers and generous contributors. With great respect to those who differ from us, we are bound, at whatever cost in popularity, to say plainly that it would be impossible for us to carry on our work, except in direct opposition to the liquor traffic in all its forms. Our Officers and soldiers and even adherents cannot belong to the Army except on the basis of strict personal abstinence.

"My father, William Booth, Founder and first General of the Salvation Army, was so impressed by the actualities of alcoholism that, despite his Methodist affiliations, he discontinued the communion service, usually administered in the Christian Church, thereby laying himself and the Army open to controversy and criticism.

"In the use of beverages other than water, fermentation was never an essential, and to-day it is to an increasing extent eliminated. Tea, coffee, cocoa, served hot, with many cooling drinks, derived from

fruits, have been developed as an alternative to wine, beer and spirits, and fulfil the legitimate purpose of what formerly was intoxicating liquor of varying strength.

"Erring men and women have not found it possible to observe restraint in the use of alcohol, and, in all countries at all times, the liquor interests, public and private, have seen to it that restraint is made as difficult as possible. The result is that wherever alcohol is used at all, it is widely abused. Few of the families of moderate drinkers do not include, or have not included among the kin, direct or nearly collateral, some tragic skeleton of the cellar. Then, the suggestion that a limitation of drink stimulates the demand for drugs is directly contrary to our experience in the Army. Drugs and drink are allies, and a blow at the one is a blow at the other.

"In *The Chicago Daily News* of April 1st and 2nd, 1929, interviews were published with our Officers serving in that city. For No. 1, Industrial Home, with 120 men, Sunday was selected as a test day, because it immediately follows Saturday night. On one Sunday there were two drunks, and on the next none at all. This record compares with fifty per cent. of drunks ten years ago and twenty-four per cent. of drunks four years ago. Formerly a great majority of the men in the Institutions were men who through drink had been brought down to the gutter, and it was a struggle against the temptation the open saloon afforded. The majority of men who come to us now are not drinking men in that sense of the word at all. Some few of them are addicts to the drink habit and cause some trouble, but they are in the minority.

"The statement that indulgence in liquor and consequent evasion of the Eighteenth Amendment vary inversely as the wealth of the families involved, means that the mass of the nation engaged upon the production and consumption of commodities, is not to be held responsible for the bootlegging, the rum-running and the disobedience to law which have been so widely advertised for the purpose of discrediting a beneficent measure of reform.

"The conclusion of the Salvation Army, therefore has been, in one sentence, that Prohibition in the full sense of the word has been a major reason for the rapid advance of the United States to a foremost place among nations; liquor not prohibited, is a major reason for the retardation of a similar progress among other peoples of the world, and that if Prohibition be attacked, whether by foreign nations or by certain of our own citizens, the reason is, in the main, a selfishness on the part of the individual or of the financial interest involved. In a sentence, the world is moving toward the view that liquor is a survival of the past; and, manifestly, Prohibition in the United States has come to stay and must be accepted as the law of the land."

The local section of the Salvation Army sends out a call to the readers of this journal, asking them, for the sake of the prosperity and well-being of this beloved land, to join them in their stand against the drink traffic and to do so in one way amongst others, (if they have not yet done so), by becoming total abstainers.

### AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.  
Sir,

A far-off gazer at a distant scene may see things in their truer perspectives and relationship; than those who dwell upon the scene itself. Those who live in a forest cannot see the forest on account of the trees. Therefore it is possible for one who lives on the other side of the globe to send a message of help to that land of charm, India, and to the great Indian people, by means of what Homer truly called "winged words." Just as a single spark of fire, spreading far and wide, may kindle a mighty conflagration, so the spark of a good word kindles in the minds and hearts of men, and spreads everywhere, burning and consuming weeds, dross, rubbish, and refuse, and preparing the soil for the growth of good seed. To change the simile, a good word is like a pebble thrown into water whose ripples have no end.

The Indian people desire autonomy. Very good. A great nation like India should, indeed, be self-governing. But are the Indian people at present following that road which will lead them to true self-government? If they are on the right road, well and good. If they are, perchance, on the wrong road, they will never reach their destination. When one stands in some doubt whether a road that he has taken will lead him to where he wants to go, it behoves him to stop and take his bearings, lest, if he be on the wrong road, it lead him far from the place he wants to reach, and it be then too late to turn back.

The people of India have now reached a stage in their national development where they should halt (not stop) in their progress towards Swaraj, cease their present activities in the cause of Nationalism, and carefully consider whether they are on the right road that will lead them towards Swaraj.

The plan and efforts of the Indian Nationalists are somewhat analogous to the plan and efforts of the American prohibitionists. Prohibitionists, like other right-minded people, wanted to bring about temperance in the United States. But instead of preaching and working for temperance, they preached and worked for prohibition, the total elimination of alcoholic beverages. If prohibitionists had expended one half as much effort towards bringing about temperance as they expended towards bringing about prohibition, there can be no doubt that conditions in the United States would have been much better than they are at present.

Indian Nationalists, likewise, have a right end in view—the achievement of self-government for India—but they have misdirected their efforts towards the achievement of this end. Their first step should have been the creation of a national consciousness of unity and of common national purposes. No doubt it would have been, and will be, impossible for them to weld the Hindu, Mohamedan,

"Untouchable", and other diverse elements in India into a perfect fusion and unity. But there is such a thing as unity in diversity, the kind of unity that is composed of diverse and sometimes antagonistic elements, which can nevertheless be made to subsist together in a general state of peace and concord. Even cats and dogs, that are natural enemies, can be made to dwell together in concord by association, familiarity, and proper training.

If Indian Nationalists had put half the thought and effort that they have expended upon attaining to Swaraj, upon the creation of a national consciousness of unity, they would be much farther advanced on the road towards Swaraj than they are to-day. However, there is still time for them to retrace their steps. Sometimes advances are made by retrogressions.

Before the Nationalists can achieve Swaraj, they must accomplish several objects. They must come to an understanding, rapprochement, mode de vivre, with the Mohammedan population. The creation of a separate Moslem State might possibly enable Hindus and Mohammedans to live on terms of amity with each other. The objection to the formation of such a separate Moslem State would be that the juxtaposition of two integral States or hegemonies—Hindu and Mohammedan—in sharp contrast to each other might intensify the hostility already existing between Hindus and Mohammedans. Perhaps a better way to bring about concord between Hindus and Mohammedans would be to study carefully the grounds upon which the two bodies of people might be brought together in unity, (national if not religious unity) and to work zealously towards bringing them to this common meeting-place, after the manner in which Protestants and Catholics—two hostile religious bodies—dwell together in concord in the United States. Negroes and whites also dwell together in unity in my country. The official motto of the United States is "E pluribus unum."

Other objects the Nationalist leaders should zealously strive to accomplish, are: the unification of the languages and customs of the peoples of India; improvement in the education and living condition of both men and women; the simplification, codification, and betterment of laws; and the acknowledgement of the God-given rights of the "Untouchables" to the standing, rights, privileges, and liberties of men and women who have an equal stake with other Indian men and women in the destinies of the Indian people.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, }  
U. S. A. } Yours, etc.,  
28th June 1930. } CHARLES HOOPER.

Miss Mary Campbell:—Miss Mary J. Campbell, President of the W. O. T. U. for India, was recently in Mussoorie. She made a number of addresses in the interest of temperance and met with the local members of the W. O. T. U. when plans were discussed for the coming National Convention which is to be held in Calcutta next January. Miss Campbell expects to retire after the Convention and will thus complete a long term of service in the cause of temperance in India. Miss Campbell was the guest of honour at the June meeting of the Landour W. O. T. U. in recognition of her position as a leader in this organization. —*Indian Witness.*

#### HINDU GAINS OF LEARNING BILL.

The Editor, the *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am sorry to find that you have not discussed the merits and defects of Mr. Jayakar's Bill on "Hindu Gains of Learning." This was, of course, passed into law on the 15th instant, by a large majority of both official and non-official members of the Legislative Assembly. One finds that the defects underlying the bill, perhaps they may be very few, were not taken seriously by the House.

A necessary amendment, proposed by an honourable member, ought to have been accepted but the House was too quick to listen to him. Where that amendment is necessary can be made out in the following illustration:—

Only one or two sons among some sons of a father receive higher technical education. The father, with the tacit consent of other less fortunate brothers, contracts debts for their education, as he is a middle class gentleman of limited means. Now according to the Bill, the educated son or sons have the protection of the law to evade payment of money spent for his or their own professional education while the rest of the sons become entirely liable to clear the heavy debt. [Of course, we leave out the case of a noble son taking the initiative to pay off such debt incurred without being approached by the old father or the brothers.] Thus we find the necessity of one of the rejected amendments that day, namely, that the member who receives the benefit of such education should repay to the joint family the amount for his technical education, only to save his own family members being brought to ruin. This is a very frequent case in South India.

Nellore, } Yours, etc.,  
30th July 1930. } K. RAMANATHAM.

#### "MUSLIM INDIANS" FOR "INDIAN MUSLIMS."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Since words have so great a bearing and exercise such an insidious influence on our thoughts, I would suggest that whenever we refer to our Muslims, Christians etc. *vis-a-vis* other Indian communities or the general population, we should speak of "Muslim Indians," "Christian Indians" etc., rather than "Indian Muslims," "Indian Christians" etc., though these latter terms have been in general but unfortunate use so far.

We should prefer "Muslim Indians" etc. to "Indian Muslims" etc., because these latter terms, formed as they are with the credal word for the qualificatory adjective, emphasise the credal more than the national aspect of what is in each case the same content. But such emphasis is clearly unwanted in such contexts as I have spoken of. Dealing, however, with an international gathering of the followers of Islam, of Christianity etc., for example, we might speak of "Indian Muslims," "Indian Christians" etc., to distinguish each group from the other followers of the same faith,

Following the suggestion of the present writer, Mahatma Gandhi since some three years ago had been carefully observing the rule of writing "Christian Indians" etc., rarely, if ever, permitting the usual but unnational terminology to appear in his writings. Will our writers and speakers follow his example?

Karwar, }  
July 27, 1930. }

Yours, etc.,  
S. D. NADKARNI.

### RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

One would have thought that members of the Society of Jesus, at least those of them that are engaged in secular education, had by this time outgrown the heretic-burning mentality of the Dark Ages, and that they were sufficiently modernised and liberalised in outlook at least to profess sympathy for the principle of freedom of religious belief. But the sight of an English History by one Mr. Gense, S. J., teacher in a Jesuit school in Bombay, (published by Macmillan and Co.) which is full of special pleading for the persecution of 'heretics' by Roman Catholic bigots like Mary Tudor, and against similar persecution of Roman Catholics by Protestant zealots like Henry, Elizabeth, gives one a rude shock. But what are we to think of the Educational authorities of this Presidency who have prescribed this same work, which might be in its place in a Jesuit seminary, or pass muster as a propagandist tract for pious Papiats,—containing such stuff as "returned into the bosom of the Church" interspersed through its pages,—as a text-book for the Matriculation throughout or almost throughout their jurisdiction? The following is a gem taken from this 'pious fraud' of a History:

"But what about the religious offenders executed during Mary's reign? In 1555 an Act for the purpose of punishing heretics, i.e. Protestants, with death was brought into the Commons.....and it passed the two Houses. The result was that in less than four months 277 persons were burned, because they were Protestants. Among those victims some like Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were men of influence and high position, but the majority of them belonged to the lower orders. Still these last were dangerous, because.....heresy and sedition were at that time convertible terms." (Page 52, 1930 edition.)

This is a novel defence which the persecuting bigots of those days might never have thought of. Evidently you can give a dog a bad name and then hang or burn him,—and you know, the only bad name that can serve in these days is 'seditious', while in bygone days in Europe it was 'heretic.' Notice also in the reference to "the lower orders" the implied contempt for common folks' lives on the part of this follower of the Carpenter of Nazareth.

However, we must acknowledge that Mr. Gense has done some good by exposing the other (i.e., the Protestant) side of the ignominious shield to an extent that is hardly done, if at all, in the English publications ordinarily used in our schools.

Yours, etc.,

"AMATEUR EDUCATIONIST."

### TANJORE SCHOOL, DURBAN.

Alongside the residence of Mr. R. K. Naidoo, above the banks of the River Umgeni, stands the Tanjore School. It is built on a site that commands the Sea, Town and inland views. The building is single storeyed with a very wide verandah on both sides and has accommodation for about 150 children. The cost of the building has been borne entirely by Mr. R. K. Naidoo, yet another instance of his generosity.

It would appear that when the Agent of the Government of India, Sir Kurma V. Reddi, was convalescing at Mr. Naidoo's residence, after his serious illness, he happened to remark to Mr. Naidoo that the District needed a school. It is as a result of this remark that the Tanjore School now owes its existence.

On Sunday, the 29th June, the School was opened by the Agent-General, Sir Kurma V. Reddi. The School Room which was tastefully decorated, was filled to its capacity and amongst those present included the Mayor the Rev. A. Lamont, Mr. R. K. Naidoo, who presided, Messrs. A. Christopher, T. M. Naicker, Sorabjee Rustomjee, P. B. Pather, A. I. Kajee, K. R. Nayanah, P. K. Kora, T. Raghavan Nair, S. P. Sinha, A. Shakoor, Shaik Himed and O. H. A. Jhaveri.

In thanking those present for responding to the invitation the chairman, Mr. Naidoo, said that the need for a school was felt for a long time. The school had now been built to fill that want. It was proposed to teach English and Tamil as was the case at the Hindu Tamil Institute at Durban. He hoped that through Sir Kurma's influence the Provincial Government would be able to give a grant-in-aid. He thanked Sir Kurma for acceding to the request of the School Committee to open the School. He then garlanded the Agent-General and handed bouquets to the Mayor, Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, Mr. A. Christopher and Mr. V. G. Kurma.

Sir Kurma, in rising to speak, was received with cheering. He spoke in glowing terms of the many kindnesses that he received at the hands of Mr. R. K. Naidoo during his illness. His generosity knew no bounds. He was happy to see such a school built on the heights of the River Umgeni. He felt that the Committee would have no difficulty in getting a grant-in-aid provided the School conformed to the general curriculum. He would assist in that respect.

The Mayor, who followed, congratulated Mr. Naidoo on his generosity and hoped that the School would be a distinct success.

Other speakers included Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee, Advocate Albert Christopher, Messrs. A. I. Kajee, T. M. Naicker, V. S. O. Pather, P. K. Kora and K. R. Nayanah. Light refreshments were served at the termination of the function.—*The Indian Opinion*.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Caste and Catholicism:**—H. E. the Apostolic Delegate arrived in Rome June 16. Upon the conclusion of his stay in Rome, he will visit the United States. The first Indian bishop of the Latin rite, Bishop Roche of Tuticorin is one of the seven Jesuit bishops who have arrived in Rome for the canonization of the North American martyrs on June 29. His Lordship states to a *Fides* representative that, true, the air of India is charged with civil disobedience but this has by no means influenced the activity of the Church. The Bishop reveals himself as a prelate endowed with gifts of leadership, gracious in bearing and with a mind alive to all questions which touch his work. "My diocese of Tuticorin lies at the very tip of India and embraces the famous Pearl Fishery Coast evangelized by St. Francis Xavier. Most of my people are from Catholic families which have had the faith for centuries; my own, for instance, proudly traces back its entry into the Church under the great apostle of the Indies. Europeans observe our names and figure that we must be in some way of western origin. This is not the case. In the days of Xavier our families at baptism often took the name of their sponsors, who were frequently important officials from Portugal. Most of my people are of the Nardar caste, I am of Paravar caste. It is interesting to note that Bishop D'Souza of Mangalore is a Konkani Brahmin while Bishop-elect Xavier of Kumbakonam is of the Vellal caste. We labour assiduously to eliminate the evils of caste among Catholics but it is necessary to remember that it is a social institution which has coloured all Indian life for centuries."

**Right of Secession:**—Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, replying to the discussion on his address regarding the Simon Report at the East India Association last week said that it was a mistake to interpret Dominion status in respect of India differently from the interpretation in respect of other parts of the Empire. Young India wished the country to be within the British Commonwealth of Nations upon an equal footing with other parts of the Empire. He most earnestly and most respectfully asked the British friends to remember this. India was not going to exercise her right of secession if it were reached but asked for it, because it would bind the Empire closer together; for it would then be an association of free peoples in which India would willingly and gladly remain. Freedom was an essential condition of unity, strength and solidarity of the Empire. Their hopes were concentrated on the Round-Table Conference, and he for one felt that it must not break up without success.

**Bai Nurbhen Juma's Address To Dar-es-Salaam Women:**—*The Tanganyika Opinion* writes:—Recently a Khoja lady named Bai Nurbhen Juma hailing from Bombay arrived at Dar-es-Salaam to convey the message of India to the colonies at her hour of grave need. She gave a highly illuminating address to the women community of Dar-es-Salaam who congregated in large numbers at the New Cinema Hall on Sunday the 7th inst. She said she had made gift of her two sons to the nation who are engaged in fighting British Imperialism on the soil of their mother country. She exhorted her audience to make similar gifts and particularly in money. Her discourse was heard with rapt

attention. She described at length the sudden development the national movement has made."

**Social Reform In Sind:**—A correspondent writes from Hyderabad (Sind), on the 2nd August:—Yesterday (Lokmanya Day) was opened in the Gura Sangat, Hyderabad, a Nari Sudhar Sabha to be managed by a committee of ladies. Vaswani performed the opening ceremony. The meeting opened with a beautiful hymn sung by ladies. Mr. Ladhara N, Headmaster, spoke on the aims and objects of the Sabha, pointing out how great was the need of reform in Hyderabad. Mr. Fatechand of the N. H. Academy, also, emphasised the importance of social reform. Vaswani said—the problem of social reform was a very difficult one in Hyderabad and not many seemed interested in it. But though man was weak, God could achieve wonders. Vaswani said he was in their midst with this prayer in his heart:—"O God of the poor and lowly! send us Thy grace for the service of Love!" He believed profoundly that nothing could be achieved without God's grace. If we could but repent of our social sins and approach the social problem in a new spirit of self-examination and humility, we would have the new strength needed to build a new social order.

**Ramkrishna Mission Sind Flood Relief:**—The Honorary Secretary, Ramkrishna Mission, Khar, Bombay, writes.—The Bombay Ramkrishna Ashram relief party visiting Shikarpur have managed to arrive at Larkhana, the most heavily damaged part of the flood affected area in Sind. They are busily conducting the work of reconnaissance all round Larkhana. This being over they will start giving weekly doles and supplying fodders to the cattle immediately. The weekly expenditure in doling out food and fodder is likely to cost from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500 at the start. The cost will gradually increase with the increase of recipients. We fervently hope the philanthropic people of all quarters of Bombay will not fail to generously respond to our appeal. Any contribution in cash or kind will be most thankfully received and acknowledged by the Secretary, Ramkrishna Ashram, Khar, Bombay.

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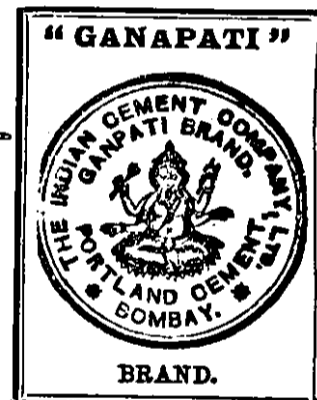
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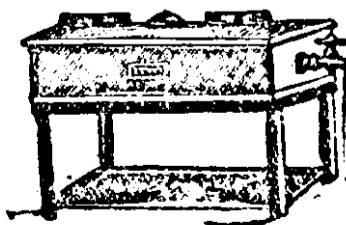
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No. 50

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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## NOTES.

### Bande Mataram.

BY THE REV. FATHER WINSLOW, ACHARYA,  
CHRISTA SEVA SANGHA.

Hail to thee, Mother ! Thy proud sons greet thee,  
Fair as the moon and clear as the sun,  
Terrible fair as a bannered army,  
Patient and strong till the day be won,  
Calling thy sons to the high endeavour,  
Sealing them true to the task begun.

Others will fight with hatred and slaying,  
Wade to a kingdom through blood outpoured.  
We will conquer with God's own armour ;  
We will smite with the Spirit's sword ;  
Vanquish by love that can meekly suffer,  
Die and arise in the name of the Lord !

Prophet souls that have watched for the dawning—  
Patient hope in your sleepless eyes—  
Cry and exult ! for the flags of morning  
Flame on the face of the Eastern skies !  
Welcome the end of your night's long travail !  
See your sun in his strength arise !

India, my India ! Mother Beloved !  
Shatter the chains of thy thralldom past !  
Ransom thy captives, and raise thy fallen !  
Fold to thy bosom thy sons outcast !  
Rise in the might of thine ancient splendour !  
Shout for thy great Release at last !

**Peace Conversations:**—On Sunday night Pandits Motilal Nehru, Jawharlal Nehru and Dr. Mahomed who was arrested and convicted with them, were taken by special train from Allahabad Central Jail and brought to Yerravda Jail where Mahatma Gandhi is interned. Mahatmaji, they and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who is also serving his sentence in Yerravda, had a preliminary conference on Tuesday after which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar joined them. The conference was continued on Wednesday and Thursday and is to be renewed on Friday when this is written. That it has not been broken off, is a good sign. The method of carrying on negotiations in jail has serious disadvantages, the worst of which is that the principals in jail must accept what they are told of the state of things outside and cannot test their

information at first hand. If for instance, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal want to know how their movement is faring in Andhra, they cannot question an Andhra leader like Mr. Jogiah who was quite recently in Bombay. In the Pandits' own province it appears that even among very sympathetic observers there is a feeling that things are being pushed almost to the verge of non-violence. Leadership everywhere has passed into the hands of people with more enthusiasm than knowledge and the few experienced people outside jails find it expedient to conceal their real opinions and shout with the largest crowd. It is to the credit of the young enthusiasts that they are keeping up the movement bravely, and it is not their fault that it tends to become a monotonous series of processions and public meetings. On the other hand, the officials are doing much what they please, especially in the districts. The ridiculous order against Gandhi caps by a magistrate in Andhra, has been set aside, as being likely to provoke the very evils which it was its professed object to avoid, by the Madras High Court, after it had been in force and scores of persons had suffered by its enforcement for several days. The country cannot be allowed to drift as, we are afraid, it is doing, on the offchance of its being washed ashore on some delectable region.

**The Right of Severance:**—Mr. Srinivasa Sastry in his speech at the London East India Association on the Simon Commission Report, part of which we reprint, applied a novel test to the scheme of the Report. Dominion status, he argued, has been authoritatively accepted as the goal of Indian development. That status implies the right of severance of the British connection. Is the scheme of the Report such as to facilitate or such as to restrain the exercise of this right ? Mr. Sastry proceeded to analyse the Commission's recommendations relating to the Indian army and he had no difficulty in showing that they were a permanent restraint upon the Dominion right of secession. Lord Chelmsford, who as Viceroy of India was associated with the Montagu reforms, referring to Mr. Sastry's argument, pointed out that the pre-amble to the Act of 1919, spoke of India's progress to self-government as "an integral part of the British Empire"—which, of course, ruled out the right of secession—and that if the right was an integral part of Dominion status, then India could not claim to have been promised it but something less. Both Mr. Sastry and Lord Chelmsford are right and both are wrong. Dominion status in 1917 or even 1919 meant far less than it means today. The famous resolution

of the Imperial Conference declaring that the Dominions were independent sovereign nations, with the same person as their King, was adopted some years later. There is nothing inconsistent between the promise of Dominion status as an integral part of the British Commonwealth at that date and the same promise without the clause now. A couple who were married when they were Hindus or Catholics continue to be husband and wife if they become Mahomedans or Protestants, though their former faiths do not permit divorce and their later ones do. While, therefore, Lord Chelmsford's objection does not overthrow Mr. Sastry's contention, we nevertheless think that the issue about severance is not immediately relevant to the question of Dominion status. The point, moreover, is by no means simple. When it does arise, we suppose it will be settled on its merits in each case. If Canada wants to become politically a part of the United States as she already is in her economic relations, Great Britain will probably not try to coerce her to remain in her fold. The same will be the case with Australia, though Australia is unlikely to ask for severance for a very long time. But it is very doubtful if South Africa will be allowed to cut herself off without a grim struggle and it is certain that Ireland cannot do so within her present constitution. In the case of India there is virtually no distinction between insisting on the right of severance and seeking to exercise it without the interlude of Dominion status. Perhaps, Mr. Sastry's purpose was to show that the Congress goal of independence is not essentially different from the Liberal goal of Dominion status.

**Release of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:**—On Friday afternoon the 8th instant someone paid the fine of Rs. 100, for non-payment of which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had been sent to prison and he was accordingly released much against his wish. Similarly on Tuesday the 12th instant some upcountry Gujarati gentleman is reported to have paid the fine of Rs. 100 inflicted on each of the four ladies who preferred going to jail. Forthwith the Magistrate ordered their release. Accordingly Mrs. Ratanben Mehta, Miss Maniben Vallabhbhai Patel, Mrs. Harnam Kaur and Miss Amrit Kaur were set free on Tuesday afternoon. A fine for what at the most was a technical breach of the law and the payment of the fine by unknown parties, are in a way a welcome innovation on the part of both the guardians of law and order and the satyagrahis in the present struggle for freedom. It may be recalled that we had strongly urged this course in our leading article last week.

**India, a World Issue:**—The *World Unity Magazine* has a striking editorial on the Indian situation. "India," it writes, "is in direct conflict with our need of world peace. She is rebelling against other countries almost as much as against England. Her rights are conditioned by rights which had no existence when the American colonies left the Empire. The assertion of national sovereignty at this time according to the ideal of liberty which motivated the colonials a hundred and fifty years ago may produce independence but at the cost of a general chaos menacing all that independence is intended to secure. What-

ever is spiritually vital in India's renaissance, whatever is economically necessary in her program of education and reform, whatever is culturally precious to humanity in her unused mental and moral resources, must somehow be secured without adding to the general disorder already threatening the basis of world civilization." Turning to England, it observes: "But England, too, is not merely attempting to suppress one people in revolution. England is also in direct conflict with world rights and world interests. Her sovereignty is no longer absolute nor her responsibility confined to policies advantageous to the Empire alone. The relations between peoples today are far less important politically than economically, and economic relations cannot be determined by mere fiat nor constitution but by voluntary perception of mutual good." It concludes: "The modern world can endure neither a great people in subjection nor a great empire in collapse. It is a case for trusteeship, imposed upon both immediate parties, and relating both to a world order worth infinitely more to each than victory in the old, narrow meaning of that word. The lack of such trusteeship is the tragedy of the other nations. In essence, the case of India represents a people compelled too rapidly to undertake new standards of political education and economic progress; the case of England reveals the need to maintain Imperial relations when world relations are required. If India follows China, humanity must adopt a super state or society will collapse." Not so long ago the modern world deliberately brought about the collapse of three great empires. It calmly sees to-day a great people in subjection. What is "the modern world", but a newspaper creation?

(Continued from the Leader Page).

other day that he and those who think with him cannot openly show their sympathy with Indian nationalism if they are to remain in this country at all. The other day at a friends' conference a Christian Missionary prefaced his observations by saying that according to the terms of Mission work they are prohibited from expressing their opinions on political matters. A Mahomedan lawyer who was present remarked that that meant they are "gagged" so far as politics was concerned—they, the only Europeans who had no axe to grind and who may, therefore, be expected to be able to form impartial opinions on what is passing around them! Such being the dependence of the churches on the powers who make war and peace, it is a question how far the projected Conference at Geneva can practically help the cause of world peace. What we have said of Christianity applies to other religions also, except that the latter at present are professed by nations controlled by Christian Nations. A conference such as that proposed can obviously be of little use if it is confined to or dominated by official and orthodox representatives of the several religions. But it can be of much benefit if it attracts religious thinkers, that is, men who have dared to think and reason outside the conventional and political limitations of their society and nationality.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, AUGUST 16, 1930.

BELIGION AND WORLD PEACE.

We publish today the prospectus of a World conference, to be held in Geneva in 1932, of representatives of all religions. The purpose of the conference is stated to be "to devise ways and means to bring to bear upon the problems of peace and war the weight of the world's idealism as expressed in its religions." The central issue before the conference will be: "What can religion contribute toward the establishment of World Peace and the Outlawry of War?" In another weighty sentence the organisers of the conference emphasise that its "sole purpose will be to consider how the forces of religion in all nations can be mobilized in a concerted action against war and that spirit and those things that make for war." The aim of every religion, rightly understood, is to promote peace among men. We do not think that there is any religion which holds up war as the great object of life. "Thou shalt not kill" is one of the first commandments of all religions, and War is nothing but organised and wholesale killing. On this ground alone, namely, that the essence of war is killing, and that killing is a great sin in all religions, religionists of all races should be opposed to war. It is nevertheless the fact that they are not so opposed. We do not want to make any invidious distinctions. But the truth must be faced. The two great religions whose followers have founded kingdoms and empires outside their own countries, have systematically used religion to support and exalt war, that is, the wholesale killing of their neighbours. Even in this twentieth century, the Churches of the several Christian nations which were involved in the Great War, blessed the banners and consecrated the bombs, machine guns and gas which carried death and destruction into three continents. But War is not the worst evil which one nation can inflict on another. What makes it loom larger than other greater evils, is that it is concentrated, sudden, dramatic. The insidious exploitation of alien races mostly by European nations professing Christianity, is not only a worse calamity to the exploited nations, but is also the main cause of war amongst themselves at the present time. The "place in the sun" which Germany coveted and which other imperialist nations waged war with her for coveting, lest they themselves should thereby be deprived of their "places in the sun," is nothing but the opportunity to oppress and exploit the non-political, non-military nations of Asia and Africa for their own material advantage. The Lambeth Conference has perceived this result, but has not dared to condemn foreign rule

as in itself being unchristian and evil. It has, on the contrary held the ruling of one race by another to be justifiable from the Christian standpoint "when the highest welfare of the subject race is the constant idea of Government and when admission to an increased share in the Government is the objective steadfastly pursued." This is an almost word for word reproduction of the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, the only words left out being that it should be the object to lead the subject race step by step to responsible government, the rate and the pace to be determined by the British Parliament. The established Church of England cannot afford to give away the Government of India in its exposition of Christian doctrine!

The resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, 75 in number, are published with an Encyclical—we thought only the Pope issued Encyclicals—signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. His Grace makes a candid admission at the outset of this document. "We are aware," he says, "of the extent to which the very thought of God seems to be away from the minds and hearts of many even in nominally Christian lands." It would be more correct to say that this phenomenon is most largely prevalent in nominally Christian lands, although the infection promises to spread to non-Christian lands also. How else can it be when Christianity, and following it other religions, have literally understood and followed the obscure biblical injunction, "Make for thyself friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness." The American Missionary, Keithan, who had to leave the country because he entertained Reginald Reynolds for a day, in a letter to a friend which has been published, explains the reason why he resigned his Mission and left India. "Of course," he writes, "as you have heard the Collector of Madura first called in the Secretary of our Mission and said that I must go home or the Government would not give grants to the Mission. I went to the Governor who said that I need not leave India but must leave the Mission if the Mission wanted grants from the Government. Of course, the Mission would not dare to give up grants!! and so there was no question about that. I might have stayed on in India but it has seemed best for many reasons to go home now and plan to return later for service in the country I have learned to love. I do not see how I can work under Missions as they are organised at present—yes, and as they are run." The irony of the matter is that the grants are paid not out of the Governor's pocket nor out of the British Exchequer, but out of the taxes collected mainly from Hindu and Mussalman taxpayers! Another, a scholarly and thoughtful Missionary wrote to us in a personal letter the

(Continued in the 2nd column of the 2nd Note Page.)

## GANDHI IN AMERICA.

Interest in the Indian cause of *Swaraj* centers in the United States in the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. This exalted leader of his people has caught the imagination and stirred the reverence of all intelligent Americans. His march to Dandi, as one of the most dramatic and heroic events of modern times, awoke the serious attention of millions of men and women who had known or cared nothing of India before. His arrest, reported on the front page of every great newspaper in the land, shook the nation with compassion. Now, in his prison cell, the Mahatma seems to wield an influence upon us like that of Christ upon the cross. News from India these days is scant and one-sided. The British censorship sees well to that! But no government has the power to confine within any borders the contagious influence of a saintly and martyred soul. Gandhi speaks to us from behind his prison bars. Day and night we see him sitting in his cell. His bondage is the witness of India's bondage. Because we would have the Mahatma free, we would have India also free. Indeed we know that the Mahatma can be free only through India's being free. Hence is Gandhiji at this hour the incarnation in America of his country's cause.

It is amazing to note the growth of interest in Gandhi in recent years in America. Ten years ago I preached a sermon in my pulpit on Gandhi as "the greatest man in the world." Few of my congregation had ever heard of him. Newspapers could give no information about him. His name did not appear in the catalogue of the New York Public Library, the third largest in the country. A few years later, Romain Rolland's beautiful biography of the Mahatma was published, and, in spite of the distinguished name of its author, had only a moderate reading. Today Gandhi's name is on every tongue. Articles about him are appearing constantly in our newspapers and magazines. C. F. Andrew's book, "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas," published some months ago, has been one of our "best sellers." Mr. Andrew's edition of Gandhi's autobiography, announced for early fall publication, is awaited with intense and widespread interest. Of course, events have had much to do with this phenomenon. The tremendous happenings in India during the last decade have focussed world-attention upon all the great leaders of the Indian cause. But Gandhi is himself the real explanation of what has occurred. His simplicity, sincerity, utter devotion, sublime self-sacrifice, and sheer saintliness of character, have convinced the world that here upon this planet today is one of the greatest and noblest historical figures of all time. And men are convinced that whatever cause he blesses is by that fact blessed.

Indians today have but one duty—to be worthy of their immortal Mahatma. In him is their suffering and trial today, but also their sure victory tomorrow!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

This and another article entitled "India and America" were written for *Young India* by Mr. John Haynes Holmes, the eminent American divine. As, *Young India* is not being published, they have been kindly passed on to us. The other article will be published next week.

## NATIONALISM.

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA.)

## III.

Now that we have surveyed briefly the historical manifestation of nationalism in the West and in the East, we shall consider for a moment what should be the place of nationalism in human affairs.

We can only work on the elementary analogy of family love. Love is a power of regulation in all human social units. Pure love for one's family is not antagonistic with love for one's neighbours or the love for one's race or nation. Indeed it is a necessary outcome of such love. All true love is holy and love does not breed hatred. No nationalism that can sing a Hymn of Hate can be pure or holy. If we can love our neighbour we can love our neighbouring nations. Love gives up certain rights for the benefit of others. We cannot be all-grasping and yet pretend to have love. We have to look upon all humanity as one family and the various nations as members. Internationalism can only be born of love, and as long as greed governs our international relations, any "League of Nations" becomes another tool of exploitation in the hands of the imperialists. Tagore is generalising what he found in the West when he says in "Creative Unity:"\* "Nationalism is the training for a narrow idea, and when it gets hold of their minds it is sure to lead them to moral degeneracy and intellectual blindness. Our individual social life has risen above the ethics of robber but at present our international relations are still below the level of the individual ethics. We have to feel as William Lloyd Garrison felt: 'Our country is the World, our countrymen are all mankind.' We love the land of our nativity as we love all other lands." This should be our nationalism. Each nation working in love towards each other and dealing with each other on the same code of morals that govern the individual. When we begin to work in this way our armies will become merely police forces. For this we have to educate the peoples of the world in this ideal of Peace. Without this foundation whatever attempts we may make will result in failure like the International Labour Union which crumbled like the walls of Jericho at the trumpet call of war and as the World Student Federation disintegrated at the call of the military. Race hatred is not instinctive. It is cultivated prejudice. We find no distinctions of colour or race among children. Young people are educated to it. We have to mobilise our educational institutions to bring about a change of outlook and then will they beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore. But they shall sit everyman under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid for the mouth of the Lord of hosts has spoken it. For all people will walk, everyone in

\* Tagore's "Creative Unity," Page 148.

he name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever," and there will be "Glory in God in the highest and on earth peace, goodwill toward men". Does not this Biblical prophesy uttered 3000 years ago apply to our present satyagraha movement?

Viewing Nationalism in this light and holding it to be an integral part of internationalism, what is the function of Indian Nationalism today? As we have already seen, in the past our nationalism was harnessed to organise and purify our own nation without harming other nations. In the same way under Gandhiji's direction we are again engaged in putting our house in order. It is part of our nationalist programme, to rid our land of drunkenness and other social evils. Only the other day Bombay set the example of picketing Poona Race specials. If our nationalism is to do any good we have to include in our plans such items to cleanse us from tainted wealth. The West looks upon racing as the sport of Kings but we have to educate public opinion to regard it as another form of gamblers' dice. We see stark poverty throughout the land following idleness and lack of work. The spinning wheel is calculated to add a few morsels of bread for hungry mouths, and incidentally repatriate a lost industry and increase the productivity of the masses. In our overwhelming enthusiasm we ought not to forget that what is our gain should not be another's loss. Trade and other mutual dealings have to be based on this principle. Our programme should not engender hatred of foreigners in general and Britishers in particular. It was, I think, this idea that led Gandhiji to look with disfavour on boycott of British goods. Personally I would strongly advocate boycott of British goods purely on ethical grounds. On the face of it it looks as though I am going against my theory of Nationalism but a little consideration will reveal the consistency. The British came to us with high sounding phrases of divine mission and trusteeship. We unsuspectingly placed our confidence in their integrity. What have they done? They have manipulated tariffs, Railway rates, Exchange and the financial policy to suit their own trade and stripped us of our raiment, wounded us, and have left us half dead. It is not legitimate trade to give short weight and compel you to buy from themselves and nobody else. We should be fools to have any further dealings with those who live by sharp practice. Is it wrong then to boycott sharp practice? As far as the Britisher is concerned we owe him no illwill. We merely refuse to give him farther opportunities to carry on an immoral trade. Is this not our duty? As regards other foreign goods, since we are deprived of the means of safeguarding our infant industries by tariffs and subsidies we have to resort to a self barrier in the interest of the languishing condition of the industries of the country. But neither of these items of boycott should be enforced in the spirit of hatred of foreign things. Anything that leads us to hatred is of evil origin and any such

dealings may be apparently profitable but in the long run will injure both parties to it. We have to be warned of this. Boycott will be a curse to us if it merely ended with the negative side. We have to emphasise the positive side of encouraging Indian productivity with a view to reducing poverty. Perhaps 'promotion of Swadeshi' would be a more apt phrase to describe our purpose than the awkward and clumsy word 'Boycott' which savours of violence. During this transitional period the consumer should buy swadeshi goods even at a higher cost, the excess being in the nature of a subsidy. The merchants on the other hand should be content with a smaller profit and regard the shortage as a self-imposed Customs duty. If the merchants took undue advantage of this situation they will be guilty of robbing Mother India at her time of need.

We hear a great deal to-day of our economic and political woes. Very little is said about our cultural degeneration. No nation on earth could have held us in subjection if we had been culturally strong. If we now take advantage of the present flood tide of Nationalism and revive and rebuild our social structures independence cannot be far off.

The present struggle should be a refiner's fire purifying us and our nationalism as pure gold; burning all dross. This may be a painful process but if we keep our eye on our goal we shall not regret the ordeal and the world would have moved one step further towards universal peace. May I conclude with a few stanzas from Tagore's 'The Sunset of the Century':

The crimson glow of light on the horizon is not  
the light of thy dawn of peace, my Mother-  
land.

It is the glimmer of the funeral pyre burning  
to ashes the vast flesh—the self love of the  
nation—dead under its own excesses.

Thy morning waits behind the patient dark of  
the East, meek and silent.

Keep watch, India.

Bring your offerings of worship of that sacred  
sunrise.

Let the first hymn of its welcome sound in your  
voice and sing

"Come, Peace, thou daughter of God's own  
great suffering.

Come with thy treasure of contentment, the  
sword of fortitude,

And meekness crowning thy forehead."

Be not ashamed, my brothers, to stand before  
the proud and the powerful

With your white robe of simpleness.

Let your crown be humility, your freedom the  
freedom of the soul.

Build God's throne daily upon the ample bare-  
ness of your poverty

And know what is huge is not great and pride  
is not everlasting.



### WORLD CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

When the suggestion was first made that representatives of all the world's religions be brought together to discuss ways and means for promoting world peace, it was looked upon as an impossible dream.

Since 1924 the original proposal has taken definite shape, so that today it is more than a vision. The proposed conference bids fair to become one of the greatest events in the religious life of our generation.

A preliminary conference was held in Geneva in 1928 with 191 delegates brought together from the ends of the earth and representing various religions. It was agreed that an organization be created; that the purpose should be slowly to devise ways and means to bring to bear upon the problems of peace and war the weight of the world's idealism as expressed in its religions.

The Executive Committee elected at Geneva met in Paris later in the year, and again in Frankfort, Germany, in August, 1929.

#### PLAN.

It has been agreed that the conference be held in 1932 to which will be invited representatives of the world's living religions. Preparatory to this meeting four International Commissions have been established as follows :

*Commission No. 1*—What are the influences in the world that make for war ?

- (a) Economic and financial
- (b) Social and industrial
- (c) Racial
- (d) Political
- (e) Propaganda

*Commission No. 2*—The spiritual resources of mankind with which these influences can be met.

- (a) Religious
- (b) Scientific
- (c) Cultural and Institutional
- (d) Educational
- (e) Philanthropic

*Commission No. 3*—To survey the efforts made by the various religious agencies and their adherents to further inter-racial and international understanding and peace.

*Commission No. 4*—To suggest methods by which these resources may be set in motion, co-ordinated and directed to bear upon the causes of war.

Men eminent in the field of economics, education, science, sociology, literature, art and religion have been appointed members of these Commissions. The Commissions will make their reports, which will be published, distributed and will become the basis of discussion when the conference meets.

A number of inspirational addresses will be given with opportunities for private conference, and the discussion of Committee reports. There will be, however, a minimum of formal speech-making and a maximum of discussion on the question "*What can religion contribute toward the establishment of World Peace and the Outlawry of War ?*"

### ORGANIZATION

At Frankfort six Presidents and thirteen Vice-Presidents were elected. A Business Committee was appointed with authority to make all the arrangements for the conference. A Secretariat was elected and offices established in New York, London, Paris, and Berlin. Besides this, authority has been given for the establishment of an office and the appointment of a Secretary for Japan, another for China, one for India, one for the Near and Middle East, and one for the Balkan States and South eastern Europe.

A committee on publicity and one on education have been established. Through the organization, the purpose is to educate public opinion over as wide an area as possible, and secure the co-operation of men and women throughout the world in the endeavour to establish right international relations and lay the foundation for a permanent peace.

#### PROGRESS.

The difficulty is to secure a practical interpretation of what religion really means. At the conference each religion will be asked to state its *teachings on peace*; what it is doing to inculcate these teachings among its followers; how far it can go in uniting in a common crusade to establish international relationships on a peace footing and to outlaw war. The conference will create a great world sentiment in behalf of the things for which vital religion stands. Its universality will make it appealing beyond anything that has yet been attempted.

No one will be encouraged to boast of the past or of the superiority of his particular religion, except as to its ability to serve humanity by ridding the earth of the age-long curse of war. There will be no attempt to compare religions nor to judge nor readjust, according to any schedule, the religious faith of any individual or people. Neither will there be discussed questions relating to doctrines, formulas and forms of faith, nor will any effort be made to expose or to espouse any political or social system nor give force to any criticism of such national and community arrangements as are now recognized and held sacred in the various parts of the world. *The sole purpose of the conference will be to consider how the forces of religion in all nations can be mobilized in a concerted action against war and that spirit and those things that make for war.*

This is the hour for the accomplishment of this supreme task. Humanity awaits a message and a program which will bring it to pass. The religions of the world will rise to this great opportunity. Not only will it be worth doing, but it will be worth all that it will cost. When the nations are being bled white to pay for war, surely those who believe in the power of religion to prevent war should be ready and eager to see this high purpose made concrete on a world wide basis.

Full information will be gladly furnished. Write to Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, for all the conference publications.

THE REPORT OF THE SIMON  
COMMISSION.\*

BY THE RIGHT HON. V. S. SRINIVASA  
SASTRI, C.H.

A heated debate has arisen over the place to be given to the report and recommendations of the Simon Commission at the forthcoming Round Table Conference. One side would give it no particular importance. The other would assign to it the leading position among the materials to be laid before the Conference and demands that its recommendations should form the basis of discussion. Certain far-reaching consequences of these recommendations must be set forth fully and their relation examined to the declaration made by the Viceroy in November last with the sanction of His Majesty's Government and since reaffirmed by him on the 9th of this month before the Central Legislature of India.

But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the statute of 1919, I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

To show how deeply the present Government stand committed to this declaration, a passage from the speech of the Secretary of State for India and one from that of the Prime Minister may be quoted, both made on the occasion when Parliament debated the subject. Mr. Benn said :—

They were proposing not to take a new step in policy but to take in effect administrative action, namely, to declare and interpret in unmistakable terms the existing policy. The Liberals were against it, the Conservatives were against it, and the Commission were unwilling to participate. What did the Government do? They governed. The Government published on the pre-arranged date the pre-arranged text... Before I say why the Government acted as they did, I want to say one word about the declaration itself. The declaration was a restatement and an interpretation of the Montagu policy.

The Prime Minister said :—

I am not sheltering myself behind others; it is the Government's decision. The Government have come to a decision on advice. We came to the decision that it would not be inexpedient, that it would do no harm to the Commission, that it would be beneficial from the point of view of Indian public opinion, and by that decision we stand.

DOMINION STATUS.

The debate concluded, like the debate that preceded it in the House of Lords, by a withdrawal of the motion that originated it, and both Houses must be held to have acquiesced in the policy of Government. However much the meaning of Dominion Status may be changing, one aspect of it has for some years been accepted, not only as essential, but

\*Being the paper read before the East India Association, London, on the 22nd July.

as forming the very bond and cement of the Commonwealth—viz., the right of secession. If the Commonwealth be in reality a voluntary association of free peoples and the peoples of India are to come within this category, their continuance as a component part must be based on their active consent, which cannot be said to exist so long as they remain without the power to effect a severance. The question then is, Do the Simon proposals tend to give the people of India this power? Do they keep steadily in view the development of India into a future Dominion? If it can be shown that, far from doing this, they are calculated to block that development for all time, they are a violation of the clearly enunciated purpose of His Majesty's Government and are not entitled even to ordinary consideration at their hands.

DEFENCE.

To rise to Dominion Status India needs to be placed in a position to defend herself both from external aggression and internal disorder. These twin functions are performed by the present army in India under British command, officered almost entirely by British personnel, and consisting, as to nearly a third, of British soldiers. It will no doubt take time to Indianize completely this army, without sacrificing efficiency; but the effort so far made in this direction is so trifling that the process can hardly be said to have begun. For two generations Indian politicians have condemned this policy as injurious to national honour, but the authorities have persisted in treating the people of India as a whole with distrust and suspicion. The principal test of the desire of the British Government to honour the Viceroy's declaration is, What practical steps are contemplated to reverse this policy and Indianize the army as quickly as may be possible. The Simon Commissioners have decisively ruled out all prospect of the present army either being wholly Indianized or passing under the control of a self-governing India. They propose to make the external defence of India an exclusively Imperial responsibility except as to the financial burden, a share of which might perhaps be made in future to fall on the British exchequer. The Imperial interest in external defence is brought out by the Commissioners in the following words :—

But here, the external defence of India is a matter in which other parts of the Empire are also closely and directly interested. Imperial foreign policy, Empire communications, Empire trade, the general position of Britain in the East, may be vitally affected. And if operations on an extended scale in that region unhappily became necessary, involving the risk of conflict with a major Power, it is the Imperial Government, with its fuller knowledge of the international situation and its direct concern with all questions of Imperial strategy, which would naturally take the leading part. (Para 206.)

The necessity for maintaining the British units in the army and British officers is argued under the heading "Reasons for a British Element."

The evidence we have heard and what we have seen in the course of our Indian tours leave no doubt in our

minds that, at least for a very long time to come, it will be impossible for the army entrusted with the task of defending India to dispense with a very considerable British element, including in that term British troops of all arms, a considerable proportion of the regimental Officers of the Indian army, and the British personnel in the higher command. (Para. 196.)

The continued maintenance of a British personnel involves in the judgment of the Simon Commission this necessary consequence—viz., that it cannot be placed at the disposal of a responsible Minister of the Government of India on occasions of grave internal disorder. On this subject the Commission's judgment is delivered in terms of absolute finality. It may be permitted, however, to an Indian to point out that, sound as this reluctance may be in ordinary circumstances to place the British soldier on a mercenary footing, British authorities should relax this attitude in regard to India, and in fact, feel themselves precluded from adopting it by reason of the persistent neglect of an important duty during a long series of years. Besides, could not the difficulty be overcome by inserting a provision in the new Constitution that, during the period of transition from existing conditions to full self-government, the Viceroy may have, as the Provincial Governors are to have under the Simon proposals, the "power to direct that action should be taken otherwise than in accordance with the advice of his Ministry" in order to preserve the safety and tranquillity of the country? The Simon Commission take a totally different view, and actually advise the creation of another army to be wholly Indian and under the control of a responsible Minister for the purpose of internal order. The additional expense, which must be considerable, they regard as a burden to which the Indian taxpayer must inevitably submit if he wishes to have the luxury of self-government. While the new army is being created, the Commissioners are willing that under safeguards the present army should continue liable to be called upon for purposes of internal security. One does not see, it may be said in passing, why under a safeguard of a somewhat different type the same arrangement should not continue on a permanent basis. The Commissioners are clear that responsible government can be given only when the new army is in full working order and Parliament here can be relieved of the duty of maintaining internal security in India. Their exact words are:

A self-governing India could not as of right demand the loan of troops of the Imperial Army for civil purposes nor would a British Government, which will control that Army under our scheme, need any justification for refusing such a demand, if made. One condition, therefore, of a self-governing India must be its ability to maintain without the aid of British troops the essential of all good government, viz. public peace and tranquillity. (Para. 213).

To make this point indubitable we have only to think of the position of the Princes in the new regime. They will be under the care and protection not of the Governor-General in Council, but of the Governor-General in his capacity as Agent of the Crown.

To carry out his duties in this capacity, the Viceroy will use the army of external defence. As it is not contemplated by the Simon Commissioners that at any time the paramountcy of India should be dissociated from the Crown, it follows that the "Imperial Army" can never pass under the control of a self-governing India.

The Commissioners admit that the present army is organized and equipped so as to be equal to the demands of external and internal security. If these two objects are to be separated according to their recommendation, why is it not clearly provided that in proportion as the new army comes into efficient being the original army should be reduced? Another observation must be made here. Even a tyro in public affairs can see how distant a prospect full self-government becomes if the Indian Treasury, already called upon both from the civil and military sides to carry more burdens than it can bear, must find the means for maintaining a second army. But supposing this far-off consummation is actually reached, the Imperial Army, as the Commissioners call it, will still be under non-Indian control. The Government of India would be under obligations to this non-Indian authority on account of "recruitment, areas, transport, and other matters" in respect of that army, and, "if and when the Government of India became responsible to a Central Legislature, it would first be necessary to ensure co-operation by definite agreement and to devise machinery for settling differences or resolving deadlocks."

Sufficient has been said to show that the Commissioners, in depriving India for all time of the means of defending herself, have denied her the power of exercising the right of secession and thus ruled out the possibility of her ever attaining Dominion Status. Moreover, it is obvious that even the self-government in civil matters which they contemplate for India must be seriously crippled by the existence within her territory of a powerful striking force beyond her control.

#### THE INDIAN STATES.

Another serious obstacle erected by the Commissioners to the Dominionhood of India is the guarantee proposed on behalf of the Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India that their political relations should henceforth be, not with the Government of India, but the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown. They made no inquiries under this head, but are content to shelter themselves behind the verdict of the Butler Committee, which reported rather more than a year ago. This Committee conducted its proceedings *in camera*, would not give audience to the subjects of the States, and did not hear any exponents of British Indian opinion. Their judgment cannot therefore be accepted as truly balanced and impartial.

The right of paramountcy is independent of treaties and sanads, and the British Government have acquired it by reason of their being custodians of the welfare and prosperity of British India. It has accrued to them by virtue of necessity, and it is

strange doctrine that, when the primary function is gone, the merely subsidiary function can subsist. Moreover, how could the new custodians of British India discharge their duties fully unless the paramountcy which was one of the conditions of the discharge were also transferred to them? When it is remembered that these States are nearly 600 in number and scattered all over India in patches of varying size, it is easy to imagine, not only the inconvenience and embarrassment, but the positive weakening which must be caused to the Central Government by an outside Power exercising the functions of moral persuasion, interference, and military protection.

In Bernard Shaw's recent play, 'The Apple Cart,' the king is presented by his Cabinet with an ultimatum. His promise to abdicate in favour of his son rather than face the ultimatum is welcomed by the Cabinet, but when he follows it up by declaring his intention to enter Parliament and make a party of his own with the prospect of being summoned to form the new Ministry, they perceive at a glance that the last state would be worse than the first. Is it intended to put the leaders of British India on the horns of a similar dilemma and compel them to take back their ultimatum? The Commissioners would continue for ever this direct connection of the States with the Crown and thus ensure for the British Power, supported by a standing Army and working through a large political and diplomatic establishment, the means of playing every now and then the part of mentor and defender of six hundred different entities. What would the Dominion Status of India be, if so restricted and hemmed in? The following passages taken from the Commissioners' Report leave no doubt that the self-government which they contemplate for India, involving the existence side by side of two final authorities in India, cannot be anything like Dominion Status:

The units of Federation would be (1) a series of Provinces each with its legislature and its ministry responsible to the legislature, with a Governor at the head of the Province; the internal government of the Province would be in the hands of the provincial ministry, and each Province would have its own provincial revenues and expenditure; and (2) a series of Indian States autonomously governed so far as their internal affairs are concerned, each with its ruling Prince in relations with the British Crown, and each with its own internal constitutional arrangements and its own system of internal finance, but with no powers to impose customs duties at its boundaries. And over the whole would be the representative of the British Crown, as Viceroy in relation to the Indian States and Governor-General in British India. (Para. 231.)

Again, as the Provinces approach nearer to autonomy the question of providing for effective intervention from the Centre in case of breakdown assumes great importance, but while such arrangements might form part of the written Constitution of British India, the duty of the Paramount Power in extreme cases to intervene in relation to an Indian State is derived from a different source and carried out in a different way. (Para. 231):

#### INDIAN MUSIC.

Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, presiding at the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Balgalore Gayana Samaja on Sunday, the 10 August 1930, spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chandrasekhara Iyer, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me congratulate you on this happy occasion when you are all assembled here to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Gayana Samaja.

It is something to have lasted so long—we know how ephemeral some associations can be—and I quite agree with you that it is time you provided yourselves with a habitation of your own. Your Samaja has till now, if I may say so, existed without a body, and it has remained invisible to the public eye. A suitable building in a prominent position will secure it a place in the public life, and will enhance its usefulness by attracting more members. I wish you every success in your endeavours to achieve that object.

Musical people, they say, seem so happy. Music is an engrossing pursuit, almost the only innocent and unpunished passion.

According to Richter, a great German humorist, music is the only one of the fine arts to which not only man, but all other animals,—mice and elephants, spiders and birds—are responsive. This may or may not be the case in so far as "all other animals" are concerned, but it is undoubtedly true of man. Music can be a potent influence in bringing every one together, for of all the arts, I think, music has the most powerful, universal and immediate effect. Its power and influence on popular sentiment are enormous.

The Chinese have aptly termed music the "Science of Sciences." In India, the country in which—to use Professor Max Muller's words—"the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts," music especially, devotional music, justly occupies a very prominent place. We see how Sarasvathi, the Goddess of Learning, is always shown with the *veenz* in her hands, while, Siva, the creator of the three-fold art of music, dancing, and drama, is depicted as passionately fond of music. Siva, the Nataraja, is an expert dancer too, while Krishna is the master artist playing the flute. Even sages like Narada, and immortal beings like Gandharva and Kinnaras are but votaries of music, which is regarded as so sacred as to be called Gandharva-Veda. Even people who consider these to be fanciful legends of the dim past must admit that these conceptions, which are beautiful in themselves, go to establish conclusively the prominent place given to music in ancient India.

India has produced eminent artists and musicians, like Jayadeva of Gita Govinda fame, Tansen the most fragrant flower of Akbar's court, Thyagaraja, the consummate artist of the South, and Purandara Das, the unrivalled devotee of Pandarath. These are all names to conjure with.

Now a word about the patronage that music has secured and the high pedestal to which it has been raised in India. We read in the Ramayana, that the heirs of Sri Rama himself, who represents the Aryan Culture, were musicians of no mean order, while Ravana, who can, perhaps, be presumed to have been a typical exponent and representative of the Dravidian civilisation, was himself a great musician and a good patron of music. Even coming down to comparatively recent times, it is the good fortune of India that there has been no dearth of munificent patrons. Hindu emperors, like the great Krishnadevarayalu of the Karnatak Empire of Vijayanagar—not to speak of the galaxy of Hindu sovereigns who held sway over the different parts of India; and the Muslim emperors like Allaudin, Akbar and Jehangir were lovers of music who did much for its development. It is unthinkable even in these modern days that a mighty Emperor like Akbar should assume the humble role of a *tamburin* carrier to Tansen, and go *incognito* to the latter's master, who refused to attend the royal court and sing before the Emperor. Coming to modern times, Mysore too has played her own part in this sphere. Thanks to the keen interest taken by our beloved Maharaja, Mysore ranks among the most renowned seats of music in India to-day, and we have amidst us musicians of acknowledged eminence.

The Secretary has given you in his report a short history of the work done by the Samaja till now, and the object it has in view. The fulfilment of this rests chiefly with the cultured and appreciative public of Bangalore. There is no doubt that the Samaja has acquitted itself very well and justified its existence.

I see from the report that there are at present 32 First class and 145 Second class members and some subscribers. I think a city like Bangalore ought to be able to provide many more. I hope that the public of Bangalore will take full advantage of the opportunities that the Samaja creates for their enjoyment and enable it to have a more substantial income, and to afford facilities to the public for the study and enjoyment of music. Let us hope that it will not be long before the Samaja is able to start classes for teaching vocal and instrumental music in its own building, and have a library and museum as well, and develop itself into an important institution in the State, and also provide musical entertainments to the public more frequently than it is now doing.

I have no intention, however, of delivering a lengthy dissertation on music this evening, my main duty, and a very pleasant one too, being to wish your Samaja all possible success and prosperity in the coming years. I shall always be interested to hear of its progress, and if there is anything that I can do in reason to further its aims, you may rest assured that it will be a great happiness to me to do it.

#### RIGHTS OF THE ROAD.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Although Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya succeeded in exposing the hollowness or rather the despotic nature of the Police Commissioner's order prohibiting the Tilak Day Procession from entering the Hornby Road, and although the subsequent Prisoners' Day procession succeeded in passing unmolested through that road, the principal issue involved in the contest appears yet to have remained clouded in confusion.

Even Pandit Malaviya's main contention that if the procession caused any obstruction to the traffic, the police were justified in holding it up and if necessary dispersing it, though correct, appears to be far too lenient. Is traffic the monopoly of the non-processionist public? Is the right of traffic possessed by the public only when it walks the street as simple pedestrians or drives as mere motorists, and lost as soon as it forms or joins a procession?

The right of traffic is public right, and it applies to the processionists as much as it does to any other individual or collective pedestrians, cyclists, motorists. And it is the bounden duty of police to "regulate" this traffic of the processionists in the same way as it does that of taxis, tongas, khattaras, passers, loafers, roamers, all which too is nothing but a procession, less orderly and more expansive.

The undertaking by the processionists that its members shall be orderly, and its request to the public to behave properly and not to obstruct traffic, though generous, is superfluous, self-imposed, unauthorised task—a usurpation of the duties properly belonging to the police.

If a procession disobeys any traffic regulation, e.g. does not consent to go in file of fours or twos, or by the left side of the road, or halting at intervals to allow the cross traffic to pass, the police will be perfectly justified in holding it up, and in the last resort dispersing it, just as it lawfully and rightfully stops a tonga or a taxi, be it occupied even by a Healy or a Hotson.

In short, a procession is only a part of the general traffic, and it is the duty of the police to regulate this part in the same way as it does the other part. To declare a procession unlawful on the ground that it obstructs *other* traffic is clearly partial, unlawful, unjustifiable.

Bombay, }  
13th August 1930. }

Yours etc.,  
MAN.

#### SIND FLOODS.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S SYMPATHY.

His Excellency the Governor has sent the following message of sympathy in connection with the floods in Sind to the Commissioner in Sind:—

"It is with the gravest concern that I have heard that Sind is being subjected for the second

year in succession to the disaster of extensive floods. That this should have again occurred must arouse the keenest sympathy in the heart of every one, but particularly so in mine, as I am responsible for the administration of the Province and as I have always taken a particularly keen interest in Sind.

I would ask you therefore to communicate to the inhabitants of the areas affected an expression of my dearest sympathy with them in their time of grievous trouble. Wide areas have already been disastrously affected and it cannot yet be said how far the damage will extend.

In view of the excellent work performed in last year's floods I am sure it is not necessary for me to express a wish that all servants of Government will do their utmost to render every help they can to the stricken population. I am glad to see that strenuous efforts have already been made to minimise the disaster, and I feel sure that no pains will be spared until the situation has finally been dealt with, and that the experience acquired last year will lend additional efficiency to the work performed.

I am arranging to send to you a sum of Rs. 1000 as my personal contribution to the Fund which you are raising for the relief of distress. Please accept the same as an expression, however inadequate, of the deep sympathy I feel for every one who has been affected by this most unfortunate disaster.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**The National Union of Indian Students (Abroad):**—The National Union of Indian Students, in collaboration with the International Students' Service, the National Union of French Students, and the World's Students' Christian Federation, have now completed part of the arrangements for the reception of new arrivals from India. The present arrangements cover the main seaport of Marseilles and the important centres of London, Paris, New York, and Berlin. Within a short time it is expected that similar arrangements will be completed at Venice and Genoa. At Marseilles the National Union of Indian Students has deputed one of its Secretaries, Mr. P. D. Ranganadhan, for a period of three months, ending October, which is the most important part of the year from the point of view of Indian student arrivals. The new arrivals will be met at the boat by representatives of the National Union of French Students, acting on our behalf, who will take charge of them and arrange for their temporary accommodation at Cannebiere, Marseilles, during their stay in port. They will also arrange for letters of introduction in suitable cases, and for travel through France. The Club House is a commodious place, well furnished and equipped, providing food and accommodation at not much more than normal cost. Mr. Ranganadhan will advise the new arrivals about the arrangements in the centres to which they are bound. In the case of those going direct to London, Berlin, Paris, or New York, it is requested that the Secretary of N. U. I. S. in London should be informed. In every case it is important to give as long notice as possible, as well as relevant particulars. The Secretaries will be glad to furnish any information and be of any further help to the best of their ability. All communications to be addressed to Mr. P. D. Ranganadhan, National Union of Indian Students, 115 La Cannebiere, Marseilles, France.

**All-India Swadeshi Exhibition:**—The Bombay Presidency Youth League and Bombay Youth League are organising an All-India Swadeshi Exhibition on a large scale in

Bombay in October and it will be continued for about a month at least. The Exhibition is bound to provide further stimulus to the growing demand of the indigenous commodities. With the prestige and organization of the Youth Leagues at its back, the Exhibition is bound to be a great success. A splendid opportunity is offered to the Indian manufacturers and dealers to exhibit their goods. Stalls will be offered only to genuine Swadeshi Firms. Judging from the past experience and the present awakening we are confident of a very great rush for stalls and demand for goods. Those willing to exhibit their goods, should apply for details to the Honorary Secretary for Propaganda and Publicity, Swadeshi and Boycott Committee, Bombay.

**Next Barrows Lecturer:**—The University of Chicago as the Trustees of the Barrows Lectures to India, and the Indian Central Executive Committee announce jointly the appointment of Bishop Francis J. McConnel as the next Barrows Lecturer to the University centres of India. The oldest and best known of the Lecture Foundations for religious interpretation between Occident and the Orient was established shortly after the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, and has sent five previous lecturers to India:—President J. H. Barrows of Oberlin, Principal A. M. Fairbairn of Oxford, President O. O. Hall of Union Theological Seminary, and Drs. O. R. Henderson and O. W. Gilkey of the University of Chicago. Bishop McConnel is President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in North America. He will reach India next November, and remain for four months taking as his general theme the application of Christianity to social problems and movements. The Indian Central Executive Committee, who is responsible for the arrangements in India, consist of:—(1) B. L. Rallia Ram, Esq., B.Sc., B.T., National General Secretary, Y. M. C. A. (Chairman). (2) K. T. Paul, Esq., B.A., L.T., O.B.E., the Thottam Salem. (3) Rev. Rallia Ram, B.A., General Secretary, Student Christian Association, India, Burma and Ceylon. (4) Dr. J. R. Ohitambar, M.A., D.D., Principal, Lucknow Christian College, Lucknow. (5) Rev. John B. Weir, M.A., Vice Principal, Forman Christian College, Lahore. (6) Rev. John Mackenzie, M.A., Principal, Wilson College, Bombay. (7) Miss McDougal, M.A., Principal, Women's Christian College, Madras. (8) S. M. Mukerji, Esq., M.A., Principal, St. Stephens College, Delhi.

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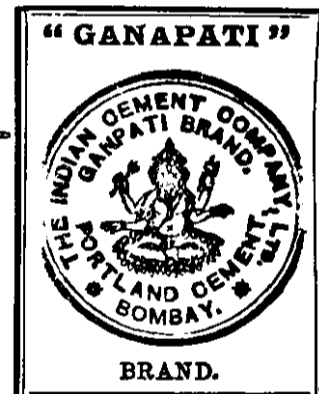
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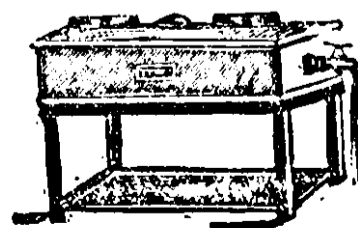
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Vol. XL.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1930

No. 51

*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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entirely different from Mr. Holme's account of the view which the Americans take of Gandhiji and his movement.

**The Ethics of Picketing:—**Nothing brings law so quickly and effectively into contempt as legislation which shocks the moral sense of the public. We publish today a letter from Miss Pearl Madden, of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Calcutta in which she answers seriatim all the criticisms advanced in justification of the Viceroy's Ordinance against picketing, especially in its application to the liquor trade. Miss Madden is a Canadian and, therefore, a British subject with the right of one to form her opinions and freely express them on British measures in any part of the Commonwealth. We endorse all that she says in answer to the several objections raised against picketing of liquor shops. But there is one on which we can speak with perhaps more immediate experience than Miss Madden and we feel we should not omit to do so. The aspersion on the character of women picketers to which she refers, is an unfounded and cowardly libel propagated by the friends of the liquor trade whose capacity for spreading falsehoods is well-known throughout the world. The women picketers in Bombay, Ahmedabad and other places in this Presidency are women of high character and good families, and we have no reason to think that the conditions in this respect are different in other parts of the country. Not that we think that a woman of doubtful character joining the picketing movement, will in the least affect its rightness, any more than the presence of Mary Magdalen among the followers of Jesus Christ discredits Christianity. On the contrary, a great national movement against drink—which is the inseparable adjunct of prostitution—may be the very means of redemption of women who have not had the same opportunities as others of their sisters of leading reputable lives.

**Congress Bodies in Maharashtra:—**The Government of Bombay issued on Thursday a comprehensive order, under some one of the several laws which Executive Governments in India have at their service, declaring a number of bodies comprising practically the whole of the Congress organisation in the Maharashtra districts to be unlawful associations. The Government of India, or at least the Viceroy, whenever an order or ordinance is issued, generally issues along with it a statement of the reasons for which the order or ordinance is considered necessary. The Government of Bombay evidently believes in the policy of

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**The Gandhi Movement in America:**—In an article headed "India and America," which we publish to-day, the well-known American divine, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, tersely explains why it is that his countrymen are keenly interested in the Gandhi movement. That it is the fact that they are deeply interested in it, was testified to by Professor Rushbrook Williams in the paper which he read before the East Indian Association in London in May last. Dr. Holmes gives two main reasons for American interest in the Indian movement. The first is, that it is reminiscent of a great chapter in America's own history and the second is, that it appeals to the Christian conscience of the American people. Professor Williams practically admitted these two reasons which he included in the term "American idealism." He mentioned other causes, namely, the anti-British tendencies of Irish-Americans who occupy key-positions in American politics, and of the German Americans who do the same in American finance and industry. The idealism of the Americans, according to Professor Williams, would of itself have been ineffectual but for Irish and German factors, and the latter would of themselves have been innocuous but for their having found in the Indian movement a focus for their manifestation. Professor Williams' thesis was that the American conception of the Gandhi movement was essentially false and that it had been fostered by insidious and wide-spread propaganda by Mahatma Gandhi, whom Professor Coatman, who succeeded Professor Williams as the Government of India's Director of Information and who spoke at the meeting, described as "one of the most experienced propagandists of the whole world." In other words, the Mahatma was only a cleverer Rushbrook Williams and Coatman who has succeeded in creating a view of his movement, which these two distinguished propagandists, are hard put to dislodge, in American minds. This, we need hardly say, is

entirely different from Mr. Holme's account of the view which the Americans take of Gandhiji and his movement.

**The Ethics of Picketing:**—Nothing brings law so quickly and effectively into contempt as legislation which shocks the moral sense of the public. We publish today a letter from Miss Pearl Madden, of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Calcutta in which she answers seriatim all the criticisms advanced in justification of the Viceroy's Ordinance against picketing, especially in its application to the liquor trade. Miss Madden is a Canadian and, therefore, a British subject with the right of one to form her opinions and freely express them on British measures in any part of the Commonwealth. We endorse all that she says in answer to the several objections raised against picketing of liquor shops. But there is one on which we can speak with perhaps more immediate experience than Miss Madden and we feel we should not omit to do so. The aspersion on the character of women picketers to which she refers, is an unfounded and cowardly libel propagated by the friends of the liquor trade whose capacity for spreading falsehoods is well-known throughout the world. The women picketers in Bombay, Ahmedabad and other places in this Presidency are women of high character and good families, and we have no reason to think that the conditions in this respect are different in other parts of the country. Not that we think that a woman of doubtful character joining the picketing movement, will in the least affect its rightness, any more than the presence of Mary Magdalen among the followers of Jesus Christ discredits Christianity. On the contrary, a great national movement against drink—which is the inseparable adjunct of prostitution—may be the very means of redemption of women who have not had the same opportunities as others of their sisters of leading reputable lives.

**Congress Bodies in Maharashtra:**—The Government of Bombay issued on Thursday a comprehensive order, under some one of the several laws which Executive Governments in India have at their service, declaring a number of bodies comprising practically the whole of the Congress organisation in the Maharashtra districts to be unlawful associations. The Government of India, or at least the Viceroy, whenever an order or ordinance is issued, generally issues along with it a statement of the reasons for which the order or ordinance is considered necessary. The Government of Bombay evidently believes in the policy of

offering no reasons. There is its order, and it must be obeyed. Authority to be authoritative should not appear to rest on reason. Or, it may be that Government thinks that the order explains itself and there is no need for a statement of reasons. This, however, is not the case. There are some questions which the order suggests and for which in the absence of an explanation from Government, the public is left to conjecture for answers. Why is the order limited to Maharashtra? Are Congress activities in that area more dangerous to the public peace than elsewhere in the Presidency? Or have they less popular support and, therefore can be more easily rooted out? Or is the order intended as a warning to Bombay, Gujerat, and the Karnatak, of what they may expect if they do not mend their ways? If so, why should Maharashtra be selected as the whipping-boy for the whole Presidency? Intimidation, whether it is employed by non-official bodies or by Government, is odious. The administration of the law must be uniform, certain and definite. It is surely wrong that the legality or illegality of an act should depend on an imaginary boundary line in the same province. The ordinary citizen does not carry in his pocket a large scale map of the Presidency, and it is wholly unfair to make him exposed to pains and penalties for the mere act—for it comes to it—of passing from one district to another. We do not suggest by any means that the Congress movement should be declared unlawful throughout the Presidency. Knowing as we do, and as Government do not seem to know, that that movement is no longer a merely surface political movement but has struck its roots deep down into the social and spiritual life of the people, such a suggestion would be a most fatuous one on our part. But we say that if Government does not feel itself to be strong enough to attack the movement throughout its jurisdiction, it only makes matters worse by following a policy the only effect of which is to intensify and drive discontent underground. This is a very short-sighted policy and we can only hope that the results of the new order will belie the fears of those who view the administration from a position of detachment not, however, unmixed with sympathy for its difficulties.

**The Right of Secession:**—General Hertzog, the South African Union Prime Minister, is resolved to get an explicit confirmation at the forth-coming Imperial Conference of the right of secession as an inseparable incident of independent Dominion status. The General would seem to be acting not out of a mere whim but under the pressure of necessity. A section of his party in the Orange Free State is agitating about secession and he administered a rebuke to them recently for their exhibition of "the inferiority complex." General Hertzog's argument to them is that South Africa is already in the enjoyment of full independence including the right of secession and that, therefore, there is no need to agitate further about the matter. He maintained that South Africa can co-operate with Great Britain and other Dominions only on the basis of independence. The isolation of independence, he declared, was to be preferred to subser-

vient inferiority. Nor can economic considerations be allowed to over-ride the political destiny of nations. "No economic advantages" General Hertzog told a meeting held to bid him farewell on the eve of his visit to England to attend the Imperial Conference, "can ever be a satisfactory substitute for the freedom of a nation. The economic interests of the State must always therefore remain a secondary consideration in comparison with national independence." He recognised the great importance of the economic factor and expressed his readiness to agree to a mutually advantageous arrangement regarding trade relations with Great Britain and the Dominions who, in order to achieve this, should meet each other half way. In view of the Right Hon. Sriivasa Sastry's insistence on the right of secession attaching to the Dominion status of India as of other nations of the Commonwealth, the Indian delegation to the Imperial Conference will find itself in a delicate position when General Hertzog brings forward his proposition before that body.

**Acting Governor of Bombay:**—Friday's *Times of India* published the information that Sir Frederick Sykes, the Governor of Bombay, was contemplating a furlough to England in April next. The need for announcing this news eight months ahead, is evidently to be found in the subsequent suggestion that Sir Ernest Hotson, the Home Member of the Government of Bombay, is due to retire next April and "would then be available to take over the reins of Government House in the absence of His Excellency." Sir Ernest has not been such a success as Home Member that he should be required to delay his well-earned retirement in order to act as Governor. In the ordinary course, and following the recent precedents of the Central Provinces and Burma, the Indian senior member should act during the Governor's absence on leave and this, obviously, is what the *Times* is anxious to forestall. When Sir Ernest goes, Sir Gulambussala Hidayatulla will become senior member, and the *Times* does not like the prospect of his "taking over the reins of Government House." Government House bulks more largely in the eyes of Anglo-India than the Government, and the idea of a brown man occupying it during the Mahableshwar season, is not to be thought of. The suggestion that Sir Frederick will go on leave only if Sir Ernest Hotson—and not the Indian senior member—is to act for him, is, "we hope, quite gratuitous.

**Pandit Motilal Nehru:**—The news published on Friday that Pandit Motilal Nehru is seriously ill and that three well-known Indian doctors have been called, will be received with great concern throughout the country. The Pandit, his son and Dr. Mahmud were taken back on Tuesday at their own desire to Naini jail from Yerravda in the special train by which they came. It was stated that this was done at Pandit Motilal's own desire as he wished to have his own medical adviser at hand. The Pandit should be released on parole till he gets better under treatment in his home surroundings. Government will incur a grave responsibility in detaining a man of his age and eminence in jail in spite of his serious illness.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.  
BOMBAY, AUGUST 23, 1930.

ON THE BRINK OF CHAOS.

The *Times of India* printed a few days ago a summary of an address which Sir Stanley Reed gave to American women in London on the political situation in this country. Amongst Englishmen now living, there is not one who understood India and the Indian mind so intimately as Sir Stanley. This is only another way of saying that there is no Englishman who, when he was in India, regarded the Indian point of view with the same sympathy and absence of racial bias as the late Editor of the *Times of India*. The best way of coming to know one man as he really is by another is to work with him for a considerable length of time. During close collaboration with Sir Stanley nearly all the years he was Editor of the *Times* and sometime previously, this writer never read a word written or one spoken by him which could jar on the most sensitive Indian patriotism. The fact is, Sir Stanley, to his Indian friends, was, to all intents and purposes, an Indian with whom they could exchange views on all questions, economic, social and political, relating to India with the most complete confidence in his ability to appreciate them solely on their merits. He was wholly free from bias, either of the kind natural to the average Englishman in India *against* things Indian or of the kind more insidious, but not less anti-Indian, represented by a patronising tolerance towards an inferior order of ideas. Without any of the airs of the professional peace-maker, Sir Stanley throughout his Indian career steadily exerted his great influence to bring and, what is more difficult, to keep together the Indian and the British points of view on all important questions of the day—until the great crisis of the Rowlatt Act. The gulf which then disclosed itself between the two view points, was too sharp even for him to attempt to bridge over. His health failed and he retired to his native land.

In his address to the American women, Sir Stanley spoke with pride of the national spirit which British rule and English education has created in Indians. The word 'evoked,' strictly speaking, is more appropriate than 'created' to describe the process. Englishmen, even one of Sir Stanley's sympathetic understanding, forget or ignore the solid achievements of pre-British India. The Hindu and Mahomedan periods of Indian history, had taken the people quite a long way towards nationhood. There are Indian thinkers who hold that British intervention only unsettled and interrupted the natural process of Indian evolution. However that may be, it is obviously wrong to ignore the

pre-British history of the country. The success of British rule, so far as it has been a success, is the result of the interaction of Indian and British factors—the Indian being the largest as it has been the longest in operation. The failure of British rule, and it has been a failure in important respects, is due to antagonism of British aims to vital Indian interests. The founders of the British Indian Empire, Munro, Malcolm, Elphinstone and Metcalfe, thoroughly appreciated the vast importance of the institutions which they found existing and always insisted on maintaining them and building upon them. Their aim, freely and frequently expressed, was to train Indians to become an independent, self-governing people like the British. They did not know anything of Dominion Status. They would not have considered it a crime in an Indian to aspire to be independent of the British connection. In fact, these men often protested against the predatory policies thrust upon them by the greed of their masters in England, on the express ground that their effect on the character of the Indian people must inevitably be to make them less capable of governing themselves. They would have regarded Sir Stanley Reed's statement that the withdrawal of the British after nearly two centuries of rule in this country must lead inevitably to chaos, as an admission of the complete failure of that rule to carry out the purpose for which they built up the British Indian Empire! If the measures and the policies of British rule have been uniformly so beneficent and well-conceived as Sir Stanley implied they were, some of the shrewd American women whom he was addressing could not but have asked themselves, if not him, how it was that the net result of these measures and policies was to leave chaos as the only alternative of continued British domination. The shrewd American is rather likely to suspect that all these years the aim of British rule has really been to perpetuate itself!

Sir Stanley was not altogether right when he told his hearers that the motive behind all the present-day Indian movements was a craving for equal status in the eyes of the world. Indians certainly do not like to be regarded as international pariahs, excluded from all parts of the British Commonwealth in which they are expected to be glad to remain for ever, and not over-kindly regarded in the one part of it from which they are not yet frankly barred. But to imply that their sole desire is anyhow to cut a figure in the eyes of the world equal to that of other nations, is to confuse the consequence for the cause. When India is free to make her full contribution to the world, she will, of course, be regarded with respect, and it is the earnest wish of Indians to secure that condition. They can-



not do anything of importance now except on sufferance. When an Indian like Mahatma Gandhi acquires an international position, he at once and necessarily becomes an object of distrust, if not aversion, and a high-minded Viceroy like Lord Irwin finds himself obliged to keep him in jail indefinitely without any judicial proceeding. It is not unfair to regard this, in the present relations between the two countries, as the natural and necessary reaction of the best mind of Britain to the best mind of India. A future historian reading Sir Stanley's address will not conclude that British rule in India has been a conspicuous success as a school for training in self-government. If "the thin crust of order" for which India has to pay heavily—how heavily Sir Walter Layton's chapter on Indian Finance, in the Simon Commission's Report, shows—to keep from breaking, is the most that Britain has been able to achieve in two centuries, the price at any rate is much too heavy for the "goods"† Sir Stanley's speech is, really, the most damning indictment of the present system we have come across in these days. To have brought India in two centuries to the brink of chaos, is surely not a great achievement of which Britain can be proud.

#### DR. AMBEDKAR'S ADDRESS.

Sometime in April an All-India Depressed Classes Conference was held at Akola under the presidentship of Mr. R. S. Nekaljay whose address was noticed in a leading article in the *Reformer* of 24th May. A second All-India Depressed Classes Conference was held at Nagpur on the 8th instant with Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as President, and a third such Conference, it is announced, will be held in Allahabad next October. While it is wholly to the good that the Depressed Classes should express their views on constitutional reform freely and fully, the expediency of doing so in too frequent conferences is more than doubtful. Where many voices are heard, it is difficult to prevent some from being discordant with the rest and the public is likely to be perplexed as to which are the authentic and which the merely clamorous ones in the concert. There is much in Dr. Ambedkar's address with which no one can disagree. But we deprecate the asperity of his criticisms of people whose views do not coincide with his own. For instance, Dr. Ambedkar is entitled to hold that the Nehru Committee's provision for the Depressed Classes was inadequate and even illusory, but he has no right to insinuate that the members were attempting to "dupe" these classes.

"The Indian politician," said Dr. Ambedkar "seems to have an inordinate degree of faith in the efficacy of a constitutional law embodying what are called fundamental rights, and is as eager to offer its benefits to the minorities in India as a guarantee against the autocracy of his own class as he was eager to have it in favour of his own class against the encroachments of the bureaucracy."

Dr. Ambedkar himself is an Indian politician, and it can be easily shown that

his own faith in the efficacy of paper constitutions is not less inordinate than that of those whom he ridicules. Only while the latter, as Dr. Ambedkar admits, share that faith equally for their own as well as the Depressed Classes, Dr. Ambedkar is not equally evenhanded. What is Dr. Ambedkar's doctrine of weightage but a paper arrangement conceived in defiance of realities? "First of all", he says "by a mutual agreement between the majority and minority communities a figure should be arrived at for a maximum increase in the population ratio or representation to be called the weightage factor. In its application to a particular minority for determining its quota of adequate representation, the weightage factor should be made to vary inversely with the social standing of the minority defined as it must be by (1) its social status, (2) its economic strength and (3) its educational position. If this is done it seems to me, we will have a settlement between the majority communities themselves and between the majority on the one hand and the minorities on the other which will be just and equitable and will leave no cause for complaint to any of the parties concerned."

To begin with, the tone of his references to the majority communities (the Doctor regards the Hindu and the Mahomedan as such in relation to the Depressed Classes) is not calculated to facilitate the mutual agreement which he postulates. His scheme itself in plain terms, means that the majority communities, should agree to reduce themselves virtually to the position, if not of a minority, just ahead of all other minorities for purposes of representation in the legislature. The advantage thus surrendered is to be distributed among the minorities in inverse ratio to the advance made by each minority in respect of educational, economic and social—the sum-total of which constitutes political capacity. In other words, progressive tendencies should be penalised. It does not seem to strike Dr. Ambedkar that the political centre of gravity of the country must necessarily lie not inside but outside a Legislature so constituted. The power of a Legislature is derived from its representative character. If the Legislature does not represent the vital, progressive elements of the population and even numerically reduces a majority to a minority, the constitution will be a cone standing on its apex, and it can stand only so long as it is screwed down to or is propped up by an outside body.

#### PATANJALI'S YOGA SUTRAS.

Whatever may be the case in western countries, interest in religion and philosophy is by no means on the wane in India. This is particularly true of the English educated classes who in the last quarter of the last century were inclined to agnosticism, being fervent students of Mill and Spencer. Many of them were but little acquainted with the Sanskrit language and it is through English translations of the Bhagavadgita and the Upanishads that they first obtained a glimpse of the higher Hinduism. This led them, often late in life, to study Sanskrit. But there are still many who are more conversant with English than Sanskrit but who at the same time are eager to study the contents of Hindu philosophical works. The publication by the

Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, of an excellent new translation of the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali with annotations by Professor M. N. Dvivedi, is an instance in point. The two previous English translations of this standard work, the Professor explains, are not of much use to the general reader. His notes state in simple and clear language the meaning of the sutras. His liberal view of religion is illustrated by his annotation of the Sutra which says that the end of Yoga can be secured, amongst others, by the mind being intent upon personages who were free from attachment etc. Professor Dvivedi explains that such persons are great Mahatmas like Krishna Dvaipayana, Suka, Sankara and others. "Rama, Siva, Krishna, Christ, Buddha or even any imaginary entity answering to the requisite quality will do, according to one's predilection. The point is that the absorption of the mind in another mind ever steady and blissful, will produce a corresponding effect and lead to Samadhi." The assignment to Jesus Christ of a place among Hindu Avatars in Professor Dvivedi's list, is significant of the great synthesis which is in process in the religious thought of the country and on the early and successful accomplishment of which the future of India depends. We cordially recommend this translation of the Yoga Sutras to our readers who are interested in this subject. The Sutras reveal a profound insight into human psychology and a study of them is as much education as mental hygiene.

The price of the book is one rupee.

#### INDIA AND AMERICA.

If India's cause of *Swaraj* has its chief embodiment and glory in the person of Mahatma Gandhi, it yet has its own significance as a great movement of liberty and right, and thus its own appeal to the sympathy of mankind. For mass movements of nations and peoples are always greater than their leaders—even such a leader as Gandhiji! In these movements are political and economic forces which determine the march of centuries and the destiny of empires. In them, also, are the hopes and dreams of the myriad hearts that comprise the spirit of humanity. These cannot be contained within any single life, as they cannot ultimately be directed by any single mind. Gandhi is in prison, but the great cause to which he has given his life moves on. If Gandhi were to die of confinement and repression, the Indian people would only be inspired anew by his memory, as they have already been inspired by his presence. Spiritual forces are cosmic forces. They belong not to any one time or place or person, but to all times and places, and to all persons. They are the possession of the race.

We feel this keenly here in America. Our interest in India today, has been primarily quickened by Gandhiji. But we have an interest also in India itself, and in *Swaraj* as the latest endeavour of mankind for liberty. Instinctively we see in these vast events across the wide Pacific the reproduction of our own history—the renaissance of our own revolution a century and a half ago. The same uprising, against the same Empire, of a people determined to be free!

Surely it is no accident that, with one accord, preachers, editors and publicists here in America have seen in Gandhi's immortal march to Dandi an event corresponding precisely to the famous Boston Tea Party which opened the vast drama of the American Revolution. In the one case we had tea, and in the other salt. But in both cases we had a dramatic gesture of revolt. We saw a blow struck straight and sure at the focal point of tyranny. Here was a people announcing not only to themselves but to the world that, after much patience, long endurance, earnest endeavor after conciliation and mutual agreement, they were now to take matters of their own fate into their own hands.

Yet is there one great difference between the taking of salt from the sea at Dandi and the spilling of tea into the sea at Boston. In this difference is found the enormous difference between the American Revolution as a movement of battle and bloodshed, and the Indian *Swaraj* as a movement of non-violent resistance. The Boston Tea Party was an act of violence, fitly prelude to the horrors of destruction and slaughter which began at the battle of Lexington in 1775 and did not end until the siege of Yorktown in 1781. The Dandi salt making, on the contrary, was an act of peaceful demonstration, fitly dedicating the Indian people to a national undertaking which should be marked not by the killing of their enemies but by their own heroic sacrifice and death on behalf of their nation's sacred cause. Freedom through suffering—conquest of one's enemies through the enduring and forgiving love which must in the end subdue the cruelest heart—victory not by the sword but by the spirit—this is a new ideal for a nation, a new and nobler method of revolution, and thus an event which marks a new era in the history of humankind.

It is this, next only to Gandhiji himself, which binds the attention and admiration of intelligent Americans to India today. They see before their face and eyes the story of their own national life enacted now by another people on higher and thus sublimer level of human idealism. In spite of themselves, also, they see for the first time, on a nation-wide scale, the serious and heroic application to world problem of Jesus's own gospel of non-resistant love. What Christians themselves, with few exceptions, have never dared to do in carrying out the teachings of their Lord and Savior, the Indian people are now doing with a courage and a patience unrivalled in human history. In Gandhi, in other words, we see the Christ alive again; and in his millions of Indian followers we see the early non-violent Christians who fronted Rome and by their sufferings—striking never a blow, but always loving, forgiving, enduring all—subdued it to the Cross.

Not only our history, therefore, but our religion, seems to be finding its fulfilment in India to-day. What wonder that we, Americans, are profoundly stirred, and in a prayer of thanksgiving for Gandhi and his people turn devoutly to our Scriptures, and read therein with new understanding, new vision, new hope, the sacred words—

"Not by power, nor by might, but by my spirit,  
Saith the Lord!"

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

This and the article published last week entitled "Gandhi in America" were written for *Young India* by Mr. John Haynes Holmes, the eminent American divine. As *Young India* is not being published in printed form, they have been kindly passed on to us.

## SHOULD PICKETING BE AN OFFENCE?

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The writer is a pucca Canadian, not an English Canadian but Canadian for several generations, so she is a Britisher.

I am very much in sympathy with the Nationalist movement in India, and especially in the warfare against liquor. For weeks now I have been turning over in my mind many questions, so I propose to put them on paper, with some answers given by myself and others.

What should be the attitude of Temperance organisations and workers towards the efforts being made in India by the Indian people, to close liquor shops and get rid of both foreign and country liquor? Personally, I can conceive of only one answer, viz. "Encourage the effort in every way possible."

Someone says, "But this effort is against the Government." Well, we ask "Does the Government stand for prohibition of liquor from India?" I believe the Government itself will reply "We do not." Do Temperance organisations, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, stand for prohibition of the liquor traffic? Surely the reply is "Yes." Then, where are we? Does that not put the W. C. T. U. and other temperance organisations that stand for prohibition of the liquor traffic, against the government in this matter? I can see no other answer but "Yes." Then why are the efforts made by the Indian people to get rid of liquor any more against the Government than the temperance organisations are against government in this respect.

Now comes the statement "But you see, the people who are against the liquor are also against cloth." True, but Canada is also against foreign goods. It is for this reason that B. B. Bennett and his Conservative party received such a sweeping majority in Canada, a week or so ago. The Conservative party stands for high tariffs.

Another says "But you know it is a difficult matter—it is the English liquor the people are against." My reply to this is "Are we not against English liquor?" God pity us if we are not. But of course we know the lady who made that statement is wrong, for in some of our cities at least, the liquor shops that are being closed are shops that sell country liquor. And the sale of licenses that was hindered by some Indian women of Bombay, was a sale of licenses for *Toddy shops*, not English liquor.

We hear the statement "Let India get rid of liquor by the vote, as did America." Has India the ballot? We wish she had and believe she will have some day, but she cannot make her wishes known in that way now. In 1925 the W. C. T. U. attempted to get a VOTE from the Indian people on Local Option in Provinces, by circulating a petition for signatures. 32,000 signatures were secured, and what happened to them? They are still in the W. C. T. U. headquarters in Delhi. The Viceroy was asked to receive a delegation from the W. C. T. U.

to present these signatures, but so far the request has not been granted. (Perhaps the W. C. T. U. has not been persistent enough.) This is the nearest securing a vote we know of, but there has been no result. The writer took one of these sheets for signatures to one of our Calcutta banks. When she presented it to the Manager he said "Last week end I spent with the Manager of one of the collieries and he told me that as soon as his men get their pay they spend it in liquor and stay off work for two or three days. Something must be done." And he took up his pen and signed without an objection or argument. Then I left the paper to be given to the employees of the bank and when I went for it in a few days one of the European men, in giving it to me said "Look at that—India wants prohibition—46 signatures from Indian—4 Europeans." My reply was "Surely, we know India wants prohibition and it is only the white face that keeps her from getting it."

Is the picketing of liquor shops a help in the temperance movement? Well, what is the Temperance movement? Do temperance movements aim to get rid of liquor? If so, then why is not the closing of liquor shops and cutting down of licenses a help to the temperance movements? When liquor shops are closed and licenses cut down in other countries it is always counted a help to temperance movements. Why not in India at the present time.

A lady said to the writer the other day "I hear that the Indian women who are picketing liquor shops are the women of questionable character and not the good women of India." The only answer to this is that ~~that~~ lady knows nothing of the awakening among the best women of India—educated, refined, wealthy Indian women. We shall just put this remark down to her ignorance and not hold it against her.

But the statement that hurts most of all is "There is no warfare in India to-day by the Indian women against liquor. It is only against the Government. The women are not in earnest about getting rid of liquor; their object is to annoy government." This statement by a Christian woman with regard to our splendid sincere Indian sisters who are enduring privation we have never been called upon to endure, hardly sounds just, to say the least. These Indian women are surely proving their sincerity by what they are willing to endure, and by the results in *actually closing* country liquor shops. If they were not really after the liquor and just wanted to annoy government, why are they not after opium shops, from which government receives revenue similar to liquor shops?

Many a time on the platform in Canada have I said "The only quarrel I have with the British Government in India is the liquor question" and I do not hesitate to say that I am *not* with any government on the liquor question, when that government does not stand for prohibition of the liquor traffic, not even with the Canadian government. Why has Canada so-called "Government control" to-day? The writer's opinion is that one of the main reasons is "The church people chose to stand by the government rather than by righteousness." Would that the women of Canada had the courage to-day that our Indian women are manifesting and would rise up and banish the liquor for ever from the fair shores of Canada.

PEARL MADDEN.

P. S. This is a personal matter, nothing to do with my Society. —P. M.

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND INDIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Dear Sir,

I am reading your articles with interest, also your remarks on Christian Missions. I want to ask you frankly, can you blame us for preaching the gospel according to which we claim to have obtained the way of salvation, forgiveness of sin, fellowship with God, peace and joy? Do you think it is wrong to expect others to accept that medicine which has done us good, or do you think we should tell people to keep that of which we are convinced that it does not heal them and of the healing power of which they themselves do not claim to have any immediate experience but only a hope for the remote future? Christians believe that salvation begins with the present while Hindus believe that an endless number of rebirths are necessary before this can be obtained, or according to others, a life of absolute asceticism is the only proof of salvation. When we preach the gospel we act according to our convictions because we believe that the people of India are sinners similar to ourselves, and even if they were less sinners they need its saving power as much as we do. And we expect people to become Christians out of conviction only. Those Christians who are such in name only (and there are some like that, even in the West) are more of a hindrance than a help for revealing the truth.

And why gather funds for the work in America? Because there are millions of people in India in desperate need of daily bread, education and medical help and the money is not coming forth from the well-to-do people of India. Those who blame us should do that work themselves and we would not grudge them the opportunity. It is our Christian and humanitarian duty to help suffering fellow-men and women. If we would not bring the gospel by helping the needy with our means then we could not claim sincerity in preaching it. It is wrong for you to tell the missionaries "we do not want your money to help our suffering people" as long as you cannot help them yourselves. It would be wrong for us to request Hindus for funds to preach our Christian gospel. There are enough religious beggars in the land as you well know. You need no more from the West. If people play hypocrites and come into the Christian church merely in the hope of material gain, that is much regretted and in my own experience, much discouraged. People from the cold West brought up in different customs, cannot keep well, living like the ordinary folks in a tropical climate like India. This is one reason for additional expenses in missions. Rest assured, if you cannot agree with us, that we at least mean well. Please consider that we are at least sincere and want to be friends of India, even though misunderstood. It is true that many in the West are Christians only in name, and not worthy of the name; but that does not relieve the others who are true Christians of the responsibility to bring the gospel to others

who do not know it, even though they may not want it, because they do not understand it. Those of the West had their chance. We want to give Indians the gospel of the Bible that originally came from the East, and not Western civilization. Had Jesus been born in India would Indians have accepted Him as the only savior and true incarnation of God and followed Him? And if so, why not accept Him now and leave all the rest that you object to from the West, both good and bad? All we wish is to share with you the gospel and the experience it gave those of us who tried it.

With best wishes that God may bless India and the good work of social reform may continue,

18th July, } Sincerely,  
Grey Eagle, Minn U.S.A. } H. A. FEIBABEND.

### THE SALVATION ARMY SELF DENIAL FUND.

#### AN APPEAL.

Again the Salvation Army sets out upon its yearly effort of raising funds for the support and extension of its many-sided work. Amongst themselves Salvationists speak of this appeal as 'Self Denial', and this year, on account of the depressed state of trade, it will perhaps mean for them more self-denial than ever, for Salvationists belong to that class of people who first feel the blow of hard times. Nevertheless, with cheerfulness and courage they face this effort and plead for all to join with them in practising some act of self-denial for a week, giving what is thus saved to help those who are in need.

One of the Army's well-known mottoes is "Others!" and this effort is to help, not themselves, but others who are in sorry case through sin, or suffering, or any distressing circumstances into which they may have been brought.

From amongst the numerous cases with which the Army is constantly dealing we select the following as a sample: Under the influence of drink a Japanese chemist erred so seriously in making up a prescription, that the patient concerned narrowly escaped being poisoned.

Deeply impressed by the occurrence, the chemist, attracted to a meeting conducted by the Army's leader in Japan, Commissioner Yamamuro, realised not only the evil of drink, but his need of a change of heart. He yielded to God, and speedily gave evidence of the Divine change wrought within him by firmly refusing to sell 'toso' a powder commonly used in wine-making, particularly at New Year time.

Strengthened by this stand for further victories, he developed into a sterling Salvationist, being to-day widely known and respected as Sergeant-Major Chara of Kyoto.

When the Army Officers call upon you respond to their appeal and send them away glad because you have decided to help 'Others', or forward your gift to Lieut. Commissioner Jays Veera (Ewens), Morland Road, Byculla, Bombay, S.

## CHILD MARRIAGE IN INDIA

"The Woman's Leader" of Friday July 18, 1930 writes:—

Since the Sarda Child Marriage Restraint Act came nominally into force on 1st April, almost the only news regarding it which has reached this country was the fact that the Act was being widely misrepresented among the Moslem population by Congress leaders, for the purpose of exciting prejudice against the Government. Now comes the disquieting news that a Moslem convicted of giving his son of seven in marriage despite the warning of his village Headman, was sentenced to fifteen days simple imprisonment, but that the Punjab Government instantly telegraphed to the Deputy Commissioner for the District remitting the sentence and ordering the man's release on the ground that "a warning and a nominal sentence would have been more suitable in the case of a first conviction under the Act."

It is further reported in the *Indian Social Reformer* that Miss Ida Dickinson, who was recently nominated by the Government as member of the Bombay Legislative Council, has resigned her membership, and has refused the Kaiser-i-Hind medal offered her etc....giving as one of her reasons the Government's reported intention to modify or repeal the Sarda Act. To estimate the significance of these facts it is necessary to remember that child marriage was recently described, after exhaustive examination by the Joshi Committee—very weighty one, composed with one exception of Indian lawyers, doctors, and public men—as an evil worse than suttee *i. e.* the burning of widows on their husbands' funeral pyre. For an evil which can be so described a sentence of fifteen days imprisonment does not sound excessive. It is difficult to believe that the Government can seriously contemplate repealing an Act which was clamoured for by most of the leaders of Congress themselves, who frequently used the argument that only the indifference of the British Government to social reform was responsible for the continuance of this evil custom.

## THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION.

## STATEMENT ON INDIA.

The Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the United States has watched with deep concern the sharpening conflict in India between the British Government and the Indian Nationalists. A struggle of the intensity and proportions which this one threatens to assume becomes of necessity a call to lovers of peace throughout the world to seek every means possible for the avoidance of violence and war, and to create such mutual relations of justice, tolerance and good will as may overcome and finally eliminate the root causes of strife.

One of these causes in India, and elsewhere, is imperialism—the rule, or exploitation, of one people by another. As citizens of the United States we recognize the responsibility of our country for its

share in the contemporary imperialisms of the world. We are engaged in a great economic struggle with Britain, and this exerts no inconsiderable pressure, we believe, on leaders of British life to hold their empire together. We acknowledge our share, therefore, in the guilt of an exploited India.

As citizens of the United States, we condemn unreservedly our own use of force and imperialism as expressed in our relationships with the Philippines, Haiti and Nicaragua, as well as the economically unsound and internationally pernicious tariff now under consideration. We invite others, irrespective of the country of their residence, to join with us in protesting against these and other violations of international brotherhood.

We believe in the solidarity of human-kind. We consider racial arrogance a deadly sin. We deny the right of any nation to conquer and exploit another. We therefore hold, on principle, that Great Britain has no moral right to maintain her rule in India except by the general consent of India's people, and we protest against the use of violence to maintain that control.

We believe that Mahatma Gandhi's rejection of the method of war and his valiant attempt to displace it with methods of non-violence, mark an epoch in the social advance of humanity. To this non-violent movement we give our definite support.

With regard to proposals for a conference we call attention to the facts:—

- (1) That Great Britain has made no offer of any conference which included with it amnesty for political prisoners, and that there can be no fair conference while one side holds the leaders of the other side in jail;
- (2) That according to the testimony of George Slocombe, correspondent of the "London Herald" and the "New York Times" who visited Gandhi in jail, May 20th, Mr. Gandhi is even now prepared to recommend suspension of civil disobedience and co-operation with the round-table conference to meet in London, October 20th, provided three of his former eleven points are met and the rest left for future discussion.

The three essentials named by Mr. Gandhi are:—

"FIRST—The terms of reference to the round-table conference shall include the framing of a constitution giving India the substance of independence.

"SECOND—Satisfaction shall be granted to Mr. Gandhi's demands for the repeal of the salt tax, for the prohibition of liquor and for a ban on foreign cloth.

"THIRD—Amnesty shall be accorded to prisoners convicted of political offences to coincide with the end of the civil disobedience campaign."

Mr. Slocombe concluded: "Negotiation is still possible. After my two meetings with Mr. Gandhi

in prison, I am convinced that conciliation will be met by conciliation, but that violence on either side will never compel surrender."

The Council of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation feels strongly that British Labor is on trial. Mere diplomatic or Parliamentary correctness of procedure is not enough. Immediate generosity of action alone can overcome the breach in mutual relations due to the one-sided constitution of the Simon Commission and recent repressive acts of the Government.

We express our conviction that in the following of the principles of truth and non-violence will come the largest spiritual and material gains to both India and the British Empire and, indeed, to all the world. We therefore, urge members of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, the British Fellowship of Reconciliation, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and all people of good will everywhere to pray, to speak, to write, to work, that out of the present conflict in India there may arise a growing recognition of the power of these principles for the settlement of international strife.—(Adopted June 6, 1930 New York City.)

#### MR. KEITHAN ON MISSION WORK IN INDIA.\*

"I am leaving India on July 16th for China and Japan on my return to America. The Government of India has ordered my return nine months before my regular furlough date because I entertained a friend, Reginald Reynolds, three weeks back. Reynolds is the young Englishman who carried Gandhi's ultimatum to the Viceroy. I have known him since last November when we met at Gandhi's Ashram. He had come to study Indian conditions and became very sympathetic with Indian aspirations for independence. I invited him to spend a week with me to see village conditions in South India. He had agreed to come and notified me at the end of May that he was coming. I knew that he was staying with Englishmen and English officials on the way. I had no reason to feel that I would be showing hostility to the Government by entertaining him as a friend although our Mission has been notified that we should be especially careful to be neutral. Well, the end of it all was that I have been asked to leave the country at once with the threat that if I do not do so Government grants will not be given to the Mission institutions. There seems nothing else to do. In fact, I think it probably best that it should be so, although it cuts to the deep to think that I must leave my adopted country at this tremendous time of need. I shall spend six weeks in China and Japan, studying conditions there, reaching America on the 11th of September.

"I have seen the Governor of Madras since I wrote the above. He says that I need not leave India—but that the Mission must disassociate itself

\*The *Indian Christian Messenger* publishes the above letter from Mr. R. R. Keithan, an American Missionary who had recently to leave India because he showed hospitality to Mr. Reginald Reynolds.

from my actions, and that means that I cannot work in the Mission as Government will not co-operate with the Mission in the way of giving grants.

"I have been glad to see a slow growth of interest among the Indian Christian group during the last month. How often I have heard the plea, "Oh, that you Missionaries would only allow us to express ourselves as we feel.....would allow us to take part in the great struggle of our country!" I have always said that if they really felt that they should take their part in the present fight, that no one need hinder them.

"The American missionary is in a very difficult position because he has promised to be "neutral" in whatever may happen. I, and others, are trying to be loyal to that promise. However, you see what happens. Government interprets neutrality in their own way. Some of us feel that their neutrality means "loyalty" to the present Government..... and at a time when the Englishman himself often is most critical of things as they are.

"As to my plans I am not certain. It seems quite probable that I shall be able to return when the present crisis is over. That being true then I hope to prepare for rural reconstruction work in the villages of India. My plans will mean a breaking away from the present methods of Mission which I cannot agree with. Without doubt the largest problem in India today is the Village Problem. On that hangs everything. However, the village contains Hindus and Mohammedans as well as Christians. It consists of many castes. Today, Missions limit their efforts pretty much to the Christians in the village and to the outcaste. In the South the Christian religion is often referred to as "the religion of the outcaste." This is a thing to be proud of. However it also reveals a real weakness. First of all, India's problems—the problems of the village, are so great that we need all the resources of every religion. We need the help of every community. And then, to "save" the "Cheri" (outcaste section of the village) is to "save" but a very small part of the village. Not until we include every caste and every religion in our village programme can we hope to truly lift it nearer to the Kingdom. And my longing is to return to the Indian village and work shoulder to shoulder with every possible leader I may find in the village to bring his community closer "to Christ"—as most of us would put it.

"In the past we have laid the emphasis upon the establishment of a Church in India. As a result we have introduced a foreign organisation that has still to experience a Pentecost. I believe that the day has come when Missions must work from the other end also. We must try to bring Pentecost to the villages of India—that is our job!! and then let those people who have been moved by the Spirit, organise their own church. It will be just as much a part of the Universal Church as though it were built after the mode of the West. And it will be more true to the genius of the East. Yes, and my own feeling is, that only then can we accept large

contributions from the East to the Christianity of the West—to the Universal Church! But more of this when I can see you and can explain in greater detail.

This last year has been the most fruitful of my life. During the summer season, an Indian theological student, a Brahmin convert, stayed with me at Kodaikanal. We had many happy moments together. I realised more than ever how far away from the heart of the Indian the average Missionary is. I had planned this year to have a group of my own students live with me in the Mission bungalow. I had hoped that this might bring me a bit closer to India. However, that privilege is now denied me.

“At Christmas time I was at the Christa-Kala-Ashram, a Christian place of retreat and service. Those were very happy days as I learned to know Dr. Jesudasan and Dr. Paton better, two consecrated men who have given their all that they might serve the Indian villager.

“Only a few days before I had been with the only Indian Anglican Bishop in India, the Bishop of Dornakal. Sherwood Eddy, a close friend of the Bishop, was there also. One of the largest Christian movements in India today centres about Dornakal, and that because there lives there a man of God. I have many stories to tell you of him.

“Just before Mahatma Gandhi went to the Lahore Congress I had three days with him at Wardha. At each meal I sat at his right and talked with him as with a brother. I shall never forget those days for it was a “mountain-top” experience indeed. I know of no one who I could trust more to interpret the spirit of the Master in present-day India. What a mind he has! What a spirit! What love! I have a feast for you again—one which came from Gandhi himself.

“I had the privilege to spend a week also in Tagore's great school at Shantiniketan. I had a conversation with that poet of Bengal and that was the last straw in my decision for service along new lines in India. He left no doubt in my mind but that if I would serve his country I must identify myself with the Indian people—and the tragedy was that he felt assured that I could not do that in Missions as organised today. Those days I moved in and out with the schoolboys and teachers. I found a Christian, for example, who was giving his life to the boys and girls of Shantiniketan, who was living on a mere allowance, who would not even consider coming back with me to cooperate in a work that many would feel was one of the largest in South India. At least, he could get twice or thrice as much salary. But no! he was convinced that he could do more for Christ where he was! I found many others of the same spirit. It made me think!

“I wish I could tell you of the many Missions I visited. There is no doubt but that Missions are doing a stupendous and most important work in India today. Many Indians would not have it otherwise. However, there is a growing discontent with what

is being done for India by the West. It is a criticism that the Indian Christian and the Western Missionary must face—and face very soon, I believe! We have not faced all the conditions of India. We have not always given credit where credit is due. We have not built upon foundations already here. Educated India is coming to see this more and more. Again, educated India is becoming nationalistic and will not allow any movement to denationalize her people as Missions often have done.

“I just wanted to say that I was tremendously impressed to see the great resources which belong to India. I have no fear for the future. Coming days are going to be very difficult. And what a field for the Christian Message! Also, I cannot help but feel that India is one of the countries which has a vital message to give to the world. And even now there are Indians who guarantee that contribution shall be made. I count it the great privilege of my life to have been able to come into contact with something of the Spirit back of it all. And may I be allowed to continue in helping to bring forth that Spirit into the life of the world!

“I shall look forward to hearing from you—more to the privilege of seeing you again. My home address is 710 Albion Ave., Fairmont, Minn. U.S.A.

#### THE HINDU GAINS OF LEARNING ACT.

*An Act to remove doubt as to the rights of a member of a Hindu undivided family in property acquired by him by means of his learning.*

WHEREAS it is expedient to remove doubt, and to provide an uniform rule, as to the rights of a member of a Hindu undivided family in property acquired by him by means of his learning;

It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. (1) This Act may be called the Hindu Gains of Learning Act, 1930.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—

(a) “acquirer” means a member of a Hindu undivided family, who acquires gains of learning;

(b) “gains of learning” means all acquisitions of property made substantially by means of learning, whether such acquisitions be made before or after the commencement of this Act and whether such acquisitions be the ordinary or the extraordinary result of such learning; and

(c) “learning” means education, whether elementary, technical, scientific, special or general, and training of every kind which is usually intended to enable a person to pursue any trade, industry, profession or avocation in life.

3. Notwithstanding any custom, rule or interpretation of the Hindu law, no gains of learning shall be held not to be the exclusive and separate property of the acquirer merely by reason of—

(a) his learning having been, in whole or in part, imparted to him by any member, living or deceased,

of his family, or with the aid of the joint funds of his family or with the aid of the funds of any member thereof, or

(b) himself or his family having, while he was acquiring his learning, been maintained or supported, wholly or in part, by the joint funds of his family, or by the funds of any member thereof.

4. This Act shall not be deemed in any way to affect—

(a) the terms or incidents of any transfer of property made or effected before the commencement of this Act,

(b) the validity, invalidity, effect or consequences of anything already suffered or done before the commencement of this Act,

(c) any right or liability created under a partition, or an agreement for a partition, of joint family property made before the commencement of this Act, or

(d) any remedy or proceeding in respect of such right or liability;

or to render invalid or in any way affect anything done before the commencement of this Act in any proceeding pending in a Court at such commencement; and any such remedy and any such proceeding as is herein referred to may be enforced, instituted or continued, as the case may be, as if this Act had not been passed.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**Lord Baden-Powell's Advice to Boy Scouts:—** Speaking at the Scout Rally at the Alexandra Palace, London, on July 19, Lord Baden-Powell referred to the virtues of a smile in glowing terms. He raised a great laugh when he said "I am glad to see most of you are wearing a smile. Some of you have got ugly faces, but if you put a smile on, nobody notices it." And he quoted the story of the scout who said he had not been able to find a good turn to do one day, so he just put on a good smile instead and walked about with that on his face—and that smile saved a man who saw it from committing suicide. "We grown ups," he added, "are much too miserable; we walk about looking as if we were going to be hanged any minute. Smile all the time and go on doing your good turns as much as you possibly can?"

**Mr. K. T. Paul on Picketing Liquor Shops:—** Mr. K. T. Paul addressed a well-attended public meeting held at the Calicut town hall, on the 18th instant on "Some fundamental problems of urgency." On the question of temperance reforms the speaker said: "I want to ask the Government whether they are honest in regard to temperance. The Excise revenue is increasing year after year. Every drop of alcohol which goes into the body of an Indian ruins the productivity of the country. It is admitted that prohibition cannot be secured merely by legislation and that the education in temperance reforms must precede it. The only way left for a temperance worker is picketing and for it, under the present Ordinance he can be arrested and sent to jail."

**Squaring the circle.**—A mathematician who claims to have solved the ancient problem of squaring the circle, has caused a sensation among Italian scientists, says a Central News message from Rome to "The Daily News-Chronicle." Professor Giuseppe Tschennett, of Bolzano, says he arrived at the solution more by pure mathematics than by geometry. He has sealed his papers and consigned them to the care of a lawyer to await the inspection of a committee of savants. "Squaring the circle" is a problem which has been fruitlessly attacked by the ablest mathematicians of past centuries. The problem is to obtain a square equal in area to a given circle. It has long been thought that an arithmetical solution is impossible, and proofs have been advanced that a geometrical solution is also impossible.

**A Young Indian I. O. S. Officer's Death:—**It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Mr. T. Veeraraghavan I. O. S., son of Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar on the 17th instant, under the most tragic circumstances. Mr. Veeraraghavan joined the Indian Civil Service only in December last as Assistant Collector, East Godavari and was only 25 years old at the time of his death. He was a youth full of promise, with a bright future before him. We offer Sir T. and Lady Vijayaraghavachariar our heart-felt condolences.

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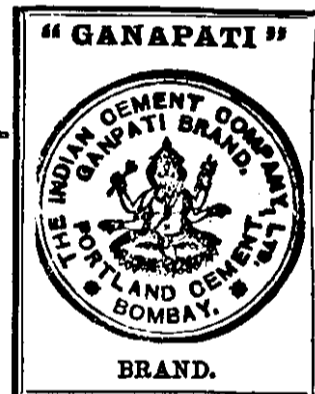
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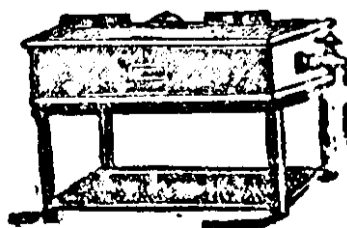
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No. 52

*"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not  
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."*  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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### NOTES.

**A Crowning Blunder:**—The Working Committee of the National Congress was announced to meet in Delhi on Tuesday. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi issued an order on the previous day declaring it an unlawful body. The Committee, however, decided to hold its meeting and the members were arrested—all except the two lady members, Mrs. Jawharlal Nehru and Mrs. Hansa Mehta, and tried for being members of an unlawful body and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. This action of the Government of India leads one to doubt whether the Viceroy is serious in his peace conversations with Mr. Jayakar and Sir. Tej. Bahadur Sapru. Delhi, as the capital of India, is directly under the Central Government. The proclamation of the Working Committee as an unlawful body and the arrest of its members, could not have been done without the sanction of the Viceroy. Now, if Lord Irwin is serious in his peace negotiations, he should have realised that the Working Committee with Dr. Ansari, as chairman, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Deep Narain Singh among its members, was just the body which would have entered into the negotiations with the greatest sympathy. These three gentlemen had stood out against the civil disobedience movement—the first two had opposed the adoption of the resolution sanctioning it at the Lahore Congress—and had joined the Working Committee mainly as a protest against the excesses of the methods used against non-violent civil resisters. We reprint today Dr. Ansari's statement issued last month in which he pleaded for an early settlement with Mahatma Gandhi. Lord Irwin can not be ignorant of these facts but he has all the same sanctioned the action of the Delhi Commissioner, and at the same time, has been having prolonged conversations with Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who are going back to Allahabad and Poona to consult Pandits Motilal and Jawharlal in the first place, and Mahatmajl at Yerravda. Lord Irwin is doubtless perfectly sincere in simultaneously carrying on these two contrary operations, but

does his Excellency think that the task of Indians who favour a pacific settlement is made lighter by the imprisonment of men like Dr. Ansari and Pandit Malaviya ?

**Satyagrahi Processions:**—The Government of Bombay have issued a circular for the benefit of district officers as to the best manner of dealing with satyagrahi processions. The art of compression is not favoured in Government offices and this circular will assuredly get the first prize in a competition for circumlocution. The substance of the circular which covers two foolscap pages is contained in a single sentence. "It is almost invariably desirable to disperse such processions in their initial states, *if it has to be done at all.*" The clause which we have italicized contains, perhaps, the pith of the document. It means that in nine cases out of ten, it may not be necessary to disperse satyagrahi processions which keep to one side of the road and behave in an orderly and decorous manner. But if in any special case, it is considered necessary to disperse it, then the sooner it is done, the better would it be for all concerned. It is "almost invariably undesirable," to modify slightly the official phrase, to keep a procession the whole night on the road awaiting the arrival of the Home Member from Poona, and then order a lathi charge. The circular, on the whole, gives a fair account of how these processions swell to large dimensions but, so far as we know, there has not been a single instance in which the crowds which gathered round the processionists, at least in Bombay, broke out into violence against either the Police or against innocent persons in it. The attempt to explain away the use of excessive force on the part of the Police on this ground, does not carry conviction.

**Peshawar Committee's Report:**—Those who distributed copies of Mr. Patel's Committee on the Peshawar incidents in May, did not send a copy to the *Reformer* and before we could secure one, the Report has been proscribed by the Government of the United Provinces. We have no special interest in making out that the action of Government in Peshawar was wrong or wicked, and if we had the opportunity of perusing the Report, we should, we are sure, have dealt with it on its merits. We are sure that many others would have done the same. The Government of the United Provinces by depriving people of this type of the opportunity of reading the Report, have aroused a suspicion that the Report contained some facts or comments which did not reflect credit on the Government of the Frontier Province. The Sulaiman Committee which enquired into the Peshawar affair,

were divided on some important points and the suppression of the Patel Committee's Report is not calculated to satisfy the public that the steps adopted to deal with the trouble were in all respects necessary and humane. The official mind in this country is increasingly tending to the dogmatism that whatever is done by authority should be accepted as right without question. Such an attitude provokes a counter-attitude which inclines to look on all actions of Government as having no higher purpose than to assert its authority. No Government gains any permanent advantage by following a policy of shutting out light.

**Mr. Rushbrook Williams' Lecture:—**Mr. Rushbrook Williams needs no introduction to Indian readers. He first came to this country as a Professor in Allahabad University—once a Professor always a Professor—and became later the Director of Information to the Government of India. He was responsible for the production of the annual review of Indian administration for several years. When he vacated this post, he was taken up by the group who control the Chamber of Princes to do propaganda work for them in England. The deputation of Mr. Williams on this mission led immediately to the Indian States People Conference's counter-deputation which did a good deal to acquaint the British public with the inner side of States' administration thus supplementing his description of the outer side. Mr. Williams is now Co-Director, with Colonel Haksar, of the Special Organization of the Princes, and a strong effort was made to get him on the Prince's delegation to the Round Table Conference. But the attempt failed, though he will accompany the delegation in an advisory capacity. Meanwhile he was sent to the United States on a lecturing tour, presumably by the group of Princes above referred to, and on his return to England, he gave his impressions in a paper read before the East India Association in London. Judging from his observations as to the unfavourable atmosphere which he found in the United States, his mission seems to have met but with limited success. Or perhaps he was making out a case for more British propaganda.

**Champion and Accuser:—**Mr. Srinivasa Sastry who also attended the meeting, protested in, for him, strong terms against the imputation made by Professor Williams of foreign propaganda against Mahatma Gandhi, which he called "a mare's nest." On the contrary, he complained that Mahatma had stopped the little weekly sheet, *India*, which used to be the Congress organ in London. Mr. Sastry seems to have felt that being concerned in propaganda was a more serious charge to bring against Mahatmaji than the one he himself advanced against him, when he said that "he absolutely condemned his (Gandhiji's) present occupation of stirring up trouble in India." Mahatmaji had been imprisoned a month previously and was not then in a position to engage in that or any other public occupation.

**The Maharaja of Patiala:—**The Maharaja of Patiala sailed for England by the mail steamer which left Bombay last Saturday. A large number of men and women, many of them Patiala subjects, had gathered at the Mole with black flags to make a demonstration but the Maharaja left by a launch from Apollo Bunder

and was picked up on board the Macedonia in mid-stream. His Highness has been completely vindicated so far as the Government of India is concerned by the Fitzpatrick enquiry, but the Indian public is far from satisfied with Government's method or conclusion. There may, for aught we know, be demonstrations in England on the Maharaja's arrival. His presence at the Round Table Conference at the head of the deputation of the Chamber of Princes is hardly likely to be a source of strength at this juncture.

**The South Indian States:—**Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, will represent the South Indian States, his own as well as Travancore, Cochin and Pudukota at the Round Table Conference. The fact that a Mahomedan statesman has been deputed by these traditionally orthodox Hindu States, will, we hope, go some way towards disabusing the Conference and the British public of the wildly exaggerated ideas of Hindu-Moslem tension which the Simon Commission, and other agencies, have either ignorantly or perversely fostered. The premier Indian State, Hyderabad, will be represented by Sir Akbar Hydari, whose nationalism is predominantly cultural. We expect that on all essential points there will be substantial agreement between the two capable representatives of the Dekhan States. The constitutional development of Hyderabad has been rather in the direction of responsiveness than responsibility in the administration; while in Mysore, Travancore and Cochin constitutional responsibility has been the goal. But all the four States have definitely emerged from personal rule and their future line of progress must necessarily be marked by a good deal of similarity.

**Devadasis in Travancore:—**The Maharani Regent of Travancore has issued an order doing away with the practice of *Devadasis* being attached to temples in the State. These women, originally a sort of nuns, are now virtually dedicated courtesans. The *Guardian* of Calcutta observes that in Travancore all the temples are directly under the Sarkar and so it will be a comparatively easy matter to put a stop without delay to this connection of religion and immorality in that State. "We have no doubt" adds our contemporary, "that arrangements will be made to ensure that the Devadasis themselves will not be turned adrift but will be provided with some adequate means of livelihood. This is another indication of the trend of social reform all over the country, as well as of the value of the influence of womanhood in legislation. Men may tolerate many things of this nature but the coming of women into active political life has already resulted in many wider reacting reforms in regard to women's disabilities."

**Census and Caste:—**We have often protested in these columns against inquisitorial enquiries regarding religion and caste in the Census enumeration. Only facts of demographic value should be recorded in Census reports. In India, however, Census reports have often been used to emphasise caste and sectarian distinctions. It is high time that we followed the example of other progressive governments and confined Census returns to facts relating to the health, education, occupation and other topics bearing on the secular condition of the people.

## INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 30, 1930.

## THE BANGALORE CONFERENCE.

It was a happy idea of Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, to convene a conference of leading public men in the Madras Presidency and in the South Indian States with a view to ascertain the general trend of opinion on the relations in the future constitution of India between British India and the States. The conference was held in Bangalore on the 20th instant and among those who attended it was Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, the distinguished author of the only standard work on Indian constitutional reform who made a notable contribution to the proceedings which were of a consultative character. The proceedings were not open to the Press but the Dewan made some remarks at the end in which he indicated the conclusions reached at the Conference. There was, he said, a consensus of opinion in regard to the necessity for a closer association of the States with British India for common purposes by entering the All-India Legislature. There was also agreement in respect of the States having the fullest possible measure of autonomy in their internal affairs. "Another matter upon which we are all agreed," said Sir Mirza, "is that, so far as British India is concerned, an element of responsibility should be introduced at the Centre, if the constitution is to work satisfactorily and to enjoy an adequate measure of confidence and support from the people." He summed up these points of agreement in a sentence. "A constitution which provides full autonomy in the Province, responsibility at the Centre (subject to such transitional safeguards as may be unavoidable), and a closer association between British India and the States in matters of common concern—this, let us hope, may be the result of the Round Table Conference—a result which will satisfy all reasonable people in India."

The *Hindu* of Madras published the full text of Sir Sivaswami's speech at the Conference, in the course of which he pointed out the disadvantages of "full provincial autonomy" in the provinces of British India, in the sense that they will have residuary powers and that the Central Government will have no power of intervention in emergent or exceptional circumstances. This, Sir Sivaswami pointed out, will destroy the greatest achievement of British rule. "If," he said, "we have developed a general consciousness of nationality, it is due to the unitary form of our Government, to the influence of uniformity of standards of administration, to the uniformity of laws, to western education and to the influence of the English language as a common medium of interchange of thought.

Local and communal loyalties have a strong hold upon the minds of our people and it would be a great mistake to do anything which might strengthen the fissiparous tendencies at work and weaken the growing sense of a common nationality." The constitution of the National Congress itself supports Sir Sivaswami's plea for the unitary type of government. The Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee have extensive powers of intervention to enforce the strict observance by Provincial Committees of the policies laid down by the National Congress. Provinces are, no doubt, constituted on a language basis but that does not make the Congress constitution federal in the strict sense of the term. The Moslem League is an even more emphatic form of unitary government than the National Congress. The devolution of powers to provinces may be as wide practically as in autonomy but the Central Government must have the residuary powers and the right of intervention in emergencies.

Sir Sivaswami summed up his ideas thus: "The constitution would be unitary as to British India but federal as to the Indian States and British India. But this feature, anomalous as it may seem at first sight, is not unworkable and would be India's contribution to the science and art of constitutional politics." A similar compromise in a limited sphere has been worked out in the constitution of some of our Universities which include constituent as well as affiliated colleges. As for anomalies, we do not see any more anomaly in Sir Sivaswami's scheme than in the British system which is democratic as regards Great Britain and autocratic or bureaucratic as regards India. The same anomaly, if it is one, appears in the relation of the United States which is republican at home but irresponsible and bureaucratic in the Philippines. Federalism, Sidgwick observes, is a transitional stage through which a composite society passes on its way to a complete union; since, as time goes on, and mutual intercourse grows, narrow patriotic sentiments that were originally a bar to full political union tend to diminish, while the inconvenience of a diversity of laws is more keenly felt, especially in a continuous territory. The Simon Commission's scheme, if adopted, will split up the country into a large number of centrifugal units and create the chaos which, opponents of reform hope and believe will be the result of the withdrawal of British control. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, we hope, will be invited to the Round Table Conference which will find his advice very valuable. He is not a demagogue, nor is he one who will allow his considered opinions to be deflected by extraneous considerations. He is held in the highest respect by all parties, though he belongs nominally to



the Liberal. It is noteworthy that he spoke it himself at the Bangalore Conference as not claiming to speak on behalf of British India or of any party. "I can only claim," he said "to represent my own views which, I believe, are shared by a number of others in British India." We are glad to acknowledge ourselves as belonging to this number.

#### DR. ANSARI ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

Dr. M. A. Ansari issued the following statement last month:—

I have been urged by numerous friends to break the silence I had imposed on myself since my retirement from the Congress Executive, due to my differences with the policy and programme adopted at the Lahore Sessions of the Congress. I must state, however, that in spite of the differences the confidence which my colleagues in the Congress Working Committee still reposed in me, gave me many opportunities to place my views before them. I have fully availed myself of this advantage on several important occasions.

Briefly stated, my contentions were that the Congress should have fully utilised the peace offer made by the Viceroy, that it should not have closed the door against further negotiations by changing the Congress creed and that it should not have declared war by calling the country to launch upon a campaign of civil disobedience. Further it should not have shelved the solution of the minority question. My reasons for holding these views were that we were not ready for a country-wide mass movement of this nature; that there were great chances of the non-violent campaign being submerged by breaking out into violence and lastly, that the only sanction necessary for the success of a non-violent campaign, i.e., Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity was wanting.

#### HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

Having had unique opportunities of making intimate study of this question for a number of years, I felt convinced that, in spite of the apparently formidable obstacles in the way, it was within practical possibility at the time to achieve it, if another concerted and earnest effort was made in that direction. The settlement of this question would have given us unique position and power both in the country and outside. It would have been impossible to withstand a united demand made on behalf of every section of the people of India at the Round Table Conference. In the eventuality, however, of such a demand having been turned down, a campaign of independence started by a united India would have had the moral support of the world public opinion and the combined political and material support of the entire Indian people. These views were placed for the last time before the Working Committee of the Congress, on the very

eve of starting the campaign of civil disobedience. They were given full consideration, but were not found acceptable.

#### METHODS OF "FRIGHTFULNESS."

What followed after the memorable march of Mahatma Gandhi to Dandi for breaking the salt laws, is public property. In the beginning, absence of any interference on the part of the Government apparently took the wind out of Mahatma Gandhi's sails. But the movement gathered strength and volume steadily as, forced by the clamour of British people and the Press, the Government of India began to interfere with it. From simple, and in places polite, obstruction in the beginning, the agents of the Government gradually adopted harsher methods, which later developed into harassment and wholesale arrests of the leaders and mass assaults on and beating with lathis of the rank and file of civil resisters. And now it has culminated into Black and Tan methods of regular frightfulness. The assaults have become most violent, causing sometimes multiple and serious injuries, the lathi play has become merciless, continued sometimes even when the unfortunate victim has fallen down in an unconscious state; there are inhuman and at times indecent treatment reported by reliable eye-witnesses; innumerable cases of belabouring of passers-by or innocent spectators, including women and children, have been authentically reported; shooting down gatherings of peaceful people with least provocation, often without any warning or with insufficient warning, is being resorted to; rule by promulgation of emergency laws, rule by Ordinances and rule by martial law, are becoming normal. All the time, the spirit of resistance shown by the people all over the country and their adherence to non-violence, often in the face of gravest provocation, has been beyond all expectations. Sporadic cases of violence on the part of the people, most reprehensible though they were, undoubtedly have been rare. The latest communique issued by the Government of India, declaring the Congress Working Committee an unlawful body and arresting the President and the General Secretary of the Congress, contains a confession by the Government of the campaign of civil disobedience having completely succeeded in its objects. It is also an evidence of the mastery of the forces of reaction in the Council of the Viceroy, over those of sober and clear-sighted statesmanship.

The recommendations of the Simon Commission, though not altogether unexpected, have shocked entire India by their unabashed retrograde character and their openly reactionary nature. There has been a well-deserved chorus of general condemnation from every section of the people. No one is prepared to touch them even with a pair of tongs. Even the easy-going loyalist has been rudely shaken out of his complacent and blind loyalty.

#### DISILLUSIONED.

The band of the faithful which had foregathered under the banner of the spiritual Muslim leader,

at Delhi, and had laboured to lay deep the foundations of a constitutional paradise for the Muslim minority, has been sadly disillusioned. It had spurned even to enter paradise with the help of its brown neighbours, for it was promised a higher heaven by the alien, white, arch-angel Gabriel. But to its utter discomfiture, it finds itself trapped in a veritable inferno. Well may it declaim with contrition:—"In ham raft o an ham raft" (This is lost, as well as that.") Even the fourteen points emphasized as indispensable for the emancipation of the people by the Muslim Woodrow Wilson, have been completely ignored by the Simon-Seven. False leadership has led Muslims into a sad plight. Let us hope the hard lesson would make them set their faces in the right direction and in future they would place greater reliance in themselves and in the good faith of their own countrymen rather than in the intervention of the interested third party to safeguard their rights.

It is obvious that to-day the power and prestige of the Government have reached the lowest watermark; that the people of India have been stirred to the depths by the nation-wide struggle for freedom; that "resolute Government" has failed to crush their spirits; that the methods of frightfulness carried by the agents of the Government have produced a very widespread sympathy with the sufferers even in circles opposed to the policy and programme of the Congress; and that, therefore, sooner or later the Government would feel obliged to change its present policy and resort to methods of conciliation. In my humble opinion the Government would be well-advised forthwith to give up the policy of ruthless repression and make the best use of the offers made in the interviews of Mahatma Gandhi and Pundit Motilal Nehru, and set the hand of the clock forward instead of keeping it back.

#### THE DRINK TRAFFIC IN INDIA.

BY FREDERICK GRUBB.

*Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association.*

Conditions differ so widely as between the numerous Provinces and States of India that it is impossible to generalise about that great country as a whole. Let the reader keep in mind from the start that in the Indian Empire there is a population of 325,000,000—nearly one-fifth of the human race—inhabiting an area more than half the size of Europe. The importance of India in relation to the international Temperance Movement must, obviously, be enormous, and its position in the British Commonwealth must, in this connection, compel attention.

#### SOME SALIENT FACTS.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the people of India learnt the vice of drunkenness from Europeans. Many authorities, ancient and modern, could be quoted to show that there was indulgence in alcohol from earliest times, notwithstanding the

pronouncements against drinking to be found in the Hindu scriptures. Three broad facts may, however, be stated without qualifications, namely:—(1) That in pre-British days the drinking habit was confined to comparatively small sections of the population; (2) that intemperance is a vice of modern growth, which has during the last fifty years infected an increasing number of the inhabitants; and, (3) that whereas under the old régime the sale of Drink was irregular and unrecognised, it has now become one of the most lucrative revenue-collecting agencies of the Government.

#### REVENUE AND CONSUMPTION.

A few figures will show that a grave evil has developed in our own time. Fifty years ago the total Excise Revenue of British India was about £2,000,000 (the statistics of actual consumption at that time are not available). To-day the annual revenue from this source approaches £15,000,000, and the consumption of country spirits alone (not including imported liquors) amounts in the nine major Provinces—about two-thirds of the Peninsula—to 6,200,000 gallons. Roughly, one quarter of the total provincial revenues is now derived from this source, the proportion rising to 33.3 per cent. in Madras and 34.4 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. This has rendered it all the more difficult for the Provincial Governments, with whom the responsibility for dealing with this problem lies, to give effect to the policy of Prohibition, which most of them have declared to be their goal.

These Governments are now reaping what was sown by their predecessors in the days before Excise was transferred to the control of the legislatures. The aim of the authorities then was avowedly to discover or devise the most perfect system of producing and selling liquor. As a result of official inquiries the system in vogue in the Madras Presidency was found to serve these purposes best, and with certain variations it now forms the basis of the methods employed in most of the other Provinces. Let me briefly describe it.

#### THE AUCTION SYSTEM.

The Contract Distillery System (as it is called) provides that the exclusive privilege of (a) manufacture and (b) wholesale distribution in any given district shall be disposed of by tender. In every such area there is a central distillery from which on each gallon of spirit issued a fixed duty is paid to the Government. Every tenderer is required to state at what rate, over and above the duty paid to the Government, he is prepared to supply spirits to retail vendors within his area. The price at which wholesale supplies are sold to retailers is taken into consideration in determining the acceptance of the tender. The duty levied on each gallon of spirit issued from the distillery is fixed from year to year by executive order. The successful tenderer is responsible for the opening of an adequate number of wholesale depots in the area, subject to the payment of an annual fee to the Government. The

maximum price at which wholesale dealers may sell spirits to retailers is fixed by the Government.

The right of retail sale is sold independently by the Government at annual auctions, each shop being dealt with separately, subject to certain restrictive rules and the recommendations of local advisory committees as to number and location. These committees are supposed to be representative of the police, the municipality or other local body and (in a few cases) of the Temperance societies, but in practice they are dominated by the officials of the Excise Department who are mainly concerned in raising as big a revenue as possible. In effect, the licences go to the highest bidders, although in some Provinces the fixed-fee system has been substituted for the auction system.

These and other complicated schemes for regulating the liquor traffic have no special interest for Temperance reformers who believe that under any system, short of Prohibition, alcohol will inevitably produce misery, demoralisation and crime. This has been the experience of India, as of all other countries where the sale of liquor has been tolerated however carefully devised the regulations may be. The traffic in India is, substantially, a Government monopoly. It is directed and controlled to a large extent by Government officials, a fact which gives it a certain respectability in the eyes of many people, although this complicity of the State in an immoral business is regarded with repugnance by every conscientious Hindu and Moslem.

#### INDIAN ASSEMBLY'S DEMAND.

Temperance reformers in India have never abated their demand for ultimate nation-wide Prohibition, although they would be willing to accept local option or any other instalments of reform which would bring the final goal nearer. Public opinion on this subject is much more advanced in India than it is in Great Britain. Whatever difficulties may stand in the way, all parties in India are practically agreed as to the desirability of Prohibition at the earliest possible date. Differences only arise as to the means of reaching the goal and at what speed.

On September 2nd, 1925, the following resolution was passed in the Imperial Legislative Assembly (representing the whole of British India) by 69 to 39:

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he be pleased to accept as the ultimate policy of Government the prohibition of production, manufacture, sale, and import of intoxicating liquors, save for medical and scientific purposes. It further recommends that as the first step in carrying out this policy the Provincial Governments be directed immediately (1) to inaugurate the policy of investing the power of fixing, by a system of local option, the location and number of shops selling intoxicating liquors, in either local self-governing bodies, or Licensing Boards, especially constituted for the purpose, and (2) to undertake necessary legislation in furtherance of that policy.

This resolution was heartily endorsed by Indian members of various schools of political thought. The only speech on the other side was that of the Finance Member of Government, Sir Basil Blackett,

who contended that Prohibition was impracticable, contrary to ethics and unthinkable. He received the answer he deserved in one of the most emphatic defeats sustained by the Government during that session. The majority represented the undivided strength of non-official opinion in the Assembly, and behind it lay the conviction of the Indian Electorate. The minority was composed of all the European members—twenty five in number—and fourteen Indian members officially connected with the Government. In other words, if only Indian members had voted, Prohibition would have been endorsed by 69 to 14, the fourteen being all officials or officially nominated. The resolution stands as a declaration of policy by the most authoritative legislative body in India.

(To be concluded).

#### WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS JAILED.

All the members of the Congress Working Committee, who were arrested at Delhi on the 27th inst., were sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment each. The Magistrate ordered that they should be placed in the "A" Class.

The following are the members of the Committee, who have been jailed.

Dr. M. A. Ansari, Acting president of the Congress.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, ex-President of the Assembly.

Mr. Mathradas Tricunji.

Dr. B. C. Roy.

Mr. Deep Narayan Singh.

Lala Dunichand of Ambala.

Sardar Mangal Singh.

Chowdari Afzul Haq, and

Mr. Raja Rau, Permanent Secretary of the Congress.

#### NEW WORKING COMMITTEE.

Following the arrest of the members of the Working Committee, a new committee has been formed consisting of six Moslems and six Hindus in addition to the three unarrested members, who are:—

Mrs. Jawharlal Nehru,

Mrs. Hansa Mehta and

Babu Bhagwandas.

The other members of the new Committee are:—

Mr. Khalil-ul-Rahman, Advocate (Lucknow), who will be the Acting President,

Mr. Harkaran Nath Misra, Barrister (Lucknow),

Mr. S. A. Brelivi, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* (Bombay),

Mr. Velji Nappoo of Bombay who will be the Treasurer of the Congress,

Mr. K. V. R. Swami (Rajahmundry, Madras),

Mr. S. V. Kowjalgi (Bijapur),

Mr. A. M. Khwaja (Allahabad),

Mr. Ismail Ghaznavi (Amritsar).

Mr. Saratchandra Bose (Calcutta),

Prof. Abul Baqi (Patna),

Mr. Asaf Ali (Delhi), and

Maulana Abdul Baqi (Dinajpur, Bengal.)

## CASTE AND CENSUS RETURNS.

A Deputation of the Jat-Pat Torak Mandal (Society for the abolition of caste among Hindus) waited upon the Census Commissioner for India, with a request that in the coming Census Returns, registration of caste in the case of those who do not want their castes to be recorded, be not insisted upon by the Census officials. In accordance with the Commissioner's suggestion the Mandal has submitted the following Memorial to the Viceroy :

His Excellency the Viceroy of India,

Simla.

Your Excellency :—

A Deputation of the Jat-Pat Torak Mandal (Society for the Breaking of Caste among Hindus), Lahore, waited upon Dr. J. H. Hutton, D.Sc., C.J.E., I.C.S., Census Commissioner for India, at Simla on the 23rd July 1930, and requested him to issue a circular instructing the Census clerks not to insist upon the registration of caste in the case of those who do not want to have it recorded in the Census Returns. The whole matter was discussed with him, and he was pleased to direct us to submit a Memorial to Your Excellency in this connection, which we are doing accordingly.

Our Society embraces a large number of adherents, found in various Provinces, who do not believe in caste system, and repudiate their allegiance to it. The Societies like the Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, Dev Samaj, Radha Swami Samaj, etc. believe that caste system is not an essential part of Hinduism, and that it has greatly hampered the progress of the Hindu community. The Western education and culture have greatly changed the perspective of the educated men and women, and consequently there is an overwhelming majority of them who have lost faith in the utility of caste, which at some time in the past might have been a necessity. Add to this the world forces that have awakened India from its social and political torpor and have shaken her belief in some of the old institutions which are responsible for the deterioration of the Hindus.

We can safely assert that the number of men and women who would not like to have their caste recorded in the Census Papers would be very large. It is therefore necessary that Your Excellency may be pleased to instruct the Census Department to meet the wishes of such people and thereby have accurate information collected for the coming Census.

We understand that this privilege has already been extended to the Sikhs and the Ad Dharmis of the Punjab, and there is no reason why it should not be accorded to other sections of the Hindus. To record caste against the name of an individual when he does not believe in it would be forcing caste on him.

It may be urged that the column of caste provided in the prescribed form will have to be filled up.

We respectfully submit that no harm will be done and there will be no breach of any essential rule if in the case of persons who repudiate caste the column of caste is left blank, or if it is considered essential to make an entry, the entry should be "NO CASTE" or "NIL." The Census clerks are not expected and should not impart their personal knowledge into the Census operations.

We shall therefore feel very much obliged if Your Excellency be pleased to direct the Census authorities to issue a circular to the Census staff on the same lines as has been issued in connection with the Sikhs that no one should be forced to state his caste and that no entry should be made in the column of caste when none has been given or the word "NO CASTE" or "NIL" may only be entered in the column of caste where a person concerned does not believe in it.

We have the honour to be,

Your Excellency,

Your most obedient servants,

(Sd). BHAI PARMANAND,

President.

(Sd). SANT RAM,

Secretary.

## HINDU MOTHERS' LEGAL DISABILITIES.

The 16th Mother's Day was celebrated on Sunday (24th inst.) at the Hira Bang Hall, C. P. Tank by the Aryan Excelsior League at 8 A. M. under the presidentship of Mr. Balram Vinayek Senjit, B. A., LL. B., J. P., Solicitor. He dwelt in the course of his address on the legal disabilities of a Hindu mother. He said :—

It is a matter of common knowledge that the rights of a mother in a Hindu family are to all intents and purposes nil. She is only entitled to maintenance out of the family property. When she succeeds as an heir to a female, say, her daughter, she takes an absolute estate in the property i. e. she becomes full owner thereof in the Bombay Presidency while in other provinces she takes only a limited estate in such property. i. e. at her death the property passes not to her heirs but to the next stridhana heir of the female from whom she inherited the property. When she inherits property from her son, she takes a limited estate therein throughout India.

Moreover a mother cannot compel a partition so long as the sons remain united. A step-mother is not an heir except in Bombay.

We will now compare the status of a mother under Hindu Law with that obtaining in other systems of law prevalent in India.

According to Mohammadan Law a mother is entitled to a fixed share of the property left by the deceased, viz: 1/6th when there are lineal descendants of the deceased and 1/3 when there are no lineal descendants of the deceased.

According to the Law relating to Intestate Succession among the Parsis, if a Parsi dies leaving a

widow or widower but without leaving any lineal descendants his or her father and mother if both are living or one of them if the other is dead shall take the moiety of the property, the father's share being double the share of the mother. When a Parsi dies leaving neither lineal descendants nor a widow or widower but leaving a mother, she shall be entitled to succeed to the whole of the property as to which he or she shall have died intestate.

According to the Indian Succession Act which *inter alia* applies to Europeans by birth or descent domiciled in British India, East Indians or persons of mixed European and Native blood, Jews and Armenians, if the intestate dies without a widow and lineal descendants and his father is dead but his mother is living and there are also brothers or sisters of the intestate living, the mother and each living brother or sister shall succeed to the property in equal shares. If the intestate's father is dead but the intestate's mother is living and there is neither brother nor sister nor child of any brother or sister of the intestate, the property shall belong to the mother.

It will be observed from the above short comparative statement of the different systems of jurisprudence obtaining in India that the status of a Hindu mother is far from enviable.

What then is our duty towards her? As stated above, all of us, without a single exception, have acknowledged, do acknowledge and will hereafter too acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude we owe to our mothers. But what has been done towards the amelioration of their status under Hindu Law? It behoves us therefore to see that their status is considerably improved at no distant date.

I may say, *en passant*, that there are various matters pertaining to Hindu Law on which there is still a conflict of authority, which fact abundantly proves the necessity of codifying the Hindu Law. This will have to be done sooner or later on the basis of the present structure of Hindu society when it will be the bounden duty of all of us to see that the rights of mothers are properly and adequately safeguarded. Such codification will undoubtedly be beneficial to the Hindu community as it will save enormous sums of money wasted in litigation in the process of crystallizing the Hindu Law. It is possible to codify the Hindu Law. The codification may involve difficulties but they are not insurmountable. I hope one of the great Indian jurists will in the near future undertake the work and thereby earn the gratitude of the whole Hindu Community.

In this connection I would invite your attention to Mr. Sarda's Marriage Act, and Mr. Jayakar's Hindu Gains of Learning Bill which has now become law. This is no doubt a thin end of the wedge and I hope it will not be very long before the anomalies and the inconsistencies that exist in Hindu Law as it is administered at present will be done away with.

### SWADESHI PRACHAR SAMITI.

AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC.

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It was Justice Ranade who more than a generation ago told our countrymen that the economic domination of one country by another was more harmful and insidious in its effects than political domination. After decades of earnest striving the country at last shows an intense yearning for the twin ideals of economic self-sufficiency and political autonomy.

Other countries have or are building up their industries under protection. The liberty to shape our Tariff policy to suit our requirements being denied to us, the industries of this country have to rely solely upon the patronage of the public.

The Swadeshi Prachar Samiti has been formed with the object of strengthening the Swadeshi movement by guiding it along concrete and constructive channels. The Samiti realises that the present spirit is due in a large measure to political feeling. Indian economic development is a question of permanent importance, and the Swadeshi Prachar Samiti attempts to ensure and consolidate the advantages that are indicated by the present movement in favour of Swadeshi. It takes note that in regard to most of our indigenous goods there is a widespread ignorance in the country, and it will be the aim of the Samiti by all means of propaganda and publicity to give Indian goods their rightful place in the Indian market.

The Samiti intends to organise a commercial museum and exhibition which will put the consuming public in touch with Swadeshi products and enable it to appreciate their good points, and determine whether and if so what degree of sacrifice or privation is involved in the exclusive use of Swadeshi goods.

Besides the museum, the Samiti proposes to carry on house to house propaganda to take the gospel of Swadeshi to every citizen. This requires a large band of public-spirited and cultured young men and women who will take up this labour of love. Every one who can spare any time can help by visiting his or her neighbours and persuade them to use Swadeshi articles.

The Samiti has no doubt that a large band of such selfless workers will offer themselves on receipt of this appeal and ensure the success of a movement which is pregnant with the greatest good to the Motherland.

P. C. Roy	F. Gangjee
G. D. Birla	Prabhudayal Himatsingka
Ranjee Hansraj	Santosh Kumar Basu
Nalini R. Sarker	Ramaprasad Mookerjee
N. C. Chandra	Anandji Haridas
Jatindra Nath Basu	Bidhan Chandra Roy
K. C. Neogy	Sarat Chandra Bose.

133, Canning Street,  
Calcutta.

INDIA AND THE ROUND TABLE  
CONFERENCE.

AN APPEAL TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The following appeal to the Government is published in the "Manchester Guardian" :—

We feel that the situation with regard to India calls for the most earnest consideration by all those who are concerned for a peaceful solution of the present difficulties. We look with profound dismay to the possibility that, should the forthcoming Round Table Conference fail to propound a Constitution which will command the support of the best elements of Indian nationalism, we may be involved in measures which will mean the cessation of peaceful government. Neither Britain nor India has anything to gain from the use of force, and no effort should be spared to secure a basis of agreement along peaceful lines.

We call special attention to the statement issued by the Indian party leaders in the Legislature at Simla immediately after the Viceroy's speech of July 9. After urging Indian participation in the Round Table Conference and the duty of all parties to create an atmosphere of peace and concord the statement goes on :—

A policy of strong measures of repression on the one hand and the pursuit of direct action and open infringements of the law on the other can only serve to increase the tension which is already so acute. Neither policy will be an end in itself, and they can only be regarded as a manifestation of strength which may well be directed towards creative and nation-building efforts.

The statement then makes a simultaneous appeal to the Government to repeal emergency measures and offer an amnesty, and to Congress leaders to terminate the programme of civil disobedience.

We believe this statement reveals a disposition to welcome conciliatory advances from this side and would, therefore, urge the Government—

1. To emphasise that the representatives of both countries shall meet at the Round Table Conference on a basis of equality and with a view to arriving at proposals for the attainment of Dominion status, subject only to transitional safeguards.

2. To spare no effort to secure the attendance and co-operation of Indian leaders, both men and women, and with this end in view to grant an amnesty to all political prisoners not guilty of violence.

Finally, we would plead for a greater interest among our own countrymen in the problem which is facing India and the British Empire. A fuller understanding by the people themselves of the strength of that national consciousness which has emerged in India is urgently desirable if we are

to reach a solution approved by and honourable to all.—Yours, etc.

Aberdeen and Temair.  
Alice Acland.  
Anna Barlow.  
Maurice Browne.  
Charles Roden Buxton, M. P.  
Kate D. Courtney.  
F. Lewis Donaldson.  
Robert F. Horton.  
Laurence Houseman.  
L. P. Jacks.  
Hewlett Johnson.  
J. M. Kenworthy, M. P.  
Harold J. Morland.  
Mary Murray.  
Henry W. Vevinson.  
F. W. Norwood.  
Marian Parmoor.  
Alexandrina Peckover.  
Bertrand Russell.  
Frances Stewart.  
Ben Turner.  
Cecil H. Wilson, M. P.

SIR STANLEY REED ON INDIA.\*

Sir Stanley Reed editor of the "Times of India" from 1907 to 1923, spoke on the political situation in India to an audience of American women recently at the American Women's Club, Grosvenor-street, London. Mrs. Geline MacDonald Bowman presided.

Sir Stanley Reed said that the Indian problem was uppermost in the minds of people in all parts of the world, and perhaps equally in America with Great Britain. To understand the problem to-day one had to go back nearly a century—to the time when it was decided that higher education in India should be given through the medium of the English language. By that decision the minds of all educated Indians were influenced along the lines of Western thought and Western constitutional principles, with effects which had continued to permeate the political thought and life of India to the present day. At about the same time another tremendous dynamic force was introduced—the Christian religion, through the work of the missionaries. Whereas the old caste system divided the whole of Indian society into strata, this new influence admitted each convert to the great free democracy of the Christian ethic. After tracing the development of the council system of Government from its beginnings, the speaker said that all the progressive political forces of the world had received a tremendous impulse from the Great War. As one result, the British Government was pressed for a definite statement of its aims in India, and those aims, crystallized in a declaration issued in 1917, were translated into the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms in the Act of 1919.

It was one of the many tragedies of the Indian situation that the Simon Commission, setting out to carry India a stage farther towards her goal of responsible Government, should have been met with an active boycott and fierce opposition in India itself. The reason was that behind all modern movements, political and otherwise, in India was a

\* This address formed the subject of the leading article in last week's *Reformer*.

tremendous craving for equal status in the eyes of the world. Looking back on our connection with India, it seemed to the speaker that that force was our greatest triumph, and should be our proudest reflection. It meant that our association with India had not restricted the aspirations of its people for human freedom, but had strengthened them. Indians felt that here, in the Simon Commission, was a body setting out to frame their own Constitution, yet a body in which they had no part themselves, and that was why it met with such opposition.

#### THE STATES.

The Commission had for the first time faced the enormous question of treating British India as a whole. It had also laid down the cardinal principle that the India of the future was to embrace British India and the native States, so that when India rose to full responsible Government and Dominion status it should form one great unit in the Imperial Commonwealth, like the rest of the Dominions. The Commission had carried us so far towards the goal of every Indian publicist that it might be asked why there was such intense opposition to it in India. He could only explain it by this surge of feeling—this unparalleled and wholly righteous demand—for equal status in the eyes of the world.

If this were a true analysis of the situation some of his hearers might ask why the British Parliament did not meet its Indian opponents by telling them to take entire charge of their own affairs at once. His own interests lay in India, most of his affections were with his Indian friends, and he was so proud of what our people had done and were doing in India, so resentful of unjust criticism of what they had done and were doing, and so jealous of our national reputation, that he almost felt inclined to say that the wisest thing we could do was to take India at her word and tell her to take over her own affairs and within 12 or 18 months withdraw ourselves entirely from the administration. But if that was done the rule of law in India would be broken into a chaos of which none could see the ultimate reactions. There was first of all the question of defence. The Russian Soviets still hung over the North-West Frontier, on which were some of the most reckless tribes in the world, well armed and well equipped. India itself displayed a conflict of races, religions, and many other interests far more complex than did Europe. Without a strong central authority there was a tremendous and imminent risk of all these forces breaking out and breaking through the thin crust of order, leading to a confusion to which there had been no parallel in the modern world.

Therefore, though from the purely English standpoint and in the interests of English self-respect—and in the face of propaganda and criticism which was much of it unjust, and always hard to bear—he did feel that we might take the course of withdrawing immediately and completely, to do so would be a betrayal of civilization as a whole. And if we were prepared to share the responsibility which had fallen on us in India, if we were prepared to go steadily ahead with her constitutional development, and leading as fast as possible to full Dominion status, so long as we did not break down the magnificent structure of law and order which was our achievement—then he thought, we were entitled to and should demand, the fullest sympathy with our difficulties and the fullest understanding of our problem from all other countries and above all from the people of the United States.

#### SOCIALISING INDUSTRY.

By R. B. ELRAZER.

The will of the late John J. Eagan, of Atlanta, leaving his vast manufacturing enterprise, the American Cast Iron Pipe Company, to be held in trust for the sole benefit of the public and the employees, has had so few parallels as to make it a most remarkable document. Whether it may be called epoch making will depend upon the extent to which Mr. Eagan's ideals shall come to prevail in the world of industry. Whether or not it proves to have been a prophecy, it is certainly a challenge to the world to revise its attitude toward wealth, production, and dividends.

The uniqueness of Mr. Eagan's life was not the fact that he was a Christian, nor even that he had very profound convictions as to the social implications of Christianity. There are many Christian business men, and not a few who in greater or less degree believe in Christianity's social ideals. He not only believed in the social teachings of Jesus as beautiful ideals. He believed also that they are practicable. And what was more important still, on that faith he had the courage to stake his life, his fortune, his business career. That the great adventure was a notable success is bound to mean much to the future.

His first realization of the social significance of Christianity was the result of a meeting with Dr. Josiah Strong. Years ago, while filling an engagement in the South, Dr. Strong was entertained in the home of Mr. Eagan's parents. In conversation with him the young man's eyes were opened. For the first time he saw a world in deep distress, needing to be redeemed in its social relationships as well as man by man. Year by year, as he thought and read along these lines, there grew up within him a deepening sense of social obligation.

When a fortune came into his hands by inheritance, he set himself earnestly not to its enjoyment, nor to its increase, but to its Christianization. Acquiring shortly afterward a great manufacturing concern, he sought devoutly to put its operation in every respect upon a Christian basis. He began where many others have begun, and where unfortunately most have ended—with a throughgoing welfare program for his employees.

But he did not stop there. He conceived that the workers who gave their lives to the enterprise were investors as truly as those who put in their money, and hence as much entitled to a share in control and profits. So he introduced profit-sharing on a large scale, and gave the employees elective representation on the board of directors. He arranged that the stockholders should receive not exceeding six or eight per cent on their investment, and that all the rest of the profits should go to the employees. In one year \$400,000, which would have gone to the stockholders, most of it to himself, was thus distributed to the workers, in addition to their wages.

But this Christian business man went further yet. He recognized that there was yet another party at interest in the business—the people who consume and pay for the product. So he asked to have two outsiders elected to the board of directors to represent the public, one of them to be nominated by the Federal Council of Churches, and the other by a group of heavy purchasers of his product.

His will provides that his interest in the plant, comprising practically all the common stock, and amounting to a very large sum, shall be held in trust by the management for the benefit of the public and the employees, the product to be sold at a fair and moderate price, and all the profits to go to the men employed. His purpose, as expressed in the will, was "to insure service both to the purchasing public and to labour, on the basis of the Golden Rule."

Mr. Eagan was profoundly interested also in the effort to promote justice and good will in race relations. The many Negroes employed in his plant in Birmingham shared fully in all his welfare plans and participated in equal terms in control and profits. As early as 1913 he secured for the Negroes of Atlanta a generous share in a Y. M. C. A. building campaign. In 1919 he helped organize the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, and was its chairman until his death. When the Federal Council of Churches set up a similar commission, he was called upon to head that as well. He was also the moving spirit in the local interracial committee in Atlanta. He believed that race relations present no problem that cannot be solved by mutual understanding, sympathy, co-operation. This confidence was abundantly justified in the work of the several interracial groups of which he was the head. Bishop Robert E. Jones, a leader of the colored people, paid him this remarkable tribute: "I have often despaired of any real solution of the race problem in America. I shall never do so again after knowing and working with John J. Eagan. I never knew there were in the whole world any white men so fair, so just, so devoted to true democracy as I found him to be."

While very active in his own local church, Mr. Eagan was deeply interested in every movement for co-operation among the churches. He was a member of the Federal Council of Churches, and up to his death was the moving spirit in the Atlanta Christian Council.

John J. Eagan accepted fully both the individual and the social implications of Christianity. His ideals and his example will be a challenge and an inspiration to all.

#### NEWS OF THE WEEK.

**A Widow Marriage.**—A correspondent writes:—Under the auspices of the Rajahmundry Hithakarini Samaj, a widow marriage was performed according to the Hindu rites on 19-8-1930 at 5-30 P.M. in the Veeresalingam's Ananda gardens. Sreemathi Ramakotamma, an inmate of the Victoria Hindu

widows' Home was the bride and Sraeyutha Manipalli Venkata Seshagiri Raogaru, the proprietor of the English Medical Stores, Tenali was the bridegroom. Both belong to respectable Neyōgi Brahmin families. Many of the relatives and friends of the Bridegroom attended the function and showed their sympathy and good will. His brother M. Hanumanta Raogaru and his cousins M. Hanumanta Raogaru and K. Venkatappayya garu B.A, retired Tahasildar were the prominent members of his family who were present on the occasion. Most of the eminent citizens of the Town assembled in the Ananda Ashram to witness the function and bless the couple. Rao Sahib O. V. Krishna Swamy Aiyar Avl B.A, B.L. District judge, East Godavary and Zamindar Mothe Narayan Rao garu, managing director of the Andhra paper Mills and several other distinguished sympathisers of the Social Reform movement were also present. At 8 P.M. a cosmopolitan dinner was arranged and most of the relatives and friends took their dinner with the bride and bridegroom. May Good bless the happy couple.

## ADVERTISEMENTS

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Some copies of "Nationalism" by Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, reprinted from the *Indian Social Reformer* in pamphlet form, are available and will be sent to students on receipt of a half anna stamp for postage on application to the Manager, *Indian Social Reformer*.

### WANTED.

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Tasgaon ( " " )	Malegaon (District Nashik).
Veregaon ( " " )	Satara ( " " )
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).	Dohad (District Paunah Mahals).
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2. Accounts are audited by a special Government Auditor and quarterly statements of financial position are published in the Bombay Government Gazette.

3. FIXED DEPOSITS are received for long and short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

4. SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS are opened and interest allowed at 4 per cent. Rules can be had on application.

5. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened at 2½ per cent interest on daily balances exceeding Rs. 25,000.

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,

Managing Director.

14-6-23.

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CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	...	...	RS.	30,60,000
RESERVE FUND	...	...	...	RS.	24,15 00

### DIRECTORS:

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 Sheth Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari (Mill Agent-Ahmedabad).  
 Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq. M.A., LL.B.  
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 Mr. R. B. Govindbhai Hathibhai Dessai, Late Naib Dewan, Baroda.  
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 Sheth Pransukhbhai Mafatlal (Shorrock Mills Ltd., Ahmedabad.)  
 Mr. Nanlal B. Nanavati, B.A., LL.B., M.A., (Penn.) Sar Subs, Baroda State, Baroda.

### CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

With effect from the 1st October 1926, interest allowed on daily balances from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½ per cent. from 1st January to 30th June and at 2 per cent. from 1st July to 31st December and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest on sums which do not come to Rs. 8 per half year will be allowed.

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### SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

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8-8-26

C. E. RANDLE, General Manager.

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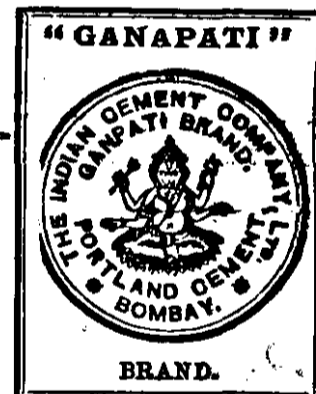
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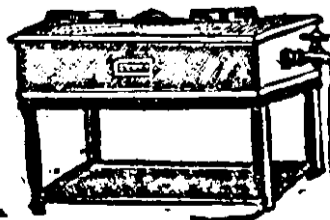
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